

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

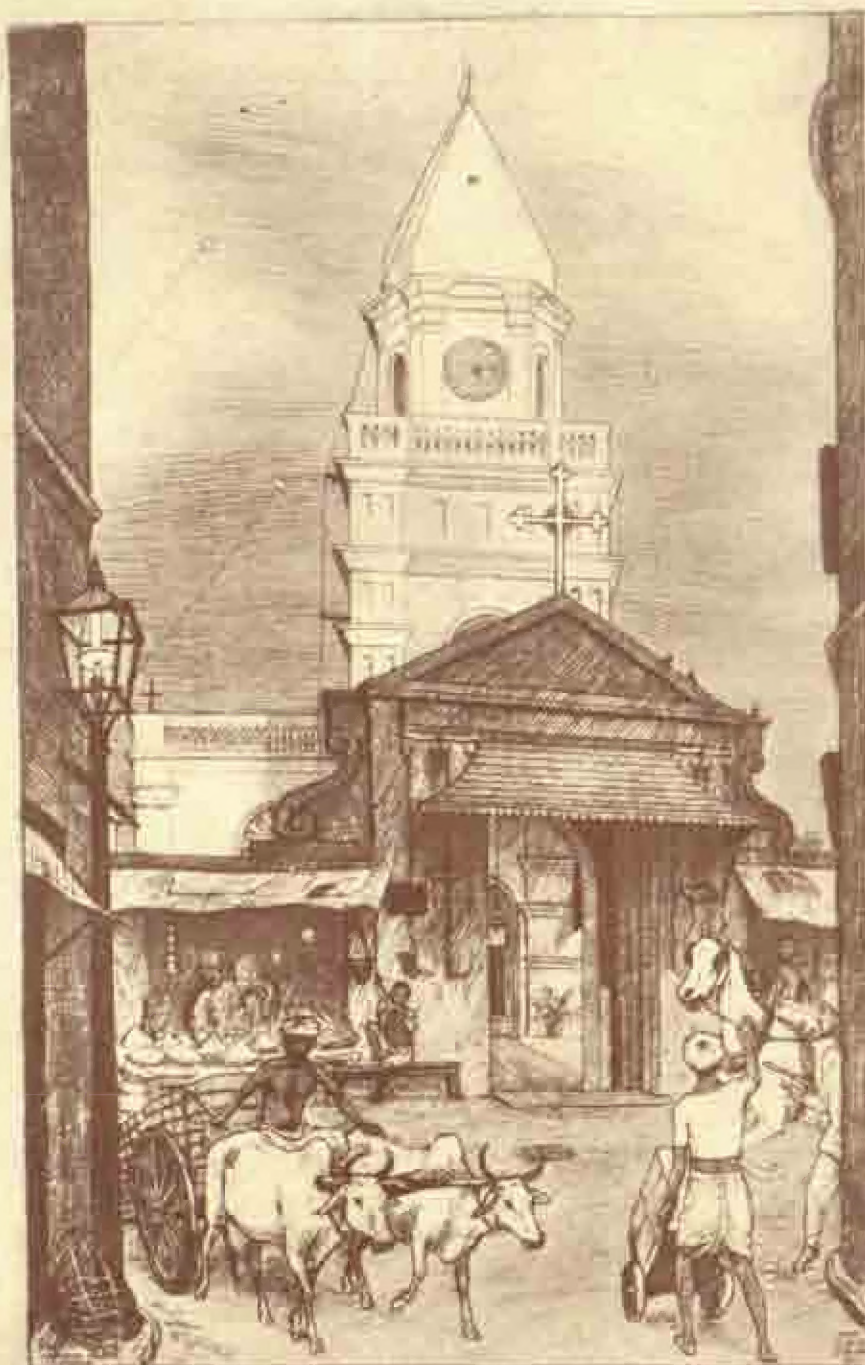
CENTRAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

CALL. NO. 954.1405/B.P.P
ACC. NO. 31275

D.G.A. 79

IPN-S4-2D. G. Arch. N. D. 57-25-58-1,00,000.





Frank Clinger Stollen, Esq.

AMERICAN CHURCH OF ST. SAVIOUR, CALCUTTA.
(From the Original Engraving by Frank Clinger Stollen, Esq.)

A560



BENGAL

954.1405

B.P.P.

PAST & PRESENT

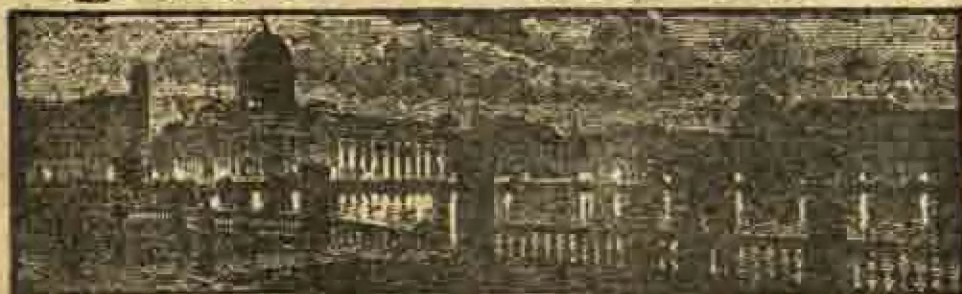


CONTENTS

CONTENTS

Vol. V.
January,
June
1910.

31275



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CENTRAL LIBRARY
 Acc. No. 31275
 Date 8.5.57
 Call No. 954.1405/B.P.P.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
I. SOME MORE PRINTS OF OLD CALCUTTA. <i>W. Corfield</i> ...	1
II. SOME RECORDS OF EAST INDIA SHIPS. <i>W. K. Firminger</i> ...	4
III. THOMAS FALCONER OF CALCUTTA ...	47
IV. JAMES ESDAILE. <i>Lieut.-Col. D. G. Crawford, I.M.S.</i> ...	52
V. BENGAL MOFUSSIL RECORDS ...	66
VI. THE CHANDERNAGORE PAPERS, 1778-1784 ...	107
VII. JOHN O'DONNELL AND THE CRUISE OF THE "DEATH OR GLORY" ...	131
VIII. BURIALS IN CALCUTTA, 1759-1761. <i>W. K. Firminger and E. W. Madge</i> ...	136
IX. MARRIAGES IN BENGAL, 1759-1779. <i>W. K. Firminger and Lieut.-Col. D. G. Crawford, I.M.S.</i> ...	144
X. REVIEWS. <i>Dak</i> ...	151
XI. GENERAL NOTE BOOK ...	154
XII. THE TRAGEDY OF THE "ANGLIA" ...	166
XIII. LEAVES FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK. <i>W. K. Firminger</i> ...	171
XIV. SECRETARY'S PAGES ...	214
XV. SOME MORE PRINTS OF OLD CALCUTTA. <i>George Lyell</i> ...	231
XVI. RAJA SITARAM RAY. <i>J. N. Samaddar</i> ...	236
XVII. MEMOIRS OF COLONEL THOMAS DEANE PEARSE ...	244
XVIII. THE EARLY DAYS OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY. <i>A. de Casson</i> ...	261
XIX. JOHN O'DONNELL AND THE CRUISE OF THE "DEATH OR GLORY." <i>W. K. Firminger</i> ...	273
XX. LIST OF MONUMENTS OF HISTORIC, LITERARY AND GENERAL INTEREST IN LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD CEMETERY. <i>E. W. Madge and G. O'Connell</i> ...	309
XXI. BAPTISMS AT CALCUTTA, 1759-1766. <i>W. K. Firminger and E. W. Madge</i> ...	323
XXII. SOME FRESH LIGHT ON THE SECOND MRS. HASTINGS AND HER FAMILY. <i>Sydney C. Grier</i> ...	333
XXIII. A NOTE IN WARREN HASTINGS' HANDWRITING ...	339
XXIV. SOME FURTHER NOTES TO THE ILLUSTRATIONS ...	341
XXV. THE FOUNDER OF CHANDERNAGORE. <i>W. Irvine and A. Leharau</i> ...	342
XXVI. LEAVES FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK. <i>W. K. Firminger</i> ...	346
XXVII. GENERAL NOTE BOOK ...	373
XXVIII. SECRETARY'S PAGES. <i>Cyril Champkin</i> ...	379
XXIX. SOME TRANSACTIONS OF THE SOCIETY ...	391
XXX. PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ...	397

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page
ARMENIAN CHURCH OF ST. NABARETH, CALCUTTA. FRONTISPIECE	
VIEW TAKEN ON THE ESPLANADE, CALCUTTA	1
VIEW IN CHITPORE ROAD, CALCUTTA	1
THE COUNCIL HOUSE, CALCUTTA	3
THE WRITERS' BUILDINGS	3
GOVINDA RAM MITTER'S PAGODA, CALCUTTA	5
PART OF CHERINGHES ROAD, CALCUTTA	5
CALCUTTA	7
THE OLD COURT HOUSE, CALCUTTA	7
STATUE OF THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS IN TANK SQUARE	9
VIEW OF SEAPORT FROM THE PARK AT BARRACKPORE	9
THE ESPLANADE	11
SUSPENSION BRIDGE AT ALIPORE	11
COMMODORE SIR JOHN HAYES, KT.	25
INTERIOR OF FRENCH MAS-OF-WAR ABOUT 1700	53
THOMAS FALCONER	47
SCOTT THOMSON'S CORNER FROM GOVERNMENT HOUSE, 1868	81
VIEW SHOWING WRITERS' BUILDINGS, ST. ANDREW KIRK, MARQUESS OF HASTINGS' MEMORIAL AS THEY STOOD IN 1870	107
THE OLD OR MISSION CHURCH, 1847	131
LORD AND LADY CANNING AND LORD CLYDE	143
SCOTT THOMSON'S CORNER AT THE TIME OF THE PRESENT KING'S VISIT TO CALCUTTA	143
GRAVES OF ANCIENT FACTORS AT AGRA	150
HAJI MAHAMED MOHSEN	159
BALLARD'S BUILDINGS, CALCUTTA	161
PLAN OF THE FORT OF TALAGHAN	163
BATTLE OF UDWANALA	164
DRAUPADI RATH AT MAHAVALIPURAM, MADRAS	170
MONUMENT TO DAVID SCOTT AT CHURRAPOUR	206
STONE TEMPLE AT GARUL, BURDWAN	208
MAHAMMURAH TEMPLE AT VIJNUPUR	208
RAMCHANDRA TEMPLE AT GUTTIPARA, HUGLI	208
LALJI'S TEMPLE AT KALNA, BURDWAN	208
SYAMCAN'S TEMPLE, SANTIPUR, NADIA	211
KISTABAYA'S JOK-BANGLA TEMPLE AT VIJNUPUR	211
NAVATATNA TEMPLE AT BAKA, HUGLI	211
CARVED FRONT OF SYAMRAYA'S TEMPLE AT VIJNUPUR	211
PANCHARATNA TEMPLE OF SVAMBAYA, VIJNUPUR	212
FATE KHAN'S TEMPLE IN GAUR FORT	212
JOK BANGLA TEMPLE OF CHAITANYA AT GUTTIPARA, HUGLI	212
EELAKHI TOMS AT PANDUA, MALDA	212
A VIEW OF CHINSURAH	231
DITTO CHUTTERA	231
DITTO TANK SQUARE, CALCUTTA	232
SOUTHERN VIEW OF COUNCIL HOUSE AND GOVERNMENT HOUSE	232
WEST VIEW OF CALCUTTA	233
NORTH-WEST VIEW OF CALCUTTA FROM HOWEAN	233
VIEW OF BARRACKPORE HOUSE	234
VIEW OF THE LOLL BAZAR	234
CALCUTTA FROM THE OLD COURSE	235
CALCUTTA FROM FORT WILLIAM, 1807	235
RUINS OF THE PALACE, MUHAMMADPUR	237
THE TEMPLE, MUHAMMADPUR	243
THE OPENING OF THE E. I. RAILWAY. VIEW OF CEREMONY AT BURDWAN	261
SAKASWATI BRIDGE NEAR HUGLI, 1853	263
AFRAY BETWEEN RAILWAY ENGINEERS AND SONTAL REBELS	265
DEFENCE OF THE WATER TANK AT BHARWARI	269
HOUSE AT AGRHA AS FORTIFIED SKETCH BY SIR V. EYRE	271
LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD CEMETERY	308
GRAVE OF H. L. V. DEROGH, SOUTH PARK STREET CEMETERY	311
MONUMENT TO THE WIFE OF CAPT. (AFTERWARDS GENERAL) SIR V. EYRE	311
DITTO TO SIR W. H. MACNAGHTEN, BART.	311
DITTO TO MR. JUSTICE J. P. NORMAN	311
DITTO TO THE RT. HON. MR. JAMES WILSON	311
THE SECOND MRS. WARREN HASTINGS	333
SEALS OF THE CHAPUZY FAMILY	333
MADAME CHAPUZY DE ST. VALENTIN	334
J. P. T. CHAPUZY DE ST. VALENTIN	335
WARREN HASTINGS	336
SHAH JELAI'S MOSQUE	370
WARREN HASTINGS	373
TITLE PAGE AND DEDICATION OF WM. ANDERSON'S FOUR SERMONS	375
MEN MARY CAKEY	375
GROUP OF TEMPLES AT DHAKINESHAR	378
WARREN HASTINGS' GHAT, RISHRA	378
ROSE AYLMER'S TOMB	390



CORRIGENDA, ADDENDA, ETC.

86. Add to last footnote on page "There is a letter dated January 28th, 1766, Calcutta, from Mr. J. Bardett, Collector of Azimabad and Moorgatcha, submitting his accounts of the produce of the Salt Callaries in the Pergunnahs for 1765. See Imperial Record Office Press List."
101. Footnote.—For "Anelm" read "Anselm."
116. Footnote.—The last seven lines are not a part of the footnote but the conclusion of Record No. 69.
117. Footnote.—For "seafacing" read "seafaring." For "rea" read "sea"
146. Line 9 from top.—For "P. 447" read "P. 499."
146. Line 11 from top.—For "P. 449" read "P. 499" and for "Godwin" read "Goodwin." Add "See Cotton:—*Revenue History of Chittagong*."
146. Line 25 from top.—For "Mater" read "Master." For "*Industry with*" read "*Industry and*"
146. Note 107—Add: "See Sir Wm. Hunter's *Thackerays in India*, pp. 91-92."
163. Line 10 from bottom—"Nothing is known of the child Pote" add reference to p. 375 in this volume.
183. Last footnote—Add "Ellerker was one of the officers involved in the Mutiny at Monghyr in 1766. An interesting letter ordering him to arrange for the impalement of a *dakot* will be found in Cotton's *Revenue History of Chittagong*."
202. Last line—for "Linus" read "Livius."
212. Line 21 from top.—For "Nuntar" read "Nunton."
233. Line 11—"This building was erected" add reference to p. 341 in this volume.
290. Footnote.—For "founder" read "funds."
301. Line 16—Delete "and McLary."
325. To Note 3—Add "John Cook arrived 25th November 1744, Senior Merchant and Secretary to the Board in 1759. A survivor of the Black Hole. He had married Miss Sophia Jacobs on 18th January 1757."
350. Footnote.—For "Harlty" read "Hartly."
364. 14 lines from bottom.—For "Courlin" read "Courtin."
Title of portrait facing page 373 for "last" read "lost."

BENGAL : PAST & PRESENT.

(JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.)

PRICE, RS. 5:

TO BE HAD OF THE PUBLISHERS, 300, BOWBAZAR STREET, MESSRS.
W. NEWMAN & CO., DALHOUSIE SQUARE, MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK
& CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, R. CAMBRAY & CO., 6, HASTINGS
STREET, ARMY AND NAVY STORES, CHOWRINGHEE, OR
THE HONORARY SECRETARY, 28, DALHOUSIE
SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

VOL. V.

JANUARY-MARCH, 1910.

No. 10.

CONTENTS.

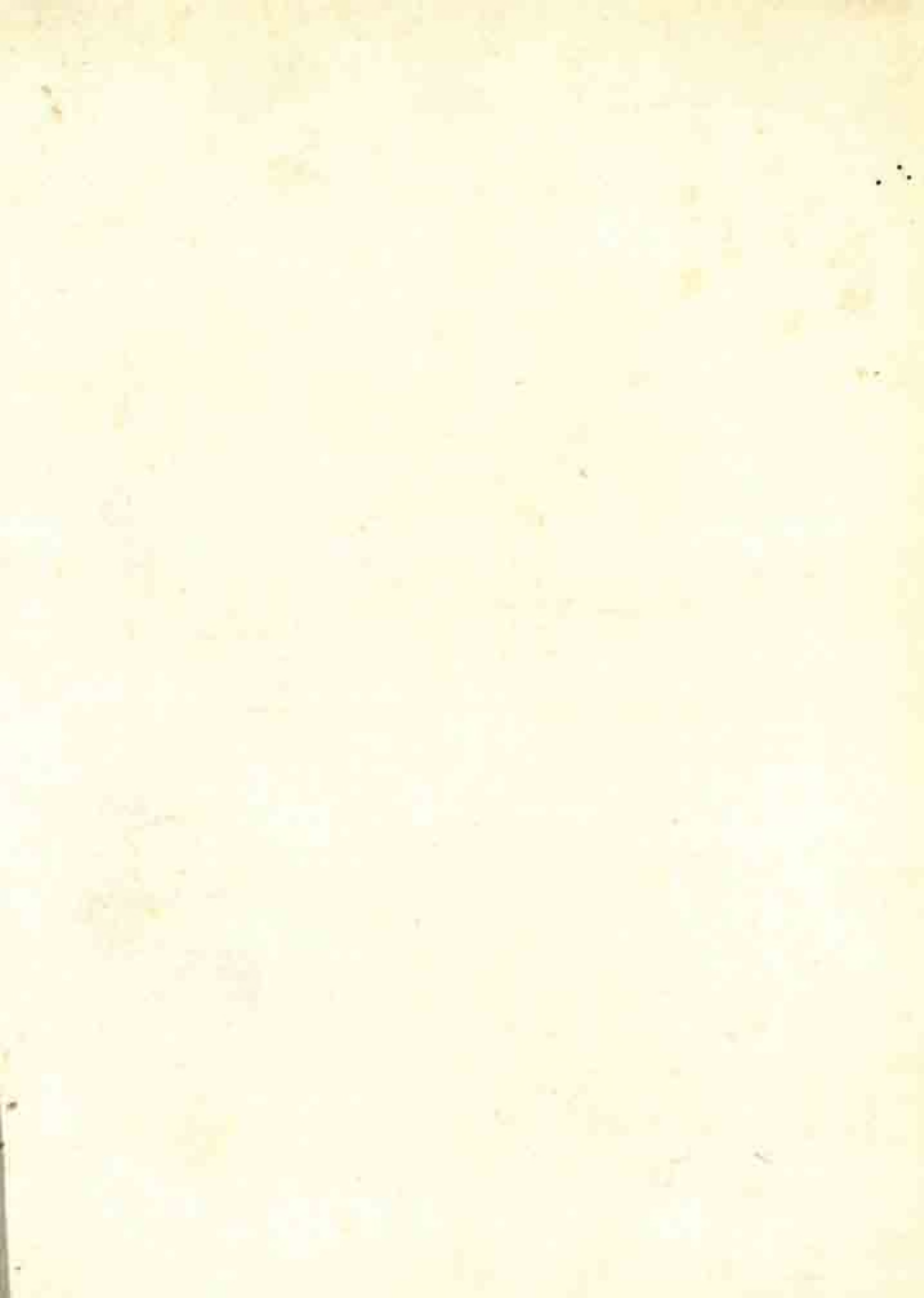
	PAGE.
I. SOME MORE PRINTS OF OLD CALCUTTA. <i>W. Corfield</i> ...	1
II. SOME RECORDS OF EAST INDIA SHIPS. <i>W. K. Firminger, B.D.</i> ...	4
<i>F.R.G.S.</i> ...	47
III. THOMAS FALCONER OF CALCUTTA ...	52
IV. JAMES ESDAILE. <i>D. G. Crawford, I.M.S.</i> ...	66
V. BENGAL MOFUSSIL RECORDS ...	107
VI. THE CHANDERNAGORE PAPERS, 1778-1784 ...	131
VII. JOHN O'DONNELL AND THE CRUISE OF THE "DEATH OR GLORY"	136
VIII. BURIALS IN CALCUTTA, 1759-1761. <i>W. K. Firminger and E. W. Madge</i> ...	144
IX. MARRIAGES IN BENGAL, 1759-1779. <i>D. G. Crawford, I.M.S.</i> ...	151
X. REVIEWS. <i>Dak</i> ...	154
XI. GENERAL NOTE BOOK ...	166
XII. THE TRAGEDY OF THE "ANGLIA" ...	171
XIII. LEAVES FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK. <i>W. K. Firminger, B.D.</i> ...	214
<i>F.R.G.S.</i> ...	
XIV. SECRETARY'S PAGES ...	

PRINTED BY D. L. MONRO AND PUBLISHED BY THE CALCUTTA GENERAL
PRINTING COMPANY, AT THE EDINBURGH PRESS, 300, BOWBAZAR
STREET, CALCUTTA, FOR THE PROPRIETORS.



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE.
VIEW TAKEN ON THE ESPLANADE, CALCUTTA ...	1
VIEW IN CHITTORE ROAD, CALCUTTA ...	1
THE COUNCIL HOUSE, CALCUTTA ...	3
THE WRITERS' BUILDINGS ...	3
GOVINDA RAM MITTER'S PAGODA, CALCUTTA ...	5
PART OF CHERINGHEE ROAD, CALCUTTA ...	5
CALCUTTA ...	7
THE OLD COURT HOUSE, CALCUTTA ...	7
STATUE OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS IN TANK SQUARE ...	9
VIEW OF SERAMPORE FROM THE PARK AT BARRACKPORE ...	9
THE ESPLANADE ...	11
SUSPENSION BRIDGE AT ALIPORE ...	11
COMMODORE SIR JOHN HAYES, KT. ...	25
INTERIOR OF FRENCH MAN-OF-WAR ABOUT 1700 ...	33
THOMAS FALCONER ...	47
SCOTT THOMSON'S CORNER FROM GOVERNMENT HOUSE, 1868 ...	81
VIEW SHOWING WRITERS' BUILDINGS, ST. ANDREW KIRK, MARQUIS OF HASTINGS MEMORIAL AS THEY STOOD IN 1870 ...	107
THE OLD OR MISSION CHURCH, 1847 ...	131
LORD AND LADY CANNING AND LORD CLYDE ...	143
SCOTT THOMSON'S CORNER AT THE TIME OF THE PRESENT KING'S VISIT TO CALCUTTA ...	143
GRAVES OF ANCIENT FACTORS AT AGRA ...	156
HAJI MAHAMED MOHSIN ...	159
BALLARD'S BUILDINGS, CALCUTTA ...	161
PLAN OF THE FORT OF TELAGHANI ...	163
BATTLE OF UDWANALA ...	164
DRAUPADI RATH AT MAHAVALIPURAM, MADRAS ...	170
MONUMENT TO DAVID SCOTT AT CHERRAPUNJEE ...	206
STONE TEMPLE AT GARUI, BURDWAN ...	208
MADANMOHAN TEMPLE AT VISNUPUR ...	208
RAMCANDRA TEMPLE AT GUPTIPARA, HUGLI ...	208
LALJI'S TEMPLE AT KALNA, BURDWAN ...	208
SYAMCAND'S TEMPLE SANTIPUR, NADIA ...	211
KISTARAYA'S JOR-BANGLA TEMPLE AT VISNUPUR ...	211
NAVARATNA TEMPLE AT BAXA, HUGLI ...	211
CARVED FRONT OF SYAMRAYA'S TEMPLE AT VISNUPUR ...	211
PANCHARATNA TEMPLE OF SYAMRAYA, VISNUPUR ...	212
FATH KHAN'S TEMPLE IN GAUR FORT ...	212
JOR BANGLA TEMPLE OF CHAITANYA AT GUPTIPARA, HUGLI ...	212
EKLAKHI TOMB AT PANDUA, MALDA ...	212





"VIEW TAKEN ON THE ESPLANADE, CALCUTTA."
T. & W. Daniell.



"VIEW IN CHITPORE ROAD, CALCUTTA."
T. & W. Daniell.

Some More Prints of Old Calcutta.

(See "*Bengal: Past and Present*," Vol. III, P. 308.)



THE following notes are now offered on the further selection of twelve old Calcutta views appearing in this issue. The prints are taken from pictures belonging to Mr. E. W. S. Russell, to whom our thanks are due.

Painted by Thomas Daniell, engraved by Thomas and William Daniell, and published in *Oriental Scenery*,—(vide Mr. Lyell's article referred to above). The original titles and numbers (I. to VI.) are given with dates of publication.

1. "View taken on the Esplanade, Calcutta." (I) August 1797. (A coloured impression of this serves as a frontispiece to *Bengal: Past and Present*, Volume II, Part 1 of 1908.)

2. "View in Chitpore Road, Calcutta." (II) August 1797.

3. "The Council House, Calcutta." (III) February 1798.

4. "The Writers' Buildings, Calcutta." (IV) February 1798.

5. "Govinda Ram Mittee's Pagoda, Calcutta." (V) August 1798.

This is apparently another aspect of the building shown in the view "In Chitpore Road—1787" facing page 310 of Vol. III. A similar water colour sketch is in the Victoria Hall collection, the description appended to it stating that the house with the verandah was that of the Dewan of Warren Hastings.

6. "Part of Cheringhee (*sic*), Calcutta." (VI) August 1798. An earlier version of this faces page 260 of Vol. III, in which Chowringhee is wrongly described as "Chowringhee Road." It will be seen that the people and animals in the two views are quite different.

And the following by other artists.

7. "Calcutta." Drawn by Henry Salt. Engraved by D. Havell. A view in the vicinity of the present Middleton Street probably showing the Company's Kitchen Garden. Published May 1809. Salt accompanied Lord Valentia on his travels in the East.

8. "The Old Court House, Calcutta." Drawn by Colonel Francis Swain Ward, engraved by Harraden, and published by Orme in January 1805, being one of a series by Ward and Daniell bound up with Biagden's *History of Ancient and Modern India*. Ward died in 1794 and was in Calcutta some ten years earlier,—(vide Buckland's *Indian Biography*, Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists*, and Julian Cotton's *Tombs in the Madras District*.)

The Court House, or Mayor's Court, occupied the site of the present Scotch Church and was demolished in 1792. This view also appears in Miss Blechynden's *Calcutta: Past and Present* but without the man and the dog on the right. Its date is there given as about 1784 and it is said to have been from a photograph of a painting by Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Wood. It would be interesting to know if there is any further authority for attributing the painting to Wood instead of to Ward.

9. "A View of Serampore from the Park at Barrackpore." Drawn, as one of a series, by James Baillie Fraser and engraved by R. Havell. Published June 1820. Lord Wellesley was said by the younger Marshman to have contributed one thousand rupees to the building fund of the Church at Serampore on the ground that the Church steeple would crown the beauty of the view of Serampore as seen from the Governor-General's country seat at Barrackpore on the opposite side of the river.

And the following by Sir Charles D'Oyly :—

10. "Statue of the Marquis of Hastings in Tank Square." The canopy shewn is now the porch of the Dalhousie Institute. The statue remains as depicted but is destined for the Victoria Memorial Hall. The history of this statue, modelled by Flaxman, will be found on p. 152 of *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta*.

11. "[The] Esplanade." The original dome of Government House is shown surmounted by a figure of Britannia destroyed by lightning in 1838.¹ Another view published in Vol. II is from a painting by T. Allom engraved by E. Radclyffe.

12. "Suspension Bridge at Alipore over Tolly's Nullah."

The three D'Oyly views are some of a series by Sir Charles (whom Bishop Heber described as "the best gentleman-artist I ever saw.")² Other attractive pictures of the set are—"Procession of the Churrack-poojah." A large panoramic view of a procession passing along Chowringhee in which *nautch* girls, colossal representations of animals, and curious devices are introduced : "Church Entrance to Dhurruhtollah." A spirited rendering of the Roman Catholic Church at the Esplanade end of the thoroughfare with its surroundings, and "Office of the Sudder Board of Revenue from Kyd Street." The office is seen across the water of the *Jhinherrie Talao* (the "Meshwork Tank"), so called from the perforated wall beneath the arch fronting the ghât steps on the Kyd Street side.

I have twice referred to differing versions of the same view. Here are other instances. Facing page 244 and 252 of Vol. III. of our journal are views of "Calcutta from the Hooghly" and of "Old Court House Street

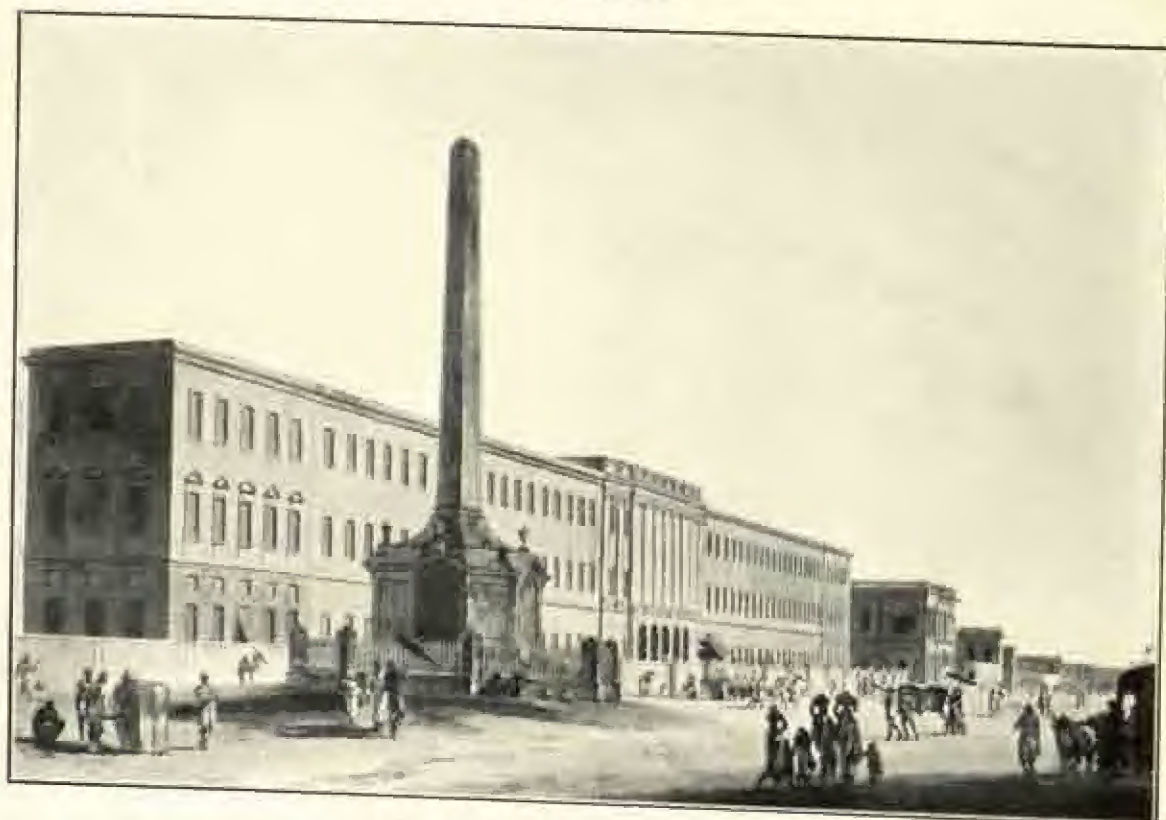
¹ *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 387.

² *Calcutta: Old and New*, p. 890.





"THE COUNCIL HOUSE, CALCUTTA."
T. & W. Daniell.



"THE WRITERS' BUILDINGS, CALCUTTA."
T. & W. Daniell.

(looking south). Large paintings of each of these adorn a reception-room at "Belvedere,"—the official residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. In the former the differing details of the painting and the print are minute though obvious, but in the latter while the architectural features of both are practically identical the pedestrians vary considerably. The figures of the uncouth *fatir*, and of the lady and gentleman sharing one sunshade in our view have no place in that at "Belvedere," but on the other hand two dogs have scampered in at "Belvedere," which are not in our same street scene.

In the description of the upper view facing p. 268 of Vol. III. the word "street" is superfluous.

The twelve views accompanying Mr. Lyell's article were both drawn and engraved by Thomas Daniell. Ten of them are in the Imperial Library, Calcutta, bound in book form, and Mr. Cotton in *Calcutta: Old and New* (Appendix, p. 4) speaks of ten as completing the series.

W. CORFIELD.



Some Records of East Indian Ships 1778=1784.



IN the article on John O'Donnell, mention has been made of the capture of the *Betsy* by the French. The following papers will throw some more light on the subject of this event, and also on the fortunes or misfortunes of English trade on far Eastern waters during the war between England and France in the last years of Warren Hastings' administration:—

1. THE CALCUTTA MERCHANTS' PETITION.

1778 O. C. 5th October, No. 24.

CALCUTTA:

22nd September 1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Being duly sensible of the regard and attention which this Government has always shown to the encouragement and protection of trade, and conceiving that the country vessels which are gone to China and trading on the Malay Coast will be exposed to grave risk of being taken on their return to India, if a sloop of force such as the *Resolution* or *Royal Charlotte* is not sent into the Straits of Malacca for their protection, we humbly beg leave to lay before your Hon'ble Board the causes of our apprehension in full confidence that the most effectual measures for obviating them will be adopted before the monsoon obliges the squadron to quit the Coromandel Coast next month.

The ships homeward bound from China generally enter the Straits of Malacca between the 1st of December and 10th of January, and the channel between Burn Island and Red Island is so narrow that they cannot pass thro' undiscovered. These vessels left India before there was any appearance of war, and are in no state of defence against an European enemy. A single frigate stationed thereabouts at that time might intercept and take everyone of them.

We further take leave to lay before your Hon'ble Board a list of the vessels which will return to India that way, with an estimate of the value of them and their cargoes, in which almost every individual in the three Presidencies is interested either as Owner, Respondent—Sender or Insurer.

We are, etc.

D. CUMING.
P. M. DACEES.
EPEN GUINARD.
JOHN CARMICHAEL.
JOHN PRINCEP.
CUMBERT THORNHILL.
R. MCFARLANE.
JAMES CLARK.

PAGE KEBLE.
CHARLES CROFTES.
R. JOHNSON.
GEO. WILLIAMSON.
DAVID PHILLIPS.
CHAS. WESTON.
WM. JOHNSTON.
ALEX. PRAYNE.

G. ROBERTS.
J. HANNAY.
H. GRANT.
W. PAXTON.
DAVID KILLICAN.
ALEX. FALKNER.
SAML. TOUCHET.
JOHN FERGUSSON.

W. WALKER.



"GOVINDA RAM MITTER'S PANDUA, CALCUTTA."
T. & W. Daniell.



"PART OF CHERINGHEE, CALCUTTA."
T. & W. Daniell.

2. THE CRUISE OF THE *RESOLUTION* AND THE *ROYAL CHARLOTTE*.

ROYAL CHARLOTTE.
POINT DE GAULA HARBOUR.

November the 20th, 1778.

Duplicate.

HON'BLE SIR,

Since I wrote the letter of which the accompanying is a Duplicate, I have got the Ship into the Gaulta Harbour, which is a fortunate circumstance, as the Iron work of her Rudder has been found to be much more damaged than we had any Conception of in so much that had we Continued Longer at Sea and the weather proved Tempestuous we should have lost it. The Dutch have been remarkably polite, and are giving the necessary Assistance. We found the heads of both Main and Mizzen Topmasts sprung and several other little matters out of repair—all of which we shall set so well to rights as to be enabled us to keep the Sea for Six months, If our Store Ship from Bengal comes in due time.

I have been assured here by a gentleman of rank that the French have no Ships of Force at the Islands, and but very few regular Troops, and are besides very short of rice, wheat, and all sorts of dry Provision.

He further assures me that the French Chief at Mabe on the Coast of Malabar had engaged to supply Hyder-Ally with Six hundred Europeans, armed and Headed by the Proper Officers, and that three Ships had been dispatched with the men from the Island of Mauritius in the end of April, that one of the Ships had arrived and landed one hundred and Sixty Eight men and twelve Officers, that an Other had been lost on the Upper part of the Coast of Malabar, and the 3rd had not as yet been heard of—that the Dutch at Cochin had sent to Batavia and to Zelone for Assistance as it was well known that Hyder-Ally intended with the Assistance of those Troops to attack a place called Crancunore One of their Factorys on the Malabar as soon as the Season would permit.

I have had a sight of their Book in which an account is kept of the Ships which pass—all of which for the Season except one which passed the 30th last month to the Westward without shewing Colours I can account for—and most likely that was the missing French Ship for the Malabar.

Not one piece of our salted meat turned out bad, though we cured it at Bengal under every possible disadvantage in the month of August—nor is there any thing so Certain as that if the Cattle are fed on dry meat for a little while to fix the fat; the Salt used be well Cleared of Sand—the Proportion of two Seers of Salt Peter to a maund of Bay Salt—Pickled well and cleanly boiled and the meat Salted as soon as dead and well pressed, that it will keep at sea as long as you please.

I have sent our sick to the Dutch Hospital, where they are kept very clean, and attended by the Surgeon of the Ship—I hope twelve days will set us all to rights again, and then, Except I receive Orders to the Contrary, I will go out and Cruise between Dundra Head and the great Basses, for If the French are so much distressed for Grain at the Islands as it is said—I know not a more proper place for them to lay to Intercept the Bengal Rice Ships bound to Zelone and the Malabar Coast—as well as the Bombay and Surat China Ships homeward bound, the Covering of which from such very probable Danger will be doing something for the Public much better than Idling away our time in Dutch Ports. Indeed I think more attention should be paid to the Covering our private merchant Ships, than the King's Officers seem—to—advert to—was I my own master I would lay with both Ships in that Station untill March, for not a Ship bound from the Eastern to

the Western side of India from November to March but makes that Part of the Island Zelone, and it is also the most secure place for the French to seek them as our Squadron Station themselves on one or other of the Coasts—it may give the Merchants of Calcutta some ease to know that I will Cruize there whilst I am at liberty so to do, and solicit leave for both Ships to remain there untill March, if no plan of operation more eligible may have been fixed on.

I am, Hon'ble Sir,
Most respectfully
Your most obedient hble. Servi.,
J. PRICE.

1779. O. C. 18th February, No. 10.

TO THE G.-G. AND COUNCIL.

SHIP *Resolution* IN MALACCA ROAD:
The 28th December 1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I arrived at this Port the 17th instant, and have since here been employed refitting my masts and rigging from an accident that happened the 11th off Parcelar Hill in these Streights. I had anchored in the evening to have daylight to go thro' a narrow passage between sands. By four o'clock next morning it blew a gale of wind in which the *Resolution* pitched away her foretopmast and jibboom, and sprung the foremast with a good deal of other small damages.

On my passage from Trinquamale here I met nothing else of note, and heard both on the Sumatra and Malley Coasts that no French vessel of any kind had been seen there.

This day arrived from China three ships, from their accounts I learn the last ship from thence bound to the Mallabar Coasts is likely to be here in a week, on the arrival of which I shall proceed to join Sir Edward Vernon, taking with me all the vessels that are bound to the Westward.

I am, etc.,
J. HICKS.

3th February, O. C. No. 11.

TO THE G.-G. AND COUNCIL.

SHIP *Resolution* OFF CAPE RICHADE:
8th January 1779.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

I have this day drawn on you for Spanish dollars two thousand, the expenditure of which I shall give an account of to Captain Price on my joining him.

The expected ship from China not arriving in the time it was hoped she would, and my orders not allowing me to assist longer, I left Malacca this morning, having under my convoy two China ships with the *Goel-Dut* a Malay Trader and the *Amazon* by whom this comes.

I am, etc.,
J. HICKS.



"CALCUTTA."
Henry Salt.



"THE OLD COURT HOUSE, CALCUTTA."
Mark Wood.

1779. O. C. 19th August, No. 3.
(Copy.)

TO CAPTAIN JOSEPH PRICE OF THE SHIP *Royal Charlotte*.

FORT ST. GEORGE :
30th July 1779.

SIR,

The Hon'ble the Resident and Council, from some Intelligence they have lately received, judging it for the good of the Service that the ship *Resolution* should proceed through the Streights of Malacca in Company with His Majesty's ship *Sea Horse*, I am directed by them to desire you will order Captain Hicks immediately on his arrival here to act under the command of Captain Panton, and the Hon'ble Board will take upon themselves your non-compliance in this instance with the Orders of the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council, in case the *Resolution* should not arrive in Bengal within the time they have limited you to, and will be answerable for your deviation from the orders you received on account of their application and the necessity of Service that it should be complied with.

I am, Sir,
Your humble Servant,
(Sd.) CHAS. FREEMAN,
Assistant Secretary.

1779. O. C. 19th August, No. 3.
(Copy.)

TO JOHN HICKS, ESQ.,
Commander of the Hon'ble Company's Ship "Resolution."

SIR,

Application having been made to me by the Governor and Council of Madras to permit the ship *Resolution* to proceed with His Majesty's ship the *Sea Horse* to the Streights of Malacca, you are hereby directed to put yourself under the command of Captain Panton and to continue with him, and obey his Orders in the Voyage to and as long as he shall remain in any parts of the Streights of Malacca, but on his leaving of it for China you are to return in the most expeditious manner you can, directly to Bengal.

I am, Sir,
Your humble Servant,
(Sd.) J. PRICE.

1779. O. C. 19th August, No. 4.
(Duplicate.)

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

Royal Charlotte, NEAR PULTA :
18th August 1779.

HON'BLE SIR,

I left Madras the 10th, as I wrote you by Captain Roddam that I should do, at which time no further news had arrived from Europe.

My letter of the 30th ultimo will have informed you of the reasons which induced me to deviate from your orders in permitting the *Resolution* to accompany the *Sea Horse* to the Streights of Malacca.

On the 15th instant, I spoke the *Tippie*, Captain Bean, 7 Leagues N.-E. from the Black Pagoda, and the same evening saw a ship belonging to Captain Thornhill bound to Pegue,

and the next day at noon spoke the *Royal Henry*, we had then soundings on Point Palmyras.

I enclose an abstract of the People now on board—a Weekly Return and the Doctor's daily report. . . . I shall be very glad to receive your orders at what part of the River I am to secure the ship. . . . As soon as the ship is safely moored, I shall do myself the honour to wait on you: by this conveyance I send a letter from the Madras Presidency.

I am, Hon'ble Sir,
Most Respectfully,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
J. PRICE

1779. O. C. 19th August, No. 5.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,
Governor-General and Council of Fort William

FORT ST. GEORGE :
10th August 1779.

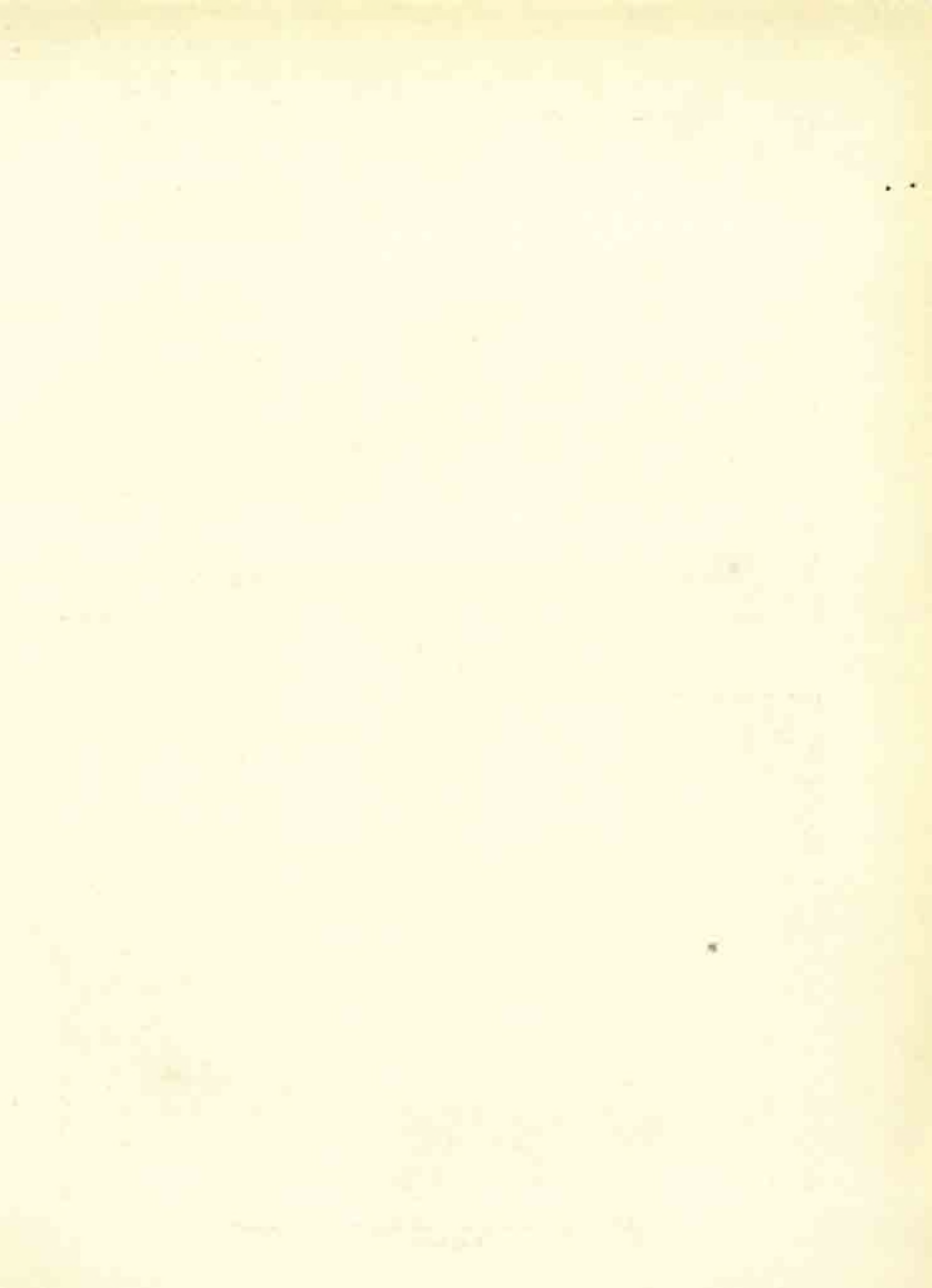
HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

We did intend, pursuant to the letter we had the honor of receiving from you of the 13th May, to have dispatched the *Royal Charlotte* and *Resolution* to Bengal at the same time, but being informed by the master of a cattle vessel, we had sent to the Mauritius, that a French Frigate of 40 Guns and another ship of force were gone from thence to cruise in the Streights of Malacca, and Admiral Sir Edward Vernon having particularly requested in consequence that the *Resolution* might be directed to accompany His Majesty's Ship *Sea Horse* for the protection of the trade passing through those Streights, we judged the exigency of the case was such as to warrant our giving orders to Captain Price to send the *Resolution* on this Service—she sailed accordingly on the 3rd instant—with the *Sea Horse* and under their Convoy proceeded with the Hon'ble Company's Ship *Horse* and two country Vessels for China—we have desired the Commander of the *Sea Horse* to dispatch the *Resolution* directly to Bengal, as soon as the trade is conveyed safe through the Streights, and we hope she will arrive with you in the course of next month—we take this opportunity by Captain Price, who now proceeds to Bengal, to mention that the assistance of the *Royal Charlotte* and *Resolution* both at Pamblicherry and on the Expedition to Mahe has been extremely useful, and the Commodore, Captain Price, has on every occasion shewed the warmest zeal and activity in promoting the public service. His conduct, as well as that of Captain Hicks, justly merits this testimony of our approbation, and induce us to recommend them in the strongest manner to your favourable notice, we hope and request that the employment of the *Resolution* as abovementioned, may not prejudice Captain Hicks in any arrangement you may think proper to make relative to the Company's armed ships.

We have advanced Captain Price for the expences of the two ships 7,000 Pagodas for which we shall take the liberty of drawing on your Presidency.

We have the honor to be,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient and humble Servants,*
THOS. RUMBOLD
JOHN WHITEHILL
HECTOR MUNRO.
CHARLES SMITH.

* The Governor and Council of Fort St. George.





"STATUE OF THE MARQUIS DE HASTINGS IN TASK SQUARE."
C. D'Old.



"A VIEW OF SERAMPORE FROM THE PARK AT BARRACKPORE."
J. B. Fraser.

1781, O. C. 17th August, No. 11

TO G. G. AND C.

CALCUTTA :
7th August 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I take the liberty to request the favour of the Hon'ble Board to grant a letter of marque (for the Hon'ble Company's ship *Resolution* under my command) against the Dutch and Spaniards.

I have, etc.,
THOS. POYNTING.
AGREED, E. W.*

1. THE LOSS OF THE *BETSEY*

1781, PP. 757-761, O. C. 30th July, No. 4.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

*Governor-General and Council, Fort William.*CALCUTTA :
28th July 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Understanding that it is your intention to export the Hon'ble Company's Opium now on hand, I humbly beg leave to submit to your consideration a plan of a voyage to the Eastward and China, and, should it meet with your approbation, I beg leave to make a tender of my ship, the *Betsey* (sent to Bombay for the purpose of being sheathed with copper and expected here next month) to carry the opium and to recommend the present Commander of that ship, Captain Geddes, as a proper person to be entrusted with the navigation of the ship and the sale of the opium. I engage that the *Betsey* shall carry 22 guns, 6 pounders, and 100 men, 20 Europeans, if to be had besides the officers and 80 Lascars. I take the liberty to propose to your Hon'ble Board that the ship should first go to Rio and dispose of 700 chests of opium taking in the quantity of Tin, Pepper and Dollars specified in the plan now submitted, and should she not be able to dispose of that number of chests at Rio, or not be able to complete her cargo of Tin, Pepper and Dollars to proceed to Tringany, where she will no doubt be able to effect the whole, which done, to proceed to China with the remaining 700 chests and her cargo of Tin, Pepper and Dollars, all of which to be disposed of at Canton, and the net proceeds of the 1400 chests to be paid into the hands of the Super-Cargoes of the Hon'ble Company at that place. Should your Hon'ble Board be pleased to approve of the general outlines of the plan and to order the 1400 chests of opium to be delivered to me at the proper time, I will, if it should meet with your approbation, ship them in all next month on Board the *Betsey*, draw up the necessary instructions for the Captain to be submitted to your consideration, and in general take upon me, under your orders the management of the detail of the voyage, and upon the receipt of the opium execute whatever papers may be necessary for the due execution of the trust reposed in me.

If your Hon'ble Board should wish to adopt the same plan of exportation for 1500 chests of the opium which is expected in December next, I beg leave to offer you my services to take charge of it myself, and go with it on any ship that may be found fit for the purpose

* E. Wheeler. The only member of Council then at the Presidency.

in the month of January next on the same voyage as proposed for the *Betsy* by following her at the ports she may touch at, I shall be able to finish whatever may be left unsettled of her cargo, and, by proceeding to China after her, I shall be able to settle every account respecting both ships, see that the whole proceeds of both cargoes have been duly paid into the hands of the Super-Cargoes, and in short settle every part of the voyage to Canton in a manner that I hope you will give satisfaction to your Hon'ble Board.

I have the honor to be with great respect,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient and most humble Servant,
CUDBERT THORNHILL.

1781. PP. 1553-1556, O. C., 29th October, No. 14.

TO CAPTAIN ROBERT GEDDES.

SIR,

On the receipt of this with the accompanying Invoice and Bill of Lading of the Hon'ble Company's Opium, freighted on the ship *Betsy*, of which you are to go Commander, on a voyage to the Mallay Coast at China, you will repair on board and proceed as hereafter directed.

On your leaving the pilot, you are to proceed with all expedition first to the Port of Rhio, where you will endeavour to dispose of as much of the opium as you can to the best advantage (for Spanish Dollars in preference), also tin and pepper, or other such articles as will answer the China market; during your passage to Rhio, and all other ports, you are to avoid any intercourse with strange ships or vessels, and at all times to be on your guard against enemy's ship and privateers, as well as the natives on the Mallay Coast, by keeping your people alert, and your Guns and Small arms in proper order, and loaded to prevent being surprised, and on your leaving the ship to go ashore at any of the Mallay Ports, to give proper directions to your officers for their conduct during your absence, which must be as little as the nature of your business will admit of. As you will be at Rhio at a time when you will have no competitors, I think you have reason to expect a good price for the opium. You will remain at Rhio until my arrival in another ship which probably be about the latter end of January or at farthest in all the month of January, when you will receive orders for your further proceedings, but should, the other ship, by any unforeseen accident, not arrive, you are in that case to remain at Rhio until the latter end of May, when you will proceed to Tringany, and there to sell as much of the opium as you can on the same condition as above directed, at any of those ports, should you find it absolutely necessary to sell some part of the opium on credit, you may do so, by limiting the time for the payment of the money so as not to exceed the proper time for going to China; however, this must only be to the principal merchants.

On your arrival at China, you are to pay into the Hon'ble Company's Treasury there, what Dollars you may have procured on the Mallay Coast, also after the sale of your Cargo at China. You are likewise to pay the amount into the Hon'ble Company's Treasury, taking the Super-Cargoe's receipts in triplicate for all such sums as you shall pay them on account of the Hon'ble Company. Wishing your health and a successful voyage.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant
CUDBERT THORNHILL.*

* An article on C. Thornhill is being prepared for *Bengal: Past and Present*.



"THE ESPLANADE."
C. D'Orly.



"SUSPENSION BRIDGE AT ALFORD OVER TOLEY'S NULLAH."
C. D'Orly.

1781. O. C. 11th October, No. 10.

TO THE BOARD OF ORDNANCE

FORT WILLIAM
11th October 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

We enclose copy of a letter addressed to us by Mr. Cudbert Thornhill which we request you will order to be complied with provided the guns he applies for can be spared without inconvenience; but should the case be otherwise, we desire that you will order a sufficient number to be immediately cast at the Foundry for the use of his vessel.

We are,
[Unsigned draft by Governor-General and Council.]

1781. O. C. 29th October, No. 13.

CALCUTTA.
29th October 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

In consequence of your directions, I have received from the Committee of Revenue and shipped 1466 chests of Patna opium on board the *Betsy*, Captain Robert Geddes, bound to Canton; and, as that vessel is now ready to sail, I beg leave to submit to your Hon'ble Board, for your approbation, the instructions I have prepared for Captain Geddes and also the invoice of the opium together one bill of lading as a voucher that it has been shipped on account of the Hon'ble Company. Should you be pleased to approve of the instructions to Captain Geddes I request to be favoured with your commands respecting them as soon as may be convenient, as also your despatches for the super-cargoes at Canton, as I think it advisable to send away the *Betsy* immediately, that she may have time to perform her voyage in such a manner as to be able to take the utmost advantage of the markets at the places to which she is destined.

I have, etc.,
CUDBERT THORNHILL

1781. O. C. 12th November, No. 15.

CALCUTTA:
10th November 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I take the liberty of requesting the Board indulgence for leave to give security to the Military Storekeeper for the redelivery in good condition the stores, which has been ordered and issued for the defence of the ship *Betsy*, conveying the Hon'ble Company's opium to China, on the return of the said ship to Bengal. I presume to ask this indulgence in the same manner as the Board has been pleased to grant it to other ships occasionally employ'd in their service, and I shall esteem myself much obliged by their extending the same favor to me.*

I have, etc.,
CUDBERT THORNHILL

1781. O. C. 12th November, No. 14.

TO THE BOARD OF ORDNANCE.

FORT WILLIAM:

12th November 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

We enclose a copy of a letter addressed to us by Captain C. Thornhill, and desire that you will accordingly call upon him in the usual manner for the security he has to give for the redelivery of the Ordnance and stores, which has received from you for the use of the *Betsy* on the safe return of that ship.

We are,

(Unsigned draft of Governor-General and Council.)

1782. O. C. 26th January, No. 2.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I beg leave to acquaint your Hon'ble Board that I am about to take my departure in order to execute the commission with which you were pleased to entrust me of adjusting the sales of the opium shipped on the *Betsy* at Rio, Tringany, or any other of the Eastern ports she may have touched at, and finally to settle the whole amount of the concern by seeing that the produce of the *Betsy's* Cargo is punctually paid into the hands of the Super-Cargoes at Canton, in conformity to the plan submitted by me and approved of your Hon'ble Board, and as I propose leaving this place about the 1st or 2nd of next month, I am to request that you will be pleased to honour me with your final instructions as soon as may be convenient, and to give such powers and authority as may be necessary for conducting the business committed to my charge, in the execution of which, I take the liberty to assure your Hon'ble Board that every endeavour of mine shall be used to bring it to a successful conclusion.

As I understand that your Hon'ble Board have directed the *Yarmouth* to proceed to Rio for the purpose of taking in a part of the produce of opium shipped on board the *Betsy*, I request you will favor me with a copy of the instructions given to the Captain respecting this business, and as it will greatly facilitate the conducting of the concern, I humbly solicit that your Hon'ble Board will be pleased to direct the Captain of the *Yarmouth* to obey whatever order I may give him after his arrival at Rio for prosecuting the voyage from thence to China in such manner as I may find most advisable. And as the safe arrival of the *Yarmouth* is of material consequence to the general plan of the concern, I take the liberty to recommend to the Hon'ble Board to order the Captain to sail from Madras and through the Straights of Malacca in Company with the Europe ships bound to China, provided they leave the Coast before the 15th of June next, but the *Yarmouth* ought on no account to wait longer for them than that date, and if they should not sail by that time, the Captain should be directed to proceed singly to Rio with all expedition possible.

I beg leave to lay before you my bill for the freight, for the amount of which I request you will grant me bills on the Super-Cargoes at Canton payable one month after sight and at the same exchange as the certificates granted by your Hon'ble Board.

I have, etc.,

CUDBERT THORNHILL.

1782. P.P. 368-370 O. C. 5th February, No. 10.

TO MR. GUDBERT THORNHILL.

FORT WILLIAM;
5th February 1782.

SIR,

In conformity to the agreement which you have intered into with the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council 1466 Chests of opium having been laden for the Company's account on your vessel the *Betsy*, Captain Geddes, to be disposed of under your direction at the port of Rhio and such other places between this and China as may afford an advantageous market and the *Betsy* being safe arrived at Rhio, I am directed to furnish you with instructions, to proceed immediately to that place to adjust all the sales that may have been made by Captain Geddes and take such further measures for the disposal of the remainder of the opium, proceeding with or following the *Betsy* to all her destined ports, as you may judge expedient for bringing her voyage to a speedy and successful conclusion that the net proceeds thereof may be regularly and fully paid into the Company's Treasury at Canton.

The Hon'ble Board having thought it advisable to arm and equip the *Yarmouth* for war in order to afford protection and assistance to the *Betsy* in accomplishing her voyage to China I am to acquaint you that Captain J. D. Richardson who commands the *Yarmouth* has been ordered to deliver stores at Fort St. George and to sail thence by the 15th of June at furthest to join you at Rhio from which time he is placed under your directions and required to give every aid in his power to carry the goods which may be received in barter for the opium to China, where you will discharge him as soon as possible that he may return to Bengal.

As it is possible that you may require further tonnage for the transportation of the bulky commodities received in exchange for the opium, I enclose a general order to all the Commanders of the Company's Europe ships bound to China, requiring them to assist you in this service, if you shall demand it of them, which order you will make use of or not at your discretion. If these ships should sail from Madras before the 15th June Captain Richardson is ordered to keep company with them as far as Rhio. For your better information I enclose a copy of the sailing orders to Captain Richardson.

Enclosed you will also receive a Bill of Exchange in triplicate on the Super-cargoes at Canton payable one month after sight for the freight of the opium laden on the *Betsy* being at Rs. 50 per Chest on 1466 Chests at Rs. 73,300 or Span. Dollars at the exchange of Rs. 214.4 per 100 Dollars.

I am, Sir,

(Unsigned draft of Governor-General of Council.)

1782. P.P. 371-373 O. C. 5th February, No. 11.

TO CAPTAIN J. D. RICHARDSON,
Commander of the *Yarmouth*.FORT WILLIAM;
5th February 1782.

SIR,

You are hereby ordered, winds and weather permitting, to weigh your anchor and make the best of your way in Company with *Dorimouth*,* *Indus*, *Intelligence*, and such other country

* For the story of the wreck of the *Dartmouth* in 1782 see *Bengal: Past and Present* Vol. III. An article on the subject by Miss E. M. Drummond.

vessels as may depart at the same time to Fort St. George on the coast of Cosumondel, taking the said vessels under your convoy and affording them all the security and protection you are able from the attacks of an enemy, but you are to obey the orders of Captain Thomson of the *Dartmouth* as commander.

On your arrival at Fort St. George you will deliver the articles consigned to the President and Council there unto the proper officers and follow this directions of that Government for your further proceedings until the dispatch of the first fleet of Company's ships for China which you are positively commanded to sail in company with as far as Rhio in the Straights of Malacca, if they shall depart from Madras before the 15th of June next, but you are on no account to wait longer on the coast than that period and if the Company's ships are not then ready you are hereby ordered to sail directly to Rhio at which place you are to join the *Betsy*, Captain Geddes, and to take her under your convoy to China and such other places as she may touch at in her way thither. We command you to obey all instructions, which you shall receive from Captain Thornhill, after your arrival at Rhio both for the performance and for assisting with the *Faroukh* to carry any commodities which he may receive in exchange for the Company's opium on board the *Betsy* and thinks fit to transport by your ship and after you shall have received your dismissal from him at Canton we direct you to make the best of your way back to Bengal.

I am, etc.,

(Unsigned draft of Governor-General and Council.)

1782. O. C. 18th February, No. 6.

TO JAMES PETER AURIOL, ESQ.,
Secretary to the General Department.

FORT WILLIAM:
6th February 1782.

SIR,

Inclosed you will receive the agreement from the Hon'ble Company to Captain Thornhill for exporting the Hon'ble Company's Opium to China, and the counterpart thereof executed by Captain Thornhill which I request you will be pleased to lay before the Hon'ble Board.

I am, etc.,
GEO. WROUGHTON,
Atty. for the Hon'ble Company

1782. O. C. 26th August, No. 15.

TO THE CHIEF AND SUPERCARGOES AT CANTON.

FORT WILLIAM:
26th August 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

The *Fox* arrived here on the 15th inst. and brought us your letter of the 21st March last. Having received certain accounts that the *Betsy* with the Hon'ble Company's opium, which was on board, has been taken by the Enemy in the river at Rhio, we are bound by the agreement made with the subscribers to the loan of ten lacks of Current Rupees to repay the amount of their subscriptions to them in Bengal; but as we have received intelligence from the President and Council at Fort Marlborough that a considerable quantity

of pepper has been collected at that place and was daily accumulating to a much larger amount than they were in expectation of promising tonnage for to carry it to Europe, we hope that your disappointment in the loss of part of your supply from us by the capture of *Betty* may be in some measure prevented, and our promise given to the subscribers to that loan of bills on the Court of Directors be yet fulfilled by means of assets which we shall be able to supply you. We have, therefore, in pursuance of this intention, resolved to send the *Northumberland* to Fort Marlborough to receive a Cargo of pepper, which will be consigned to you on the Company's account. We recommend it to you to dispose of this consignment in such manner as you may desire most for the interest of our Employers, and to appropriate the proceeds to the provision of their investment for the ensuing year.

We enclose a copy of the advertisement which we have issued to the persons possessed of our certificates for the advances received from them on the *Betty's* Cargo, and shall transmit you by the earliest opportunity a list of such as still prefer obtaining bills from you rather than the repayment of their money in Bengal, and we desire that you will be pleased to grant them bills accordingly upon Hon'ble Court of Directors at the current exchange equal to the first supplies of any kind which you shall receive from us for the principal amount of their loans together with such interest as may accrue thereupon at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum from the 1st day of January 1783, in the terms of the publication.

A proposition having been delivered by Capt. Ros to the Governor-General respecting the future destinations of his ship, we enclose a copy of it, and leave the subject entirely to your determination, but as we observe by the tenor of your letter of the 14th Novr. last that your usual resources were become more precarious, and that your means providing cargoes for all the ships consigned to you from Europe must therefore be uncertain, we recommend it to you to let out any other ships which you may not be able to lade in like manner, and if you stipulate for their coming to Bengal at the proper season for dispatch, we shall be able to furnish them with cargoes to England.

Sundry articles consigned by you to the Presidency of Fort Marlborough having been brought here by the *Rumbold*, we caused them to be received, and they are now forwarded to that Presidency by the *Northumberland* with a copy of the list which was received here.

We are, etc.,

(Unsigned draft of Governor-General and Council.)

1783. O. C. 3rd March, No. 2*

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

HON'BLE SIR,

Some days after the departure of Capt. Thomas Forrest from this port, I arrived from Oedah found here deputies from Rajah Hadgee King of Rhio to Capt. Forrest with full powers to conclude a treaty offensive and defensive with the English. In his absence they applied to me for advice how they ought to proceed . . . and in confidence informed me that Rajah Hadgee had concluded a treaty with the King of that district of the Celibes called Gua, that he was endeavouring to detach from his alliance with the Dutch the King of the district called Beny which surrounds Macasser, and had hopes, which the appearance of the English would greatly facilitate, that the Sultans of Mattarrem and Bellumbong in Java with Palinbang and Banjar were all in waiting; and as the Wadjew Government were always maintaining a pyratcal war, they had the whole Issd. Celibes and greatest part of Java Malacca was his Concern and he required for said attempt but little assistance.

* MS. much defaced.

They inform me as news, that they are not certainly informed that the Sultans of the Molacca Islands have attacked the Dutch under the Sultan of Lidere, that by two prow from Mandar they hear that the people of Ceram have surprised and taken the fort of Amboyna that had brought 100 *pase* of cloves to Bally of which 32 *pase* have come to Rhio that the Dutch have had no vessel from Europe since the Beginning of the war—that Iron is 33—one instance of their distress and if we take the usual durements of life among Europeans in Batavia they can have a very few Europeans remaining which with more certainly we may conclude from the following circumstances, *viz.*, the store ships to Malacca had only to Europeans officers included, the people of Bally have taken, plundered and burnt one of their ships fitted for war—and it is reported that the Natives on Board two ships laying in Batavia Roads had murdered the Dutch and sailed for Bencoolen, that there was only 5 ships in Batavia Roads in Sept. last—That from interior information he is assured, invalids and civilians inclusive, there is not above 100 Europeans in Malacca and of them the Mercantile are in the English interest that their 600 new Raised Malays he considers as his own tho' paid by the Dutch and the Chinese he knows won't fight . . . This contains the substance of their information. I advised them, as they had missed Capt. Forrest, to send an ambassador to Bengal, to conclude the treaty there and personally solicit assistance such as the English could spare or the service demand in mean time to leave no stone unturned to consolidate all the Javans all the Burges, and his Western confederates to be ready to attack at once, which, by distracting the attention of the Dutch, would facilitate their schemes.

To point out the difference twixt the Independent Sovereigns connected only with English traders, and the puppets to which the Dutch leaves the name of Kings, to stimulate their avarice by a comparison of the prices which they now receive, which these the English daily give to give the direct lye to the assertion of the Dutch that the English Company have no Dollars and are unequal to the purchase of the whole of their produce As you know that 40,000 parah [?] tin and Pepper have been carried from Rhio by traders who they dignify with the Name of Pyrales (pirates?) in one year to show them, as the Dutch are now incapable to fulfill their Contracts, these Contracts virtually cease to be in force, and from the failure on the part of the Dutch, the Rajahs are constant with Justice, at liberty to renew them or not,—that should they incline as independent sovereigns to give a preference to the English. I could venture to assure them that the English would willingly accept these Contracts and give in much more equitable terms, than they at present had and would not only take their yearly produce after the War. But likewise such surplus as might remain in their hands at the end of this present war that in their connections with the English I could assure them from authority that they would not change their tyrants, but would find the protection of a father they giving an equivalent in the Exactness of fulfilling their contracts as the basis of the separte trade proposed to be Established they well knowing that in all such Connections the advantages must be Reciprocal, otherwise they will not be lasting they said the truth of what I advanced was notoriously known to all and accordingly would appear should even a small force come from the English, and even without force in the present weak state of the Dutch they were sufficiently strong to relieve themselves, could they only be assured of the protection of the English when the present war ceases, they returned to Rhio in a few days and I have not yet learnt wether they have, or mean to, send a man to Bengall.

Should these people apply and our means enable us to assist them, whenever commands must bring with him a stock of patience to bear with the tedious consultation and their *outré* modes of executing their Resolves, and must expect very little assistance from them in the offensive operations of the war they having little courage But their numbers, their

knowledge of the scenes of action, their many and quick sailing prows, their actual address in a desultory war, the plenty which nature has given them, and their prompt obedience to their Rajahs; would greatly facilitate any Offensive plan and would procure quick Intelligence, easy Conveyance, and certain supplies of Provisions

Among the people who propose to engage in this Business, there are two motives for action tending to the same end. The people immediately under the Dutch are actuated by a spirit of Revenge, a Remembrance of recent injury, and the hopes of an enlarged trade, and delivery from oppression. Their endeavours are therefore to be depended on as both their own passions and the order of their Rajahs coincide The people under Rajah Hadjee who are only under the Dutch when at sea and who frequently suffered from their Guarda Costas have by these depredations and the memory of the Malacca War a strong dislike to the Dutch and from the liberal connections and trade of the English a predilection in their favour For their King he has engaged his pride and honour in a fruitless demand of the restitution of the *Batavia* Captain Geddes, in which negotiation the Dutch have treated him with great haughtiness and some slights. But an attempt to introduce 600 Buzes into Malacca and a discovery of the some improper connections he was forming in Malacca prevented his attempt for the Prisoners and occasioned a mutual distrust, so that he will find it difficult to regain his situation, and I have reason to think that he would not declare against the Dutch were he assured of the English Protection.

These two divisions likewise stand in a different to the English in their own opinion tho' no real distinction subsists, those under the Dutch whatever oppressions they may sustain have only to lament, while Rhin, Salingore and Trangono are considered by the Eastern people and themselves as belonging to the English and this only from their ignorance that they have not endeavoured to place themselves in a nearer Relation Of course any accident happening them would be considered as a slur on the English and some *détour* to the Dutch.

On the whole 'tis my opinion that the appearance of any force would put the Dutch in a general consternation, and all the natives in motion. But with 2 ships of the Line and 40 Gun ships, one frigate, and one vessel of 20 Guns the Dutch have nothing to make even an attempt to molest imprudent; 'Tis true they have 4 ships filled with from 40 to 50 Guns and 18 pdrs. on their lower decks. But they are not 73 manned and have no officers and they have no force (Batavia excepted) able to meet 500 Seapoyas, 100 Europeans, artillery included, in the field; . . . from which I conclude the force specyfyd equal to the reduction of every settlement the Dutch have, Batavia excepted. . . . The transports should be armed for the sake of appearance, and our first attempt on Malacca. . . . But should our distressing situation on the coast disable us from sending any force which could act openly, yet a couple of good sailing frigates to cut off the Malacca supplies and, of course, the French, from thence to burn or sink all their Guarda Costa which would lose the hands of the natives, make communications safe and easy, throw trade open and give them a taste of its innumerable with sundry other advantages \$ a Million Dutch properly went to 5 China in Junks last year, if any letters of Marque are granted they ought to be more confined than the *Death and Glory* . . . as if we mean to use the natives as friends, to attack and seize their property on whatever pretext is surely impolite.

The French fleet in November at Acheen in a miserable plight 10 ships of the Line and 4 smaller vessels they have in general lost and their compliments which are poor supplied with half starved Relaunches they had no masts nor provisions

who was neither paid wages nor prize money since he came to the command We

are sent to the Mauritius in irons for misbehaviour in the last action with Admiral Hughes and in general they have no Officers.

Jany. 20th have just heard that the Dutch fleet consisting of two ships and one Grab Kible from Batavia . . . with the Malacca store ship, one snow, 2 sloops Guarda Costas and 2 Java snows as transports are gone to Rhio.

1785 O. C. 3rd March, No 3.*

Duplicate.

CUDBERT THORNHILL, ESQ.

RHIO:

15th March 1782.

SIR,

In my
I acquainted you, that we had got the ship *Betsy*, into the river of Rhio, where I imagined she was very safe from any attempts of an Enemy (this being a neutral port). But I am truly sorry to acquaint you now that it has prov'd otherwise, Owing entirely to the treacherous behaviour of the Mallays towards us.

On the morning of the first of March, four vessels made their appearance in the Offing and came into the roads the same day; they prov'd to be a Dutch ship of forty guns, a French ship of guns, and Dutch Snow and Sloop, arm'd vessels of ten guns each. On the morning of the second I found the French ship was warping into the river, I immediately mov'd the *Betsy* further up close to the Malay Fort (where they have a Boom across the river), and sent to the King repeatedly, for leave to pass and carry the ship up to town, But he put us off from time to time with evasive answers, and at last told us positively we could not pass: this is as what I never knew refused to an English ship before; I had also proposed to Raja Ally, to land a quantity of the opium into his godowns to lighten the ship, in order to carry her up the river with more ease, this he had consented to and promised to send his prows for it in the night, but this the King thought proper likewise to prevent. By this time, being the afternoon of the second, the French ship had got into the river, and almost within gunshot of us, and finding that the Snow and Sloop also were coming in, I went ashore myself to the King, who was at his Fort, and acquainted him of this circumstance he that as he would not let us pass the Boom, I intended to go along side of the French ship and Engage her (this we could easily have done being then just high water), that I thought we could extricate ourselves from one, which we could not expect to do from all the three. His answer was that I must by no means do so, for if I did, he would look upon me as the aggressor in his port and turn his guns upon me accordingly; and at the same time assur'd me, he would do the same by the French and Dutch. this indeed both him and many of the Principal people of the place had told me before, and that they would by no means suffer the ship to be taken in their Port. All this I thought appeared very reasonable, had they only been as good as their words. They had by this time got all their Guns in the Fort loaded and ready and not less than fifteen hundred Prows with Great guns each. All these preparations and assurances led me to believe that they were in Earnest no remedy left but to moor the ship to the best advantage, where she was (which I did across the river within a stone's throw of their Fort)

* MS. much defaced.

and trust to their promised assistance, which I think they had in their power to give us very effectually.

In this situation we continued untill the morning of the fourth, by which time the ship, Snow, and Sloop were moor'd in a line abreast of us; within Gunshot (I mean their Gunshot, the French ship's being nine and twelve pounders, and the Snow and Sloop was supplied with two Eighteen Pounders each, and men also from the Dutch ship which continued in the Roads). They being thus prepared, the French ship began to fire, which we immediately returned and continued four or five broad sides but finding that none of our shot reached them, being mostly four pounders whilst theirs, either struck our ship or went over her (tho' they luckily did not kill any of our people) and finding that the Mallays did not offer to fire a gun or give us the * * * assistance as they had promised, I ordered our firing to cease (its being of no use at the distance they had chose to Engage us) and called the Officers, etc., upon Deck and asked their opinion, which coincided with my own, and was that we had it not in our power to injure the Enemy. The ship was moor'd with four anchors down, and could not be mov'd in the face of their fire, indeed had there been no Enemy, it would have been * * * the river so narrow, that two of our anchors were high and dry in the Mud, one on each side the River. We thought it therefore expedient to strike our Colours to save the lives of the people many of which must have been lost had we persisted, without a probability of the loss of a man on their side, and it was evident that we must give up the ship at last to so superior a force, and it would have been but a poor consolation after throwing away the lives of a number of people to no purpose, to have had the vanity of saying we fought them so * * * In short to have held out longer at such a disadvantage, I presume by the thinking part of mankind, would have been deem'd next to madness: The behaviour of the Officers, Europeans, and people in general was such, that I have great reason to believe (had there been a prospect, even a very distant one of success) would have done their duty to the very last before they would have given her up; All these circumstances consider'd the superior force against us, and the perfidious behaviour of the Mallays towards us, etc., will I hope, induce my Hon'ble Employers and Yourself not to censure my conduct for giving up the ship, and you may rest assur'd it would not have been the case had there been a probability of saving her:—And if I may presume to give my opinion with due submission to their and your judgment * * * Hon'ble Company

may wish * * * the greatest propriety demand restitution of the Port of Rhio for all the damages sustain'd by the loss of the Ship *Betty* and Cargo, for they undoubtedly had it in their power to have sav'd her from the following circumstances, which we have learnt since the capture. In the first place had we been permitted to pass the Boom, they would not have attempted to follow us, nor attack us even where * *

* * * had the King only said * * *

they should. We find there was conference carried on betwixt them from the time of their first arrival, and that there was a promise made to the King of a certain share of the prize, for his Neutrality if not assistance. I have likewise procured a Copy of the letter sent to the King, signed by the French and Dutch Captains after the taking the ship wherein they return him thanks in the name of the Dutch Company, for * *

the ship in his port. Assuring him that they would not have attempted to do it without, and that the Dutch Company will reward him accordingly. Also one of my Officers that went on the French ship to endeavour to procure in some of our linen, etc., in discoursing with the second mate of her, asked him their reason for being so long in the river before they

attacked us, His * * * in them leave before, and that he had then sent to acquaint them that he was now ready, and that the English ship could not now escape, so that they might attack her. From this I really believe all his preparation, was to assist them (not us) had we been likely to extricate ourselves.

Having sold three hundred chests of the Hon'ble Company's opium, to the Mallays here, which is not yet paid * * * * *

up the ship, to leave her with as many of the people as our boats would carry and trust ourselves in the hands of the Mallays all the risque of our lives in order to save the Hon'ble Company's property which was still in their hands; and should no English ship arrive in time, I propose endeavouring either to sell the produce to; or freight it on, some of the Portuguese ships * * * * *

endeavour to get it out of their hands as soon as possible in the best manner I can.

I do assure you, sir, this misfortune has given me infinite concern for I had the prospect of making a very great voyage for the Hon'ble Co. Having sold and delivered three hundred Chests at a very great Price and agreed for two hundred more; and I am certain could have sold not less than One thousand Chests at the——alone, and have been paid for the whole in due time for China this season; it is needless for me to say more to you on this subject until I have the pleasure of seeing you: from what I have already said you will readily conceive the advantages that must have accrued to the Hon'ble Company had we succeeded as we had reason to expect.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,
ROBERT GEDDES

P. S. Sold and delivered 100 Chest at 390

Ditto 200 do. 350

had agreed for more 200 more do. 350 do. but not delivered.

R. G.

1783. O. C. 3rd July, No. 48.

CALCUTTA:

26th May 1783.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

Mr. Evans having demanded payment on account of the Company for the value of the 6 six-pounders, etc., lost in the ship *Betsy* at Rhio, I take the liberty of stating my public application for the grant of an additional number of cannon from the arsenal and which were made in consequence of the very valuable cargo that was to be taken on board my ship.

In October 1781, my first application was made in the following terms, *viz.*, "but as I shall have so valuable a cargo as the opium of the Company's freight for China I humbly hope the Hon'ble Board will excuse my soliciting on that account the grant of 2 twelve-pounders and 10 six-pounders for the defence of the said vessel." In consequence 6 six-pounders were ordered to be delivered in November following. Being informed that it was now necessary for me to give security for the redelivery of the guns on the return of the ship, I made a second application to the Board in the following terms, *viz.*, "I take the liberty of requesting the Board's indulgence for leave to give security to the Military Store-keeper for the redelivery in good condition the stores which has been ordered to be issued for the defence of the ship

Betsy carrying the Hon'ble Company's opium to China on the return of the said ship to Bengal.²

As my sole intention in applying for an additional number of guns was to give more security to the Company's valuable cargo laden on board the *Betsy*, and which I thought it my duty to point out, therefore I flatter myself that the accidental loss of the said ship, by which I suffer so much, will not render me liable to make good to the Company the value of the Ordnance, which was expressly put on board for that purpose. My private application to Mr. Wheeler will not, I trust, bear any other candid or obvious construction, which induces me to hope that the Hon'ble Board will do me the favour to dispence with requiring me to make good the loss that the Company have sustained in Ordnance stores by the Captain of the *Betsy*, and which will confer a great obligation on

Etc., etc.,
CUDBERT THORNHILL

4 THE FATE OF THE *YARMOUTH* AND THE *INDUS*.

1782. O. C. 18th January, No. 9.

TO FORT ST. GEORGE.

FORT WILLIAM:
28th January 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

We now dispatch the *Yarmouth* with military stores and provisions for your Presidency agreeable to the enclosed invoices and bills of lading.

Having armed this ship and placed her on a war establishment for the purpose of conveying the *Betsy*, which has been laden with opium and to be disposed of in the Straights of Malacca the proceeds whereof are to be transmitted to China, we take this opportunity of placing several vessels bound to Fort St. George under her protection, have ordered Captain Richardson, who commands her, to sail in company with the *Dartmouth*, the *Indus*, and *Intelligence*. It is our intention that the *Yarmouth*, after having delivered such articles as have been laden on board for your Presidency, shall proceed to join the *Betsy*, which carries a cargo of opium to be disposed of in the Straights under the direction of Mr. Cudbert Thornhill for the—of the China investment, at Rhio or such other port as she may have arrived at on the course of her voyage, but as the *Yarmouth's* sailing in company with the Company's Europe ships bound to China may be attended with mutual security to both, we request that you will detain her for that purpose, if there is any prospect of its taking place, until the 15th of June next, but not later; and as Mr. Thornhill will probably find occasion for tonnage to transport the tin and other bulky articles which may be received in barter for the opium laden on the *Betsy*, we recommend that each of the Commanders of the Company's ships on that destination may be ordered to afford him what assistance they can in case they shall meet with Captain Thornhill and he requires it of them.

We are, etc.,

(Draft from Governor-General and Council.)

1783. O. C. 3rd July, No. 51.

CALCUTTA:
10th December 1782

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, late Chief Officer and Purser of the Hon'ble Company's ship *Yarmouth*, beg leave to represent our situation to your Hon'ble Board.

On the 15th June last we were captured by the *La Fine*, a French frigate of 40 guns. We were landed at Cuddalore and soon after delivered over to Hyder. There we experienced such treatment as it is almost impossible for an European to bear. We were sometime after among the few that were permitted on account of our health, to return to the French Garrison. There we remained almost three months, without the smallest allowance either in money or provisions. On the approach of our army to Cuddalore, the few English prisoners that then remained there were sent to Trankabar (*sic*) to remain on parole. There we found ourselves equally distressed, having neither money nor friends, and self-preservation compelled us to leave that place.

As besides the loss of everything we had, we have experienced several hardships in the Service of the Hon'ble Company, we humbly hope your Hon'ble Board will be pleased to take our case into consideration, and order the wages due to us since the first of last to be paid.

With the, etc.,
ROBT. BURNS.
JAMES SCOTT.

1784. O. C. 27th January, No. 62.

TO WILLIAM BRUERE, ESQ.,
Secretary to the Hon'ble Governor-General.

CALCUTTA :
28th October 1784.

SIR,

I shall esteem it a very singular favor, if you could be pleased to represent to the Hon'ble Governor-General and Supreme Council the following circumstances. I had the honor of addressing the Hon'ble Board from Cuddalore informing them of the unfortunate capture of the ship *Yarmouth*.

After having thro' the indulgence of the Governor, Monsr. De Boistel, been exempted from the disagreeable fate (together with my officers) of being delivered over to Hyder, contrary to the positive orders of Admr. Suffrain (*sic*), he was still pleased to extend his friendly offices towards me, for after my continuing some months in Cuddalore, and having no allowance whatever from the French, and being really much distressed, he agreed privately to permit me to return to Madras, on my giving my *parole d'honneur* not to serve again during the present war, at the same time requiring that I would assign as a reason for my leaving Cuddalore, the dread of my being given up to Hyder.

As I considered myself bound by every sentiment of honor not to divulge this circumstance whilst the war continuing, it prevented my application to the Hon'ble Board, but as the peace now liberates me from my promise, I flatter myself the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council will be pleased to grant me, as they have to the other gentlemen who were unfortunately captured, my pay and allowances for the ship *Yarmouth*.

I have, etc.,
J. D. RICHARDSON,
Late Commander of the Yarmouth.

1784. O. C. 27th January, No. 63.

CALCUTTA:
18th November 1783.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

Since my permission to leave Cuddalore on my parole of honor, a serious (*sic*) of misfortunes detained me from Bengal, and of consequence deprived me of an opportunity of addressing your Hon'ble Board. Such as four months' sickness at Madras without intermission, and from distress of weather the ship *Briton*, on which I took my passage for this place, sprung a leak and with the utmost difficulty got into Bombay, where I waited a long time before an opportunity offer'd for my departure, when I was obliged to pay six hundred rupees for my passage; as I saw no prospects of any other conveyance.

I trust these circumstances will induce your Hon'ble Board to confer the like indulgence on me you have hitherto done those Gentlemen that have been captured in the service.

With the, etc.,
LANCLOT HARDY STORV,
Late 3rd Officer of the *Yarmouth*.

1784. O. C. 27th January, No. 64.

CALCUTTA:
20th July 1783.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS

I had the misfortune to be taken in the Hon'ble Company's schooner *Indus*, on the 24th July last, by the *Bellona* and *Fin* frigates, on my way from Madras to the Southward, with Colonel Horne, when I had orders from Sir Eyre Coote to land at Negapatam. On leaving Madras the 14th June, I stood to the Southward as far as latitude 325°, then made my westing, and stood for Ceyloun (*sic*), and, finding the current strong to the Eastward I hawl'd close up to the Westward, and in the night fell in with the land about Porto Novo, where I saw five ships getting under sail. So I tack'd down and stood to the Eastward until I lost sight of them, then bore away to the Northward, and soon hawl'd in for the land, which I made about Allampana; thence hawl'd along shore as far as Pondicherry, when I stood off 10 or 11 leagues to the Eastward, and again along-shore course untill day-break on the 24, when we saw the two frigates in chase; so we made all the sail we possibly could and ran to the Eastward, throwing rice overboard, starting our water, and at last we cut away our anchors from the bows on finding that they near'd us: then we got the treasure on deck ready to heave overboard; but considering that some of the crew might inform of our doing so, I propose to Colonel Horne our breaking the Chest open and endeavouring to save it as private property, which he approved of. So the chest was got into the cabin, where he broke it open, and told me the pagodas were put amongst his linen (*sic*). He gave two bags of silver rupees, 2,000 in each, to one of my servants; and at ½ past 8 the *Bellona* came up, fired over us, and sent her boats on board which carried Colonel Horne to the *Fin* and myself to the *Bellona*, where I was kept untill the 19th October, when I was sent on shore at Trankabar on my parole, and remained untill the 1st of June, when Mr. Bussi gave me a pass-port for Bengail.

My subsistence while at Trankabar expended 2,000 rupees of the money saved, as I had a none either from the English or French.

On my arrival at Madras, I waited on Lord Macartney and related these circumstances, which, at his request, I wrote to the Government of Madras on the 6th June, but received no answer on the 19th, when I sailed for this place.

I am humbly hope that, in consideration of the great loss and hardships, which I have sustained by the capture of the vessel, your Hon'ble Board will be pleased to allow my pay as usual, deducting the 4,000 rupees which I saved for the Hon'ble Company.

I am, etc.,

JOHN JONES

(*Capt.*)

1784. O. C. 2nd July, No. 19.

CALCUTTA:

12th June 1784.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN.

I take the liberty to represent to your Hon'ble Board that in the beginning of the month of April 1783, I was entered on board the Hon'ble Company's ship *Farmouth*, Capt. Richardson commanding, in the nominal capacity of a midshipman with a promise of Rs. 90 per month, the Commander at the same time giving me to understand that as such officers were not on the ship's establishment I could only be rated as a seaman, and the difference of pay made good from his own private purse. In that situation I acted until the ship was unfortunately taken, when with many others I was delivered over as a prisoner to Hyder Ally. The suffering of those who fell into his hands are well known. On my return to Madras I found the Gentlemen on whom I had some dependence gone to Europe, and from that I was induced to come round here to solicit your Hon'ble Board for some small consideration for what I have suffered in consequence of being in your service. I presume not to mention any particular sum: the smallest will be very acceptable and most thankfully received by one who is without either money or friends in this part of the world. Should any doubt remain with your Hon'ble Board that I was on board the *Farmouth* and acting in the station before mentioned when that ship was taken, I can full satisfy you by the attestation of Mr. James Wilson, who was second officer of that ship and my fellow prisoner with Hyder Ally.

I have, etc.,

ANDREW ELLIOT.

My address is at Mr. James Scott's.

5. THE CAPTURE OF THE *SPEEDWELL*.

1782. P.P. 1698-1782. O. C. 12th July, A.

On the first day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, William Peters, late Commander of a Certain Snow or Vessel called the *Speedwell*, of the Burthen of one hundred tons or thereabouts, appeared before me, Charles Sealy, Notary Publick, dwelling and practicing at Calcutta at Fort William in Bengal, by lawful authority admitted and sworn and declared that, on or about the first day of August last past, he the said William Peters sailed with the said Snow or Vessel from Malacca bound to Saflagure, for the purpose of procuring tin for the returning cargo of the said Snow or Vessel. That, on or about the fourth day of the same month of August, he arrived with the said Snow or



COMMODORE SIR JOHN HAYES, 57.

Portrait Painted by John 1790, R.A.

Vessel at Salangore aforesaid, but not being able to procure tin there, he sailed from thence on the same day in order to proceed to Quedda, a port on the Malay Coast. That, on or about the seventh day of the same month of August, as the said Snow or Vessel was standing into Quedda roads, she was captured and taken possession of together with her cargoe, by a French Privateer, and that at the time of such capture there was on board of the said Snow or Vessel, the several articles hereinafter mentioned, that is to say, seven thousand five hundred Spanish Dollars, three cattles of gold dust, seventeen chests of Patna opium, and twenty baskets of China Tobacco. That he, the said William Peters, was put on shore, by order of the Captain of the said French Privateer, at Quedda aforesaid, where he found lying in the river of that port the *Nymph* Ketch commanded by Thomas Thomson, with whom he proceeded to Calcutta aforesaid, where he arrived yesterday, the thirteenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty one, and the said William Peters further declared that at the time of the capture aforesaid the said Snow or Vessel and the cargoe thereon laden were the joint property of his and the said William Peters and Cudbert Thornhill of Calcutta, aforesaid merchant, and to the end that the said declaration of the said William Peters may have its full and due effect, I, the said Notary, have made this publick instrument thereof at his request.

(Seal.)

CHAR. SEALY,
Notary Publick.

In faith and testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal at Calcutta aforesaid this first day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

WILLIAM PETERS the person making the declaration hereunto annexed, maketh oath and saith that the contents of the said declaration are true.

W. PETERS.

Sworn, this 10th
day of October
1781 before me.

J. HYDE.

1782. P.P. 1702-1703. O. C. 12th July. C.

Extract of a letter from Mr. John O'Donnell, to the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council, dated near Cape Richado 14th January 1782.

A few months since the Snow *Speedwell* from Bengal, commanded by Captain Peters arrived in sight of Quedda Roads and a French Privateer which then lay at anchor there, as soon as the *Speedwell* came within Random Shot, the Privateer aliped her cable and gave chase, but the former running aground struck her colors, and was accordingly taken possession of by the French, who carried her and her cargo to Salangore where they bartered opium for tin and other merchandize. After they had finished, they returned with the prize and her produce to Quedda, where the Captain, some of the principal officers and a number of their men were seized on their going ashore, and imprisoned by order of the King, until they should restore the Snow *Speedwell* and her cargo, or an equivalent to it, which they had the audacity to take upon his shore, and as she was going into, and in sight of his harbour.

The French had no choice, but were obliged to comply, and the King has now in his possession the Snow and her cargo in order to deliver them up to the English in the con-

tingent that the French had no legal right consistent with the Laws of Nations to commit such an act of hostility, when the vessel was on ground on his Coast. I have taken the liberty to trouble your Hon'ble Board with the particulars of this circumstance as I have reason to think it concerns the merchants and Public Insurance Society of Calcutta.

1783. P.P. 1689-1691. O. C. 12th July, No. 22.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC., MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THESE PROVINCES.

The humble petition of WILLIAM PETERS, late Commander of the vessel *Speedwell* and party-owner thereof as well in his own name as in that of the other concerned.

HUMBLY SHEWETH:—

That the said vessel being on her voyage from Malacca to Salangore and from thence to Quedda as particularly sett forth in the Narrative or Protest hereunto annexed, she was unlawfully, against the law of Nations, captured and taken by a French Privateer, when laying in the roads. The Captain and Officers going afterwards on shore were by order of the King of Quedda seized and imprisoned for this act of hostility, contrary to the rights and privileges of the said King of Quedda, the said *Snow Speedwell* being when taken riding in his roads and under his protection, wherefore the said King of Quedda did detain the said French Captain and Officers till they had restored the said *Snow Speedwell* and her cargo which they did, and the said King of Quedda took the whole in his custody until the lawful owners or proprietors should appear and prove their property therein to whom it would be restored as fully appears by the annexed papers. Your Petitioner, therefore, humbly requests the Hon'ble Council will be pleased to grant him a letter or voucher to the King of Quedda to request he would deliver up to the Petitioner the said *Snow Speedwell* and cargo as being formerly his own property jointly with the others he represents, certifying his right thereunto, in the manner and form, as may seem most proper to the Hon'ble Council, that he may be enabled to recover his property now in the hands of the King of Quedda who from his attachment to the English holds ready to be delivered to the true owners thereof, and further that the said owners have duly authorised and impowered the said William Peters in their behalf to solicit and recover of his Majesty the King of Quedda their property paying such charges as may have been incurred. Your Petitioner requesting thereunto the Hon'ble Council's favourable assistance and support and your Petitioner will ever pray.

(Unsigned.)

1783. O. C. 12th July, No. 23.

TO THE KING OF QUEDDA.

From the long term of friendly intercourse, which has subsisted between your subjects and those of the British Nation, and from the kind and hospitable reception and accommodation which English ships have ever experienced when they have had occasion to touch at your Port, I conceived the strongest impression of your good will and attachment to the English Government, but I have lately heard an instance of your zeal of which I take a singular pleasure writing as being the occasion of this letter.

It has been represented to me that an English vessel called the *Speedwell*, commanded by Captain William Peters, was captured by a French Privateer, while standing into the roads

of Quedda on the 7th day of August, 1781, and that the Captain and Officers of the said Privateers, going afterwards on shore, were seized and imprisoned by your order for this act of violence committed within your jurisdiction, until restitution should be made of the vessel and her cargo, that they did accordingly give them to your officers, and, the Commander of the captured vessel, having at that time left your Port, you ordered her to be reserved for the proper owners.

After expressing my sincere acknowledgments for the proof of your amity and justice, I beg leave to introduce to you Captain William Peters, late Commander and part-owner of the vessel which was taken, sollicitous of proceeding to pay his respects to you, and of asserting his claim to the property which you have been pleased to rescue from the hands of our enemies, by such proofs as he hopes will induce you to order the delivery of it to him.

(Unsigned draft of letter by Warren Hastings.)

6. THE LOSS OF THE "HORNETT."

1784. O. C. 2nd July, No. 23.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC.,
SUPREME COUNCIL, CALCUTTA.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I do not forward this account avowedly to beg redress, tho' that I leave to your justice, I having, as you see, been obliged to compromise for the injuries received by a payment of Spanish Dollars 2000 will I choose, rather than go to a Jail at Batavia where in all probability I should have ended my existence before even the most spirited exertions would have operated for my deliverance.

But I send this to show the absolute necessity which the English are under of having a port on the East side of the Bay of Bengal. As a Lee port in case of accidents in the Bay during the S. W. Monsoon, (Pegu our present resource from the extortions of Government being nearly equal to a total loss), as a place where His Majesty's fleet in time of war may be repaired and victualled—to preserve to the petty independant Malay Kings a liberty of navigation to protect your traders, I mention not the Cargoes for China which may be collected.

I have, in former occasions, mentioned the Island of Penang as the most proper to attain these ends and this my intimate knowledge of the Coast from the Island Jun Salong to Malacca, and the experience of 12 years in the winds and weather prevalent, gives me authority to pronounce. These various advantages might easily be pointed out, but as a survey will necessarily precede a settlement, at present it would be superfluous to be particular. It's general advantages are its Central situation, easy and safe access and recess in all seasons, it's contiguity to a fertile and plentiful Country, and itself being in an equable climate healthy and fertile—the certainty with which a ship on securing this harbour has of reaching Madras in 8 or 9 days, etc. . . . The tide rises and falls 11 P-feet . . . and the river Prai falls into the east side of the harbour having 17ft on its Bar . . . This Island is likewise rich in tin mines.

But with all these advantages it ought to be settled more as a harbour of refreshment and resettlement than as a port of extensive trade, that is to say the one ought to be the primary, the other only a secondary consideration.

Regarding a port of trade, I refer you to some loose thoughts on the critical situation of our trade to the straits and ports to the eastward forwarded to Mr. W. M. Paxton, January

'84, which he will communicate on request. Nothing is to be added thereto, unless that Rhio Jalingore contrary to expectation have defeated the attempts of the Dutch, and are now surrounding Malacca. So that the settlement of any place near Rhio is thereby facilitated . . . hoping from the hurry in which this is wrote you would forgive every inaccuracy.

I remain,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most and obedient Servant,

JAS. SCOTT.

April 10th, 1784.

A just and true account of the transactions previous to and consequent to the capture of the sloop *Hornet*, James Scott, master. At the end of April, or beginning of May, I purchased of Capt'n : Joo : McLary a long boat cutter, rigged barthern 8 Tons, which being considered as a boat was passed in account current, and no separate Bill of sale given, and being too small to cross the Bay she could get no passport during the war nor port clearance since the peace. With this Boat I pursued my mercantile concerns during the war in the straits of Malacca, and escaped some attempts of the Dutch to take me. In Decr: '83 I went in this Boat to Malacca where I was given to understand, unless I had a passport, I could not remain in the roads, sailed again immediately.

In the month of March following, being off Malacca in my voyage from Rhio, saw a sloop standing out of the roads with Dutch Colours, judging she weighed to speak to us, tacked and stood towards her, when near she fired a shot to windward: imputed this to ignorance, and sent our boat on board at his requisition, when he immediately confined the people and kept the boat, then told me had the Governor of Malacca's orders to carry every vessell he saw into Malacca Roads. I went with him, but running a little ahead towards Malacca he fired one of his Bow Chaces, the Ball went thro' the rigging short'nd rigging short'nd sail.

At 8 A.M. Capt'n : Abo, the Shawbander and another gentlemen went on board the sloop with an armed force and placed a guard of two men with drawn cutlasses over my mate James Coddey; they then sent me from the Dutch ship, where I had slept. On my coming on board the sloop I observed the guard with armed cutlasses placed over my mate, and the sloop full of armed men with fixed bayonnetts . . . Captain Abo told me he came to carry away that European, meaning the Mate, I answered if he did he must do it by force. The Shawbander told me he came to examine my people and papers. I answered I had no papers: my people were 10 or 11 which he might examine. . . . And seeing myself surrounded by armed men, in order to determine the extent of the insult, drew my cutlass with intent to deliver it to the officer. But I was immediately disarmed and my arms lashed behind my back; was thrown into a boat alongside; as I was observing to the Tindie to take notice how I was used to Captain Abo desired me to hold my tongue: I was prisoner and at my peril to speak a word more, on disobeying one of the seamen knocked me down with his fist and on desiring another to assist me to rise he told me to go to the devil, he would sh . . . on me first. All passed in Captain Abo's presence who gave me no relief.

They then took out the cargo, rummaged my trunks and baggage for papers, which Captain Abo carried ashore; sent the sloop's people on board different Dutch ships, where they were put in irons. I was carried on Board Captain Abo's ship where tho' in a violent fever I was confined in a small unventilated cabin for two days and two nights, asked the Doctor for an imilee: he told me he had no orders from the Commander; asked the mate for a bit of paper, he told me there was none on board. On the morning of the 3rd day of my confinement a boat with a file of musqueteers with fixed Bayonets came on board, and

convey'd me to the guard-room in the Fort Malacca. Here I was easier, being allowed a surgeon to attend me, but denied a requisite for one or two of my servants to attend me. On the 8th day of my confinement was examined before the Fiscal and answered 110 questions, from which it appeared they suspected me of being a Partisan of the King of Salengore, and concerned in supplying the Malays with whom they are at war with arms and ammunitions. Both absolute falsehoods. 31st, wrote the Governor, giving some reasons which fell not within the line of enquiry, tending to prove . . . allowing me common sense—that their suspicions were without foundation. This and my answers to the Fiscal, all of which capable of direct proof and tended to those their falsity, I believed would procure my release; waited until the 2nd: no answer then: wrote the Governor-General and Council. No. 2: On the 6th received a verbal message by the officer of the Guard informing me that "*I must go with the sloop to Batavia.*" No. 3:

On the 7th received private intimation that 2000 Ds would compromise the business. In consequence, on the 8th, wrote a letter dictated by the Shawbandar. No. 4 . . . on the 9th received a verbal message from the Secretary informing me that in commiseration of my situation and the with-tendency (*sic*) of the carrying their resolution of the 6th into execution, they, the Governor-General and Council, had granted my discharge; that I might in the evening go on board Captn. Geddes, and in the morning I would come (?) on board the Commodore, when they would deliver my people and cargo papers, &c.

Accordingly, on the 9th about 7 P.M., I was conducted by the Shawbandar to Captn. Geddes's boat and my cutlass delivered me as I stepped into it. Next morning at nine the treasure and other goods was delivered, the sloop, and small stores, provisions and people's clothes in a mutilated state. This is a true and particular relation of the capture, imprisonment, and release. Witness my hand,

JAS. SCOTT.

Invoice of Sundrys on board the sloop *Hornett* when captured by Captn. Abo, a Capt. of the Dutch East India Company's ships, on the 21st or 22nd of March 1784 in Malacca Roads and being the property of the masters of the said sloop James Scott, *viz.*—

10	Bags containing	Head Dollars	...	...	...	10,000
1	do.	Pillar Dollars	...	...	...	1,000
1	do.	German Crowns,	...	...	...	1,000
1	do.	Sundry Rinds	...	...	...	229
5	pieces	Roll Silk @ 12	...	...	60	
28	ps.	do. @ 11	...	...	308	
6	pieces	Jappon Sattin	...	...	129	
3	ps.	hands	...	...	12	
1	ps.	China	...	...	3	
2	ps.	Parcel sugar-candy	...	...	30	
14	ps.	Muslin	...	...	196	
20	ps.	do.	...	...	190	
						928
	Sloop <i>Hornett</i> with her stores	...	...	...	...	750

Sp. De. ... 13,907

Errors excepted.

JAS. SCOTT.

MALACCA:
April 6th, 1784.

No. 2.

TO PETRUS GERARDAS DE BOUIN, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, MALACCA.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

GUARD ROOM.

I must conclude that my answers to the Fiscal of the 29th and my letter addressed to the Governor on the 31st ultimo (every circumstance of which is capable of direct proof) must have removed even the shadow of suspicion that I am either directly or collusively concerned in the present offensive operations of the King of Salengore.

And as no other charge either direct or imply'd has been alledged against me, I am utterly at a loss to account for the continuance of my imprisonment.

As I am at present in involved circumstances, and in consideration of the gentlemen to whom I stand engaged, I am cautious how I bring myself or concerns forward to a national discussion, and would much rather receive my enlargement from your considerate goodness than by being reduced to the necessity of claiming the privileges of a British subject protected by the laws of nations receive it from your justice.

Recommending myself and concern to your kind consideration, I shall wave saying any thing further, untill I know your final resolve on this representation, which I hope will be communicated with all convenient dispatch, as my mercantile concerns are suffering by the detention.

I remain, etc.,

JAS. SCOTT.

April 2nd, 1784.

No. 3.

TO THE HON'BLE PETRUS GERARDAS DE BOUIN,

GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, MALACCA.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I waited with great patience 15 day the result of your deliberations, in hopes that my innocence would procure my enlargement, or that I would be certified of my crime. But what was my surprise when I this minute received a verbal message by the officer of the Guard informing me that "*I must go with the sloop to Batavia.*"

It grieves me to find you are determined with colour of justice or crime alledged to ruin an unfortunate individual not only in property, but life, as I entertain a horror at the very mention of Batavia, and am positive I shall not survive the visit, in which case it wrings my heart to think of my family of 4 small children left at Salengore on the wide world to want and misery.

I, therefore, once more beg, if you have either commiseration or humanity, that my crime whatever it is may be adjudged here, in the mode you see proper, I shall be satisfied. But should all my entreaties avail nothing, I beg I may be sent while a little northerly wind remains, as a long passage will only add to my misery, in hopes you will reconsider my case and grant me relief.

I remain with respect, etc.,

J. S.

6th April 1784.

Case of James Caddy, a native of Ireland, mate of the "Hornet" sloop under the command of James Scott, forcibly carried away from said sloop by Commander Abo, a Capt. in the Dutch East India Company's Service, the 21st or 22nd March in Malacca Roads.

This James Caddy had come out from Europe in the Dutch Company's service previous to the war. He effected his liberty at Quidah during the war, when the means justified the end...and by the custom of war his being successful makes him free, he having got under his own colours. As to any obligations which the Dutch plead the war annulled them as he could not be obliged to serve against his sovereign and colours and his running is a convincing proof he did not serve from choice, therefore think I was justyfyd in refusing to deliver him and by drawing my cutlass determining the extent of Capt Abo's insult...offered the English colours, property and subjects.

This is what I know of the matter.

J. S.

TO THE HON'BLE PETRUS GERARDUS DE BOUIN, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, MALACCA.

GUARD ROOM.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRs,

As the carrying into effect your resolution of the 6th ultimo must be attended with my absolute ruin, in addition to mine of that date, and in hopes it will weigh with you to reconsider my situation, and in order to remove as far as in me lays the suspicions you entertain, I do hereby engage and promise on the word and honour of an honest man, as I have not heretofore, or neither will I in time to come, be aiding or assisting directly or covertly, with arms, ammunition or advice, either the King's of Rhio Salengzre or any other Malays in any of their offensive operations against the Dutch East India Company, and further that if I was thro' ignorance or passion guilty of any improper behaviour to Commander Abo or the Shawbunder ^{"or of any indignity to the Dutch flagg"}, I am truly sorry for the same, and hope they will forget and forgive it.

Inserted by the Shawbunder

Should these have any weight on your deliberations in my favour, shall willingly make any other representation which you in your wisdom may deem adequate.

I remain, with due respect, etc.,

April 8th.

J. S.

The copy of the Note accompanying this to the Shawbunder to receive his approbation.

TO PAPENDRIGHT, ESQ.,

Shawbunder.

GUARD ROOM:

April 8th, 1784.

SIR,

I send for your perusal a rough draught of a letter intended for the Governor and Council, as a last effort to induce them to rescind their resolution of the 6th ultimo, and I hope your goodness will aid me so far as to point out any improper expressions therein, and insert what you may judge wanting, towards attaining the end desired, in this expectation allow me to subscribe myself, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,

J. S.

7. THE TRAGEDY OF THE SNOW FRIENDSHIP.

1784. O.C. 14th June, No. 5.

*Extract of a Letter from Captain James Scott to Thomas Mercer, Esq., dated
Salingore, August.*

SIR,

When I went up to Quidah* in August I found your friends, Caston and Overbury last from Junksceylon, their vessel proved leaky, and obliged them to bear away for Junksceylon whence they were come monthly, and come to Quidah to finish their tuly. My stay at Quidah was short, but in that period they sailed, and I left this place a day or two after them and went to Salingore and was back again in a very few days. On my return I was shocked beyond anything that I have ever experienced by the following melancholy relation, *viz.*, 4 days after their leaving Quidah, off the S. End of the Lukawi (?) they were all seized after supper with a vomiting and purging, which continued till past midnight with great violence. About 3 or 4 A.M. they got a little easier and went to bed; and a short time after a Malay, which they had taken on board at Junksceylon, came into the cabin, and stabbed Captain Caston as he lay in his berth (?). Captain Caston, notwithstanding, got up, and remembering he had left a table knife on the table before he went to sleep, he seized it, and made two strokes at the Malay, and cut his hand, but being round pointed did no execution. At this time a Kalassee, confederated with the Malay, came in, and cut Captain Caston down with one blow. They then went and murdered the Gunner, hove one officer overboard, killed the others. Overbury, in place of assisting, had got up into the main-top with the . . . where he stood begging his life and requesting them to take all. He came down, and was despatched. Had he shewn any spirit he might have saved his life and the vessel, as there was only one Malay and two Kalassee as actors in this horrid massacre. The business done, they put in for the Laddoy, and anchored, and sent two of their confederates on shore to inform their companions that he, the Malay, was Captain, and had a ship and cargo.

The wound which this Captain, as they called him, had received on his hand continued to bleed, and the Serang, offering to dress it, got within his reach and seized him, together with the other Kalassee his assistant. The Malay they cut open with an axe, burnt his heart, slung him alongside, and brought him in their vessel to Quidah. She is now in the possession of the King, who most falsely considers her his property by selling some of her cables and landing the Cargo.

In the course of conversation with Overbury I learned that they had received on their own and the Company's account as follows . . .

A true copy.
WM. JOHNSON.

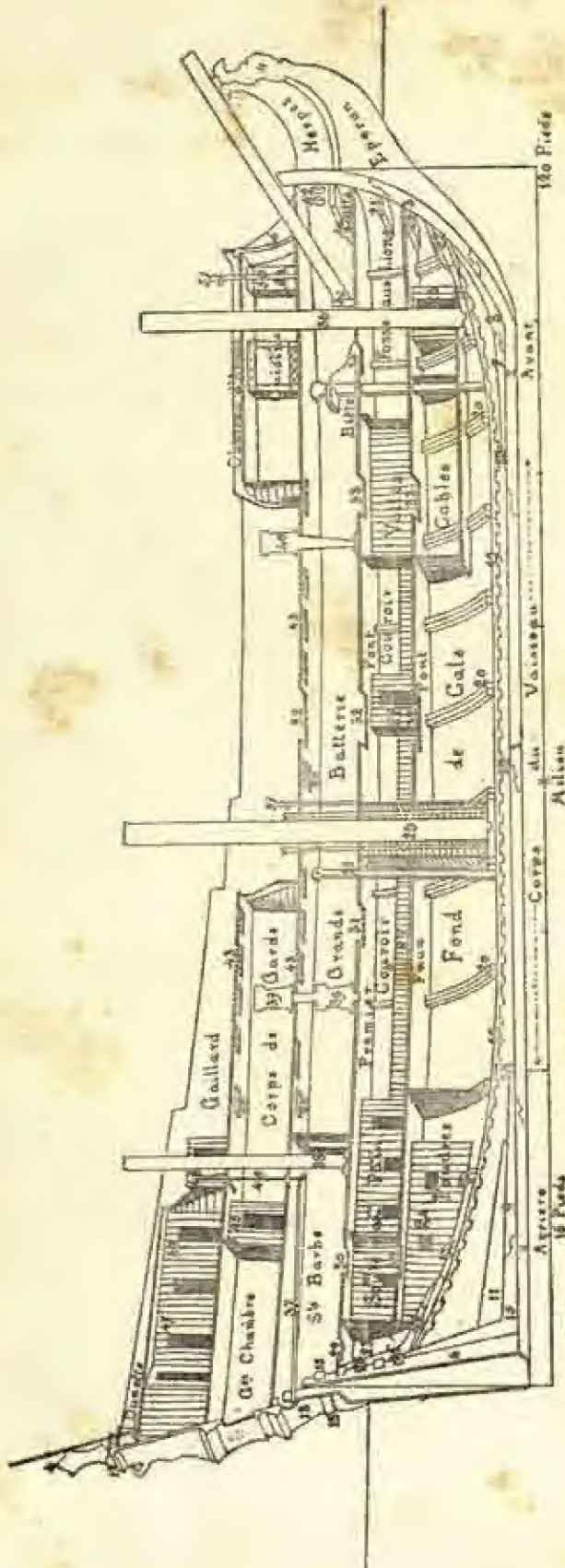
1784. O. C. 14th June, No. 14.

CALCUTTA :
9th June 1784.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

As executors to the estate of Messrs. Overbury and Caston, two gentlemen, who were cut off by their crew on the Malay Coast, and afterwards their vessel was seized by the King of Quidah, a minute detail of the unhappy affair accompanying this; to do justice to our charges

* For Quidah (Koda) seen *Bengal's Past and Present*, Vol. III., P. 164, and *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. XXXIV., No. 2 (August 1909), P. 211.



INTERIOR OF FRENCH MASOP-WAR ABOUT THE YEAR 1700.

and to prevent other Eastern traders suffering in the like manner are incentives that embolden us solicit a letter from your Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen, to that sovereign demanding restitution of the *Snow Friendship* and her cargo : as we wish your commands may be laid before the King of Quidah by Captain Forrest, as that Gentleman is now on the point of sailing, your determination will enable us to give that gentleman the necessary instructions regarding the property he may recover.

W. PAXTON, }
WM. JOHNSON, } *Executors.*

1784. O. C. 14th June, No. 6.

9th June.

In consultation for perusal.

A letter from Messrs. Paxton and Company

I have this moment received.

W. BRUERE

12 o'clock.

Let Captain Forrest be ordered to demand
restitution for the *Snow Friendship*.

E. W.*

T.

8. COL. WATSON REFUSED THE USE OF SOLDIERS FOR THE CRUISE OF THE *NONSUCH*.

(Pp. 197-202, O. C. 21st January, No. 11.)

Gardens near

BURRUCKPOOR :

January 17th, 1782.

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL

GENTLEMEN,

Your Secretary by your order has inclosed to me a letter address'd to your Board by Lieut.-Colonel Watson, desiring that he may be permitted to receive on Board the *Nonsuch*, bound to China, six European Soldiers whose times of service are expir'd, also a Havaldar, a Naick, and seventy volunteer sepoy's, and informs me, that you are willing to comply with his requests if I see no objection to them.

I should be very glad to acquiesce in every measure, and give every assistance in my power, that may tend to the Defence of the *Nonsuch*; but as we have so very few Europeans in Garrison, and as Col. Watson has already been allowed 25 men from the Invalid Companies, I do not think that any more can be spar'd with propriety.

Altho' the contracted times of the Men in question are expired, and they at present refuse to renew, yet it's most likely when the period comes for their embarkation on Board of ship to proceed to Europe, some of them will retract which is very frequently the case, and continue in the service; or if they do not; six able men may be as useful on Board the Homeward bound ships, at this time very badly mann'd, as they can be on board the *Nonsuch*. Besides, the Example may be productive of bad consequences; for if soldiers

* *i.e.*, Edward Wheeler, Esq.

after the expiration of their contracted times are permitted to embark in advantageous expeditions, we may hereafter find great difficulty in getting any of them to re-enter into the service; and no other means are at present left of, in any degree, keeping up our European establishment. I must further remark to the Board, that out of the numerous stragling Europeans in Calcutta, who have no visible means of subsistence, Col. Watson might, I think by causing proper offers to be made to them, pick up as many men as he can have occasion for, with those already granted to him by the Board, for the service of his ship.

With respect to the Sepoys requir'd from the 1st Brigade for the *Nonsuch*, I have had no report made to me by the Commanding Officer of the Corps, or other officers, of an offer having been made by any of them to embark on Board the ship; and I must observe to the Board, that there has been a great irregularity in using means to prevail on Sepoys to engage in any particular services, without my approbation having been previously obtain'd.

The Board must well remember what was the issue of an attempt last year to send by sea a body of Sepoys to the coast. A complete Regiment offer'd themselves voluntarily, but on being march'd down to the Presidency, the whole recanted, and not a man would embark, and I much fear that the result of this experiment would be nearly the same; and should it so happen, this measure instead of being productive of advantages to the Service, might be prejudicial, because as these men are incapable of forming proper distinctions, it may furnish them with ideas that they can refuse to go upon any services which they do not approve of.

As it seems, however, the desire of the Board to make the trial, I will issue an order giving permission to Col. Watson to select the number of Sepoys he wishes to receive on board his ship, who out of their own free will consent to proceed upon this voyage.

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your very obedient and humble Servant,

G. STUBERT.

9. MISCELLANEOUS.

1781. O. C. 6th July, No. 32.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *ETC.*

Governor-General, &c., &c.

MASULIP'AM:

18th June '81.

HON'BLE SIR,

We have just been visited by a French Privateer, which anchored in the road about 7 o'clock under English colours, and after having scuttled three country vessels and plundered a vessel belonging to Coja Satoon set sail at 4 o'clock this afternoon standing to the Nor'ard. Two more vessels passed to the Nor'ard. (One of which appeared to be a large ship) about 10 o'clock this morning, and our cattarmaran people, who have just landed from the privateer, informed me that they were told the two abovementioned vessels belonged to them. The cattarmaran people likewise represented that the crew of the privateer consisted of Europeans and coffees, and that they have no soldiers on board.

I have, &c.,

J. DANIELL.

1781. Pp. 397-403, O.C. 6th July, No. 30.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Dowsett to Mr. Hamilton, resident of Ingeram, dated 22nd

June 1780.

"I was taken on the 16th instant and treated in a most hospitable polite manner, and every possible precaution taken by the captain to prevent our cloaths and necessaries being plundered but to no effect, and I believe the loss of necessaries we sustained was in part plundered by our Lascars and servants. The Captain when he put us on board a Dutch snow gave us all our necessaries we could find, with the value of a thousand rupees in Money and silver. The orders issued to their Boats when put on service was, in case of opposition, to put every soul to the sword. The *St. Theresia* is going up the Coast as fast as possible with a sloop she has armed here, to take, burn, and destroy every thing they can, and expects to be joined by a Brig mounting ten guns, when they are jointly to make a descent on Coringa. This ship left the Islands about three months ago; five others were out at the same time, one of which mounting six guns with sixty men is said to be off Point Palmiras. Every vessel that attempts to defend herself, every soul on board is to be put to the sword. Six more privateers are to sail from the islands in the course of this month of June. The *Prince* mounting 32 guns and 500 men, a snow with her as a tender with 12 guns and two hundred men. The *Prince* commanded by Monsieur De Chiens has four field pieces on board in order to make descents on our small settlements. The *Bombay Merchant* fitted out as a Privateer and two other English Prizes which I have forgot the names of. The *Soliman* of 32 guns and the *St. Anne* of 18 guns are fitted out again. Monsieur Champdeville, late commander of the *St. Anne*, is put out off her for ransoming vessells, and suffering paria vessells to pass without destroying them. The privateers are now to take all vessells carrying Moorish passes and colours, as friends to the English, nor do I imagine they will stick at taking any Dutch vessells that will answer their purpose, as they declare they will cut out English vessells from under the guns of any Dutch Fort in India. The privateers stations are. Three on this coast, three about Ceylon and the Malabar Coast when the season will permit, three to the Eastward and for the China ships, the remainder in the Red Sea and the Gulph of Persia. Their squadron which appeared lately on the coast is said to be to the Eastward waiting the arrival of Monsieur Terme with five more capital ships, when they are to appear on this coast again. From what I could learn Coringa is to be the rendezvous for the privateers on this coast. The *Prince*, Des Chiens, said to be intended for the west coast with his colleague. The amount of prizes carried to the islands last year said to be a Million and a half of French Levres—no wonder, if as they say the *Nancy* with her cargo of Timber sold for 500,000 Levres. The above intelligence is glean'd from different conversation with Monsieur Barbaron, Captain of the *St. Theresia* and his officers, two of whom are in the English interest and would have eloped had they made a descent at Coringa. The *St. Theresia* who made a prize of us was not discovered to be an enemy till on our Broad side within Pistol shot of us, which prevented our destroying our private and public-letters for Bengal, the former of which consisted of a hundred letters from Bombay and a large packet of Paymasters account addressed to Mr. Claud Alexander from Mr. Bayard. Two large packets of the same nature from General Coote's army at Cuddalore, but they can be of no service to them for want of people to translate them, the only packet which I deemed of consequence was from the Governor of Madras to th

Governor-General of Bengal which I contrived to make one of my servants crawl on his belly with to the galleys and destroy in the Tins."

A true Copy.
WILL: HAMILTON.

1781. O. C. 6th July, No. 27.

INGERAM:
23rd June 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

In a letter dated the 15th instant I did myself the honour to acquaint the Governor-General of the arrival of a French Privateer at Coringa. She captured near this port a great ship called the *Devonshire*, and several *Parias* (sic) vessels in Coringa Roads, one of which she burned on the 20th; and I have reason to imagine she has sunk the rest, as they have disappeared. The Privateer sailed yesterday to the Dutch settlement of Jaggirnaickporam, where she landed her prisoners, and sent her prize the *Devonshire* to the Northward. I compute that she has destroyed, since her arrival at Masulipatam on the 15th instant, as much tonnage as would carry a supply of fifteen or twenty thousand bags of rice.

The appearance of the Enemies' cruisers on this coast at this particular juncture, when the black vessels belonging to these parts are preparing for their voyage to Bengal in order to carry supplies to Madras, will be productive of a very bad effect, unless a frigate could be sent to give confidence and protect their vessels. Indeed, from what I can learn of the present disposition of the owners of vessels, they will by no means be induced to trust these vessels out of Port at the usual season, unless they are eased of their fears by the appearance of an adequate force to repel the Enemies' cruisers and protect the trade, and by refusing to perform their contracts the Presidency of Madras will be deprived of the supplies those vessels would so liberally furnish.

I have taken this early opportunity of representing the bad consequences that may naturally occur from these peoples fear, both to your Honor, etc., and to the Board of Madras, that you may take such steps as may appear to you most expedient to avert the threatening evil.

I have, etc.,
WILLIAM HAMILTON.

1781. O. C. 6th July, No 31.

GANJAM:
23rd June 1781.

TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

HON'BLE SIR,

A ship has been cruising to the Southward in sight of this place, these two days which I think there is reason to suspect to be one of the French ships that lately appeared off Masulipatam.

By the *Southern Tappal* just now in, I have advice from the Resident of Ingeram that two French ships, one of them a grät, have been cruising, from 15th till 18th instant, off that port, where they remained, and were employing their boats destroying the country crafts.

I am, etc.,
JOHN TURINO.

1781. O. C. 6th July, No. 28.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &c.,
COUNCIL OF BENGAL.

INGRAM:

25th June 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I did myself the Honour to address you yesterday respecting the proceedings of the French Privateer at Coringa, a duplicate of which is now forwarded.

From the European Prisoners landed at Jaggernaickparam who are arrived at this Factory, we learn that the French Ship is called the *St. Theresa*, commanded by Monsieur De Barbaron Capitaine De Brulot, and mounts sixteen nine-pounders, and after manning her prize for the Mauritius and arming a small sloop, about one hundred and seventy men, part of which are Lascars and Caffries, she is now at the Dutch settlement of Jaggernaickparam, wooding and watering.

For your Honour, &c., better information, I transmit extract of a letter from Mr. Dowsett, late owner and super-cargo of the *Devonshire Grab*, and a letter from Mr. Taylor, late commander.

I remain, etc.,

WILL: HAMILTON.

1782. O. C. 2nd January, No. 9.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD MACARTNEY,

GOVERNOR, &c., &c., FORT ST. GEORGE.

MASULIPATAM:

20th October, 1781.

MY LORD,

I take the earliest opportunity of informing your Lordship that an Armenian vessel is just arrived at Coringa from Pigu, the owner of which has informed Mr. Hamilton that he saw four French Privateers lying at the Island of Chenry, one of the Nicobars, in August last, one of which was Monsieur Barbaron's, which took Mr. Dowsett's vessel off Coringa some months ago. It is probable that they are waiting for the country vessels sailing from the coast to Bengal.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) JAS. DANIELL.

A true copy.

J. HUOBETORY,

Secy.

1782. Fp. 109-110. O. C. 14th January, No. 28.

Copy of a letter to Captain Montgomery, Commanding, Coringa.

MADAPOLLAM:

26th December 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Duff is gone down to the mouth of the river. He last night dispatched a peon to Bandamalanka with orders for a boat to be stationed off that place, to advise all vessels that might appear to steer East in order to avoid the French ship which is now laying off

Callapatam. She was busy all yesterday in bringing the prizes under her guns, and her Boat was, at 7 o'clock this morning, close to the back of the land cutting out the *Doney's*. One or two sail came in yesterday and anchored close to the prizes. The Syrangs are all as timorous as they are stupid. Dick, who is down at the Barr, wanted them to sail in the night, but could not prevail upon any of them to remain on board their vessels. He mentions in a chit, which I have this moment received, that he is thinking of offering by letter, one Rupee *per bag* ransom, and is of opinion that there is not one sail in the roads that will escape.

I am, etc.,

JOHN CLERK.

GANJAM, 31st Decr. '81. A true copy.
JOHN TURING.

1782. Pp. 114-126. O. C. 14th January, No. 33.

Copy letter Mr. Duff to Mr. Hamilton.

MADDEPOLLAM.

27th December 1781.

SIR,

Mr. Clarke wrote to you yesterday. In the morning early yesterday I went down to the mouth of the river. Upon my arrival I found 12 of the vessels carried out of the Bay, under the guns of the French Privateers. He cut away two of the *Doney's* masts about 10, and got them alongside of a large snow belonging to Seetana at Coringa that came from Madras in ballast, and were busy all day in filling her with rice. About 11 I sent off Dick's father with a letter to the Captain proposing to ransom the vessels he had taken about 7. Mr. Dick returned with Captain Gamel's answer in Italian (his ship is called the *Lamestonn* or *Lomreston*) that he would not take less than two rupees per bag for the vessels he has captured. Old Dick is gone on board with Clerk this morning to endeavour to ransom the whole he has captured. It was a mortifying sight yester-afternoon to see 9 sail more stand into Narsipore Road, 8 sloops and a fine snow, which last they immediately boarded (she belongs to Bandermalanca and was freighted by you). She was carried under the guns of the ship which must be the same that chased the *Severn*. The enclosed is a copy of a letter I received from Captain Gamel brought by Captain Ingram of the snow *Elizabeth* that came in here from Madras. When I left the Bar last night a number of small Boats paddy loaded, were trying to get into the river, and a number of the Syrangs and Lascars belonging to the vessels that were abandoned yesterday, but not boarded, were collected and were going on board to endeavour to get clear of the road in the night—but should they not succeed they would run in again into the bottom of the Bay which is very narrow, and with the assistance of a couple of Field-Pieces which the Rajah of Muglatore with great expedition has sent to your assistance with ammunition, etc., I have hopes, should not the ransom business be settled, that a number of the vessels may probably yet be saved from an attack by their boats, at all events, however, it will be better to let them run on shore than that they should be carried out and burnt. There was yesterday in the evening 44 sail of vessels in the Road. Captain Ingram informs me that from the information he could pick up on board the Privateer there are 3 or 4 other Privateers on the coast. The one now here mounts 18 guns upon one deck, 9 and 12 Pounders, and upwards of 200 men mostly European. She has been 4 months from the *Mauritius*, but was at Colombo two months ago. She has been also at the Nicobars, and has come all along the coast from Point Palmiras. The Captain told

Mr. Dick that several prizes had been taken to the Eastward, among the number a Captain Gillon. Both Mr. Dick and Captain Ingram seem to think that the Privateer in the road might easily be taken as she is very poorly manned. She has bright sides, quarter galleries and a Lion Head and is an old ship. The *Doney* people are now so much frightened that I do not imagine any vessels commanded by Syrrangs will proceed to Madras unless some of our Cruisers make their appearance soon.

I am in hopes the *Chaser* may come this way in a day or two or the less she applies to Madras of rice, &c., will be great indeed. Write to Mr. Crawford at Vizagapatam the intelligence I have sent you to endeavour to get the *Chaser* down the way. Mr. Crawford will, of course, write to Ganjam and Mr. Turing to Bengal. I have not time to write them.

De Borneau, the Captain of Dowsett's vessel that was at Coringa in 1779, is an Officer on board the Privateer now here. Give intelligence to the owners of all blank vessels that there is a Privateer still here.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) WILLIAM DUFF.

A true copy.

JOHN TURING.

1782. Pp. 106-109, O. C. 14th January, No. 27.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR.,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &c., COUNCIL,
FORT WILLIAM.

GANJAM:

31st December 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I transmit the enclosed intelligence which I just now received by express.

Last night the Lascars belonging to a vessel dispatched from Balasore came and gave me information that on the 27th instant, at 12 o'clock at night, a little to the Southward of Manickpatam, their vessel was boarded by two boats manned by Frenchmen, on which 22 out of 25 Lascars composing the crew jumped overboard and swam ashore. Early next morning they say they saw the enemy's ship with their own vessel at a great distance steering E.S.E. At first I discredited their report thinking that during the chase for Captain Parr sailed from hence the 26th at night intending to go as far as the Sand Heads and return here on 2nd January. I shall be happy if he falls in with the enemy, but one cruiser is not sufficient to protect such an extent of coast. The enemy have it in their power and will, I fear, to do great damage along the Coast, for the vessels at sea and those laying in the different open roads are at their mercy, besides there are numbers of vessels getting ready in the different ports, . . . do not think it safe to stir without some protection, and by this means Madras will be deprived of very considerable supplies. I take the liberty to mention these circumstances to your Honours which I shall also represent to the Select Committee at Madras in order that if there is a possibility of any armed vessels being sent this way timely notice may be given that all those concerned in the Grain Trade may be encouraged to proceed in their extraordinary exertions.

I have communicated my information to the resident at Balasore.

I have, etc.,

JOHN TURING.

1782. Pp. 110-112. O. C. 14th January, No. 29.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL, & C., COUNCIL,
FORT WILLIAM.

GANJAM :

31st December 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

In the letter I had the honour to address you this morning I mention that the Lascars belonging to a Snow dispatched from Balasore had come here last night relating their vessel had been boarded by a French Ships boats off Manickpatam in the night of 27th instant. I discredited their account so much that I actually put them under confinement, but upon receiving the news this morning from Coringa of a French Ship being at Calliapatam, and the Lascars persisting in their story, I began to think other French ships might be cruising hereabouts. But I have just now received a letter from the Sergeant of the Guard stationed at Sanapour informing me the Snow in question with only lascar on board had put into that Port, the rest of the crew having jumped over board upon a ship sailing pretty close to them after punishing the Syrang, and some of the Lascars, I have dispatched them to go on board their own vessel.

I am, respectfully,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your very obedient and humble Servant,

JOHN TURING.

1782. O. C. 14th January, No. 32.

GANJAM :

2nd January 1782.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

The enclosed copy of a letter from the Resident at Maddepollam gives an account of the transactions of the French Privateer in Coringa Bay. A ship is now in sight of this place which I hope is the *Chaser*. I have got fresh provisions put into boats ready to be sent off, and shall communicate all the intelligence to Captain Parr, who will no doubt proceed immediately to the southward.

I am, etc.,

JOHN TURING.

P. S.—In order to save time I send this letter under a flying seal to the Resident at Balasore that he may give notice to the Pilot vessels.

1782. O. C. 14th January, No. 34.

GANJAM :

2nd January, 1782.

MONSIEUR,

Je vous soubait le bon jour, et vous bien entier in composition sur une rançon generale (excepté le Snaw (*L'Elizabeth* qui le Capitaine à ranonné) touchant les navvies et embarkations qui retrouviant dans cette rade et qui sont tous dans ma possession. Si vous voulez donner pour chaque navire. Vous en savez le nombre, et si demain matin le Capitaine de

Sinan n'apporte pas avant neuf heures du matin la rançon convenue, je mettrai le feu à son bord et à tous les autres, et ferai voile pour l'Isle de France.

Je veux user avec vous de docœur en vous donnant seize heures de term dans vos rançons et suis en attendant votre response demain grand main.

Monsieur etc.

(Signé) F. GAMEL.

A true copy,

JOHN TURING.

1782. O. C. 14th January, No. 35.

TO THE HON'BLE EDWARD WHEELER,
ACTING GOVERNOR AND MEMBER OF THE SUPREME COUNCILS,
FORT WILLIAM,

BULRAM GHURREE:
The 4th of Jan. 1782.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I have the honor to inclose the copy of a Letter sent to Mr. Turing, Chief at Ganjam. I am now down at Bulram Ghurree, and shall keep a strict look-out for vessels standing into the roads: there are two at present, in sight, working to wind-ward and now opposite Churrassee about 8 Leagues to the Southward, one of which I take to be a Pilot Schooner, and the other a sloop I expect from Madrass.

The Dutch being perfectly well acquainted with the coast between Pipley and Point Palmiras, I am more apprehensive of a visit from them than the French, tho' in fact the latter ought, and I suppose, think themselves as well informed as the former. An armed vessel mounting 16 Guns riding about East of Balram Ghurree, in about 15 Fathoms water, could protect this Coast from any sudden surprise. I am this moment come in from my sloop going to Madrass, therefore write with a degree of certainty but more so, as I have been frequently out and in to Balram Ghurree and have made myself acquainted with the Sands and Coast between Pipley and the Point. As in the early part of my life, I was brought up to the sea life, it will give me the greatest satisfaction to render the Company my services in this line whenever the Hon'ble Board may do me the honor to call on me.

I have the honor to be,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most respectfull and obedient Servant,
W. WOODSWORTH.

1782. O. C. 28th January, No. 12.

TO J. P. AURIOL, ESQ.

CALCUTTA:
18th January 1782.

SIR,

Enclod is an account for the maintenance and passage due to the owners of the ship, the *Earl of Dartmouth*, for prisoners brought from Madras to this settlement by order of the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council here. I request you will lay the same before the Board so as the necessary orders may be given for payment.

I am, etc.,
DAVID THOMSON.

1782. Pp. 373-375. O. C. 5th February, No. 12.

TO LT.-COL. HENRY WATSON,

SIR,

The *Non-Such* having received on board a Cargo of opium, in consequence of proposals contained in your address to the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council of the and conformable to their resolutions upon the same of the 17th September you will be pleased to give instructions to the Commander of the *Non-Such** to proceed with that ship immediately to China, taking care that he enter the river at Canton as an armed ship, and give the earliest information of his arrival to the Super-cargoes there, whose orders he will thence-forward implicitly obey, until ship shall be discharged from the Company's service by the delivery of all the opium belonging to them which is now on board. As opium is a prohibited commodity at China, Captain Richardson is to be peremptorily forbid to report or enter his ship as laden with that article unless the Super-cargoes should authorise him to do so.

A copy of your instructions to Captain Richardson you will deliver in for the information and approbation of the Board and to be transmitted to the Super-cargoes at Canton.

Orders have been given at the Accountant-General's Office for drawing the following Bills upon the Super-cargoes in your favour, *viz.* —

1 Sett for . . . Spanish dollars	38,048.
payable thirty-days after sight to you or your orders being the amount freight due for 1,600 CHESTS of opium on the <i>Non-Such</i> .	
1 Sett : 30 days after sight to do, " "	Rs. 3,805
being the amount agreed to to be allowed to the Capt'n. and Officers in lieu of privilege.	
	<hr/>
Spa. Dollars	41,853

I enclose for your information copies of such letters as have been written to the Super-cargoes respecting the consignment by the *Non-Such*.

1782. Pp. 424-426. O. C. 11th February, No. 9.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,
Governor-General and Council.

FORT WILLIAM :
7th February 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

As the ship *Non-Such* will sail from Budge Budge this morning, and as every necessary article for her voyage will be in readiness to be taken in upon her arrival, at Kedgerce, I take the liberty of requesting the favour of an order for the dispatch of the remainder of her cargo of opium (to complement the sixteen hundred chests with which she is to be laden) as

* For further correspondence concerning the *Nonsuch* see *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. pp. 386-8.

soon as possible, and that the several letters to the Company's Super-cargoes at Canton with all other papers intended to be sent may be got in readiness.

The number of Company's troops now actually serving on Board the *Non-Such* amount to thirty European Soldiers and thirty-three Volunteer Seapoys, which induces me to request the favour of the Board to order an Assistant Surgeon to take care of them, for which service Mr. James Wilson has offered himself.

I have already been so fortunate as to procure about twenty-five European Seamen for my ship, but at a very considerable and indeed enormous expence. I therefore flatter myself that the Board will grant me all the Assistance in their power to protect them from being suspected by the Commander of any of His Majesty's ships of War. If the interest of the Company was not so much concerned in the protection and safe arrival of the *Non-Such* in China I should not presume to request their particular aid at present this I apprehend would be effectual was a general requisition from the Board made to the Commanders of His Majesty's ships with the Company's public seal affixed and transmitted to Captain William Richardson. If there is no impropriety in the request I wish to be indulged with it as early as possible, being informed that the *Active* frigate is now in the Roads.

I am, etc.,
HENRY WATSON, Col.

1782. O. C. 3rd June, No. 11.

TO CAPTAIN ARTHUR MAXWELL OF THE SHIP THE "*HINCHINBROOK*."

FORT ST. GEORGE.
6th April 1782.

SIR,

In answer to your letter of yesterday's date, I am directed by the Right Hon'ble President and Council to acquaint you that they do not mean to enter into the subject thereof but to despatch you to Bengal with the other ships now in the road bound thither. You will, therefore, prepare accordingly, and now return the Protest you inclosed with your address to this Board.

I am, etc.,
CHAS. FREEMAN,
Secretary.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &c., SUPREME COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRS,

Permit me to inform you the Hon'ble Company's Ship *Hinchinbrook* under my Command is claimed by Commodore George Johnson as a Recaptured Ship, and in consequence thereof put a Prize Master on Board when we separated from the Fleet, that on my arrival at Madras I received the accompanying Letter No. 1 from Messrs. Petrie & Oram, the Agents, which I laid before the President and Council, and in answer received No. 2, they declining any interference and my proceeding for this place was my own act, they giving me no orders for that purpose. I request you will honor me with your Commands how to act

as it is necessary to have the Ship repaired as soon as possible, I also inclose a Protest made at Fort St. George within the Prescribed time a Copy of which was delivered into the Board.

I am with respect,
Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,
Your obedient humble Servant,
A. MAXWELL.

Calcutta 1st June 1782.

1782. O. C. 3rd June, No. 12.

On this day being Tuesday, the Second of April, in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty-two, before me, Charles Broomley, Notary Public, dwelling and practising at Fort St. George in the East Indies, by lawful authority duly admitted and sworn, came Arthur Maxwell of the ship *Hinchenbrooke** Commander now at an anchor in the road of Madras and in the service of the Hon'ble the United English East India Company, and declared that on or about the thirteenth day of March in the year One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty-one the said ship *Hinchenbrooke* then under his Command, being Stout, Fight, Staunch, and in good condition, fitting and proper for the voyage she was employed in, took her departure from England in Company with several other ships bound to the Cape of Good Hope and to the East Indies. That on the Tenth day of April, the said ship *Hinchenbrooke* and several of the convoys anchored in Porte Pray in the Island of St. Jago. That on or about the Sixteenth day of the said Month of April, the said ship *Hinchenbrooke* being then at an anchor in the aforementioned Bay, in company with a squadron of his Britannick Majesty's ships and transports with twelve sail of ships in the service of the aforementioned Hon'ble English East India Company, the said declarant says, that on the aforesaid sixteenth day of April, the said ship *Hinchenbrooke*, together with the several ships of the Convoy, were attacked by a Squadron of Five Sail of French Line of Battleships, that the said ship *Hinchenbrooke*, after having received the first fire of two ships of seventy-four Guns each, that one of the French ships of the said squadron called the *Le Artisan* of sixty-four Guns, laid the said ship *Hinchenbrooke* on board, and, after a severe fire of about forty Minutes, boarded the said ship with two hundred Men, and carried the said ship, at which time the said Declarant says, the said ship's mizen mast was shot by the Board, the said ship on fire in two places six feet water in her hold, several large shot between wind and water, her lower masts and yards, and her standing and running rigging entirely disabled, and the water gaining on the said ship very fast. The said Declarant further says it was a very considerable time before the ship leaks could be stopt, and the water cleared out of her. The said Declarant further says that after the said ship *Hinchenbrooke* was taken, the Enemy then on board pillaged and destroyed every article and thing they could possibly get at in that space of time and that in the most wanton manner they could devise or invent. The said Declarant further says that after the retaking of the said ship which had been in possession of the Enemy about Twenty hours, he found, on an inspection into his and the aforementioned Hon'ble Company's stores, much damage and great Loss particularly in that of cordage, which the Declarant says, that he has certain knowledge was made use of, and carried away by the aforementioned Enemy. The said Declarant further says that he is very certain that great damage to the cargo and short delivery will appear at the time of making up of the

* For the *Hinchenbrooke*, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III., p. 168.

account, not only from the aforementioned cause but by reason and means of a violent gale of wind which happened on the sixteenth day of July last in Lat. $41^{\circ} 40'$ S. Long. $40^{\circ} 30'$ E., in consequence thereof, the ships bound to Madras and other parts in India, parted Company from each other, and were in much distress. The said Declarant further says, that the said ship *Hinchbrooke*, from the severity of the weather, shipped great quantities of water, and was subjected to great distress in many respects as are more particularised in the said ships journal. The said Declarant further says, that after surmounting many difficulties and distress during her voyage to Madras, she arrived on Sunday, the thirty-first day of March last, past, in great distress, but as to any particular damage the Hon'ble Company's cargo on board of the said ship *Hinchbrooke* may have sustained by the Enemy, and the violence of the winds and weather, he the said Declarant says he cannot with certainty say or set forth, but verily believes that much loss and damage has happened thereto as well as to the ship, her stores, Masts, Yards, Sails and Rigging.

Wherefore I the above said Notary, at the request of the above said Declarant, have protested, and by these presents do Protest not only against the said French Squadron for such their Depredation on and plundering and pillaging the said ship *Hinchbrooke* but also against the violence of the winds and weather that the said ship met with in her aforementioned voyage to Madras, as any loss or damage to the said ship and her cargo was not occasioned by any default or negligence of him the said Declarant, his Officers or people, who, as the said Declarant says, did everything that lay in their power, in and about the defence, safeguard, and preservation of the said ship and her cargo from being captured, which to their misfortune, being greatly over-powered the said ship *Hinchbrooke* and her cargo were in possession of the Enemy, and did continue so to be for about Twenty Hours from the time of her being boarded. The said ship was recaptured by the Declarant and his people, by and with the assistance of some of his Britannick Majesty's ships, and her cargo after such recapture and the same continued to the day of her arrival in the road of Madras. Thus done and protested in Fort St. George, the day and year first above written.

A. MAXWELL,

(Seal)

CHARLES BROOMLEY,
Notary Public.

1779. O.C. 8th March. No. 11.

TO THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL
AT CALCUTTA.MALACCA,
in the castle

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

We are under the necessity of bringing before your Honors our Complaints of the extraordinary conduct of Capt. Richard Parks, who, having left this place in the month of May 1777 on the Private English ship the *Favourite*, met in the Straights of Banca, a vessel of the Sallon of Palembang bound to Batavia with tin for the Dutch Company, and under vain pretences robbed it of all tin that was on board. The particulars of the aforesaid affair will appear clearly to your Honors from the Copy of a Relation given here by the Chinese Parnakan Tang——Ingko, which we have the honor to send here accompanying. AND The advice which the Company's First Resident at Palembang

gave to the Hon'ble Supreme Government at their said chief place in India and communicated to us by their said Honors respecting Capt. Parks, agrees perfectly in the circumstances with Tang—Ingko's Relation; so that one may conclude therefrom, that it must be he and no one else, who is spoken of in that Relation.

We doubt not but your Honors will utterly detest the said conduct of this Richard Parks, and therefore friendly request, that on his arrival or appearance at your place he may be compelled to make good such Damages, as your Honor shall think consistent with Right and Justice.

In the mean time we are with much respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most devoted humble Servants,

(Sd.) P. G. DE BRUYN, &c., COUNCIL.

The 28th December 1778.

A true translation from the Dutch.

A. L. GILBERT,

Dutch Translator.





THOMAS FALCONER.

Thomas Falconer of Bengal.



AS born in Scotland, 23rd of March 1698. His father was John Falconer¹ "of the family of Falconer of Phesdo," who, by his marriage (at Edinburgh, 14th February 1681) with Mary, daughter of John Dalmahoy (2nd son of Sir John Dalmahoy) had four sons—(1) John, died young; (2) James (Lieut., R. N.); (3) Thomas (the subject of these notes); and (4) William (Recorder of Chester), from whom the present writer is descended.² Mrs. Falconer having left her husband, on account of a difference of religion, brought her three sons (James, Thomas and William) to Chester, where she had relatives. Her mother was Rachael, daughter of Thos. Wilbraham, Esq., of Nantwich, Co. Cheshire.

On December the 8th 1708, when only in his eleventh year, Thomas Falconer was appointed³ a writer in the East India Company and his securities were Ralph and Stephen Wilbraham, of Dorfold, Cheshire.⁴

There are several references to him in Dr. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*. It appears he arrived at Fort William from England, January 1710, and was stationed there in the Secretary's Office⁵ at a salary of £5 per annum.⁶ A report concerning the Factors and Writers of the Company sent to the Court of Directors (December 1712) says "can complain of none for ill behavi. or imorality, all behave well, some deserve extra⁷ praise, viz., J. p'sons, Crisp, Stevenson, Falconer." In January 1715 Thos. Falconer was in the Import Warehouse at Calcutta.⁸ Edmund Mason of Calcutta, Merchant, by his will, dated Sept. 1717, bequeaths unto his good friend, Mr. Thomas Falconer of Calcutta, Merchant, the sum of 50 Madrass Rupees appointing him sole executor. He was a Churchwarden of St. Ann's, Calcutta, 1725 and 1726. Mr. Falconer was for a time Agent

¹ Entreated with the private cypher of James II. in whose service he died, at St. Germain en Laye, 1699.

² See Burke's *L. G.* (1906) under Falconer of Bath.

³ Minutes, Court of Directors.

⁴ Both his brothers were put out in the world nearly as young. James was sent to sea at the age of 15 and William (afterwards Recorder of Chester) left school aged 12, and was brought up to the law in an office. No doubt Mrs. Falconer found it a struggle to bring her sons up; but they all succeeded in life and James and William married well.

⁵ *Annals*, I, p. 326.

⁶ *Annals*, II, pt. I, p. 93.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

of the Company at Cosimbazar, and, having been employed 18 years by the Company at Bengal, returned to England in 1729, with a very ample fortune. He died unmarried January 1730, at Warwick Court, Holborn, London, and was buried in the new burial ground of St. George's, Brunswick Square, W. C. The undertaker's bill¹ amounted to over £140. A handsome stone obelisk was erected to his memory in the said burial ground, and is still standing; but the inscription at the base has been utterly destroyed by the effect of the weather, although the arms² of his family (Falconer of Phesdo) are still faintly visible. By his Will,³ dated in London, January, 1729, Mr. Falconer bequeathed nearly £19,000. There is a portrait of him (by Kneller?) among the family pictures at Bath.⁴

J. P. E. FALCONER.

[unt, 27/1909.]

APPENDICES.

A. By her Will (dated 15th Dec. 1727) Thomas Falconer's aunt, Mrs. Helen [Dalmahoy] Innes makes the following bequest "to my dear nephew *Thomas Falconer* whom, in his childhood, I did nurture, to whom my great affection still continues, I leave and bequeath to him the sum of £100, and, also, my Bible, my Wedding ring, a silver salver, a carved silver cup. I, also, appoint my said nephew, Thomas Falconer, my executor of this my last Will."

B. She requests her cousin, Randle Wilbraham, to undertake the trust of the Will "*in case my nephew Thomas Falconer should not be in England.*"

COPY of ENTRY of THOS. FALCONER'S BURIAL (name erroneously spelt).

"Registrum Sepulcrorum in Coemetrio Sti. Georgii Martyris, adhuc Anno Dni MDCCXXIX.

"1729.

"Feb. 1. THOMAS FALKNER, Esq., from Warwick Court, Holborn, late from East India."

C. INSCRIPTION ON THOS. FALCONER'S MONUMENT. (See *Notes and Queries*, July 22, 1854; Cansick's *Epitaphs of Middlesex*.)

"IN THIS Vault lies the body of Thomas Falconer, Esqr., Descended from an ancient and honorable family of the same name in Scotland, who after having been employed 18 years by the Hon. East India Company at Bengal, returned to England in 1729 with the just reward of his extensive skill and honest industry in commerce; and established good name and a very ample fortune, with that rare facility and largeness of mind that knew the pleasure of possessing only from the power it gave him of dispensing, of being generous to his acquaintance, grateful to his friends and charitable to the poor; with the same sound Church-of-England principles in Religion that he took with him from home, and in which he died on the 25th of January 1730, in the 35th year of his age. To the memory of this her much beloved son, his mother erected this monument."

¹ Or, a hawk's head issuing out of a man's heart proper, between three mallets, mace, and on bordure of the last eight plates.

² Kneller died nearly six years before Falconer's final return from Bengal.

D. THE WILL OF THOMAS FALCONER.—In the name of God, Amen. I, Thomas Falconer, late of Bengall Merchant, being sick and weak of body, but of sound mind and memory, thanks be given to Almighty God for the same, considering the uncertainty of this mortal life, do take this opportunity to make my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following Inprimis, I recommend my soul to Almighty God, who gave it, humbly imploring pardon for my sins through the merits and mediation of my most blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ. My body I desire may be decently interred at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named. As to what worldly estate it hath pleased God to bless me with, I give and dispose of the same as follows; (*vizt.*): Item give and bequeath to my most honored mother, *Mrs. Mary Falconer* the sume of ten thousand pounds sterling (£10,000). Item, I give and bequeath unto the "Honourable United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies" the sume of six thousand pounds sterling, in consideration that in their service I got the fortune it pleased God to bless me with: and it is my request to them, that they will give orders to permit such part of my estate as remains in Bengall to be remitted thence in their cash, at two shillings and six pence for a rupee (£6,000). Item, I give and bequeath unto my God-daughter, *Mary Feake*, daughter of *Samuel Feake, Esq.*, late Governor of Fort-William in Bengall, the sume of five hundred pounds sterling—£500. Item, I give and bequeath the sume of two thousand pounds sterling to be disposed of in charity, at the discretion of my mother and my brothers, recommending them to look out for proper objects, and where it may relieve such as are in real misery and want (£2,000). Item I will and direct that my servant *Antelope*, whom I brought from India, and has served me many years, be educated in the Christian religion, and the charge thereof be paid out of my estate. I also direct that he may be put out apprentice to some trade, to enable him to get his living, but if he is desirous of returning to his own country, I desire he may be sent thither. I also direct that the sume of Two hundred and fifty pounds sterling be placed at interest, either in England or Bengall, according as he shall determine where to reside, and the interest of the said £250 to be paid him during his life—£250. The rest and residue of my estate, after the payment of the abovementioned legacies and all just and lawful debts, I give and bequeath unto my dear brothers, *JAMES and WILLIAM FALCONER*, whom I appoint Executors of this my last Will and Testament. I hereby revoke all former wills by me made, and direct that this only, written with my own hand, shall stand in force. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, in London, this 21st day of January 1729.

THOMAS FALCONER.

Signed, sealed and declared by the Testator to be his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us.

MARY PECK.

MARY HUGS.

WILLIAM BAYLEY.

E. *Copy of the Undertaker's Bill.*

February 1, 1729.

To the Funeral Charges of THOMAS FALCONER, ESQ.

for a double elm coffin, lined, muffled with fine white crape rumm with	£	1.	0.
scar, and the body put up in spices	...	02	10 0
for the outside leaden coffin	...	06	00 0
A superfine sheet, shroud, gloves, and pillow	...	02	02 0

	£	s.	d.
for a large elm case covered with black cloth, set with rows of the best nayles; four pair of the best handles, with a flower and plate of inscription, and coat of arms, the worke richly gilt	06	10	0
A room hung in deep mourning for the body	02	19	0
A velvet lid upon the body, with white plumes of ostrich feathers	01	01	0
Eight silver candlesticks on stands round the body	01	08	0
Twelve silk pencills placed between the feathers	01	10	0
A rayle round the body, covered with velvet, set round with plumes of white ostrich feathers	02	02	0
The floor covered where the body lay	01	00	0
Six mutes standing round the body in long cloaks	00	18	0
The large passage and staircase hung deep on both sides, two storey	02	10	0
Four dozen of paper escutcheons for ditto, at 18s. per dozen	03	12	0
For hanging the dining-room deep in mourning	02	10	0
Seven couches laid with squabs and covered with mourning to sit on	01	08	0
Four dozen of buckram escutcheons verged with silver for the house	06	00	0
Seventy-one silver sconces used	03	11	0
Thirty-two pound of wax candles and tapers, at 2s. 8d. per pound	04	05	4
A lutestring scarfe and silk hatband for Dr. Marshall	01	04	0
Twenty-one yards of white sercenett, with six scarfs for pall-bearers	04	04	0
Six white notts (knotts) on the scarfs	00	13	0
Six large notts on ditto	00	15	0
Six pair of white topt kid gloves	00	12	0
Ten fine clokes for mourners	01	05	0
Twelve pair of men's dymond loopt shamey gloves	02	15	0
Eleven hatbands for ditto	01	15	0
Twenty-two pair of men's white topt gloves for gentlemen's servants and favours	02	16	4
Seven pair of women's white kid, served at the house	00	14	0
Paid six bearers for bringing the body downstairs	00	06	0
Two silver salvers used	00	05	0
Parish Clarke hatband and shammy gloves	00	07	0
Two sweepers and brooms	00	04	0
Best pall of velvet on the body	01	00	0
Twelve silk escutcheons on the pall	05	00	0
A hearse drawn by six horses	01	00	0
Seventeen plumes of white ostrich feathers on hearse and horses	08	00	0
The hearse covered with velvet, and velvet housings for the horses	02	10	0
Twelve shields, twenty-four buckram escutcheons verged with silver, six shafts (?) on the hearse and horses	05	08	0
Four dozen pencills (flags) for ditto	03	00	0
Six square banners (banners) fringed round, painted on both sides on the hearse	02	05	0
Six large mourning coaches and six horses to each coach	06	00	0
Seven clokes for coachmen	00	10	6
Sixty-four wax branch lights, at 5s. each	16	00	0
Sixty-four men in mourning suits and caps, that carried the branch lights, at 18d. per man	04	16	0

	£	s.	d.
For favours and gloves for ditto at 12d. each	06	08	0
Six pages in mourning with truncheons, walking by the hearse side ...	00	15	0
For their hatbands, favours, and gloves	00	12	0
Two conductors on horseback before the hearse, in gowns, stafe and scarves	00	15	0
For their hatbands, favours, and gloves	00	08	3
Eight men on horseback, in cloaks, before the hearse to the new burying ground	05	00	0
Twenty-two hatbands for horsemen, coachmen, and postillions, at 2s. each	02	04	0
For their favours and gloves, at 12d. each	02	04	0
Madm. WILBRAHAM* for a pair of dymood loopt shamey...	00	05	0
Three pair of white kidd for three Misses	00	02	6
fitted three maid servants with kidd	00	06	0
For tickets, sealing wax, and delivering out	00	05	0
Given the poor people	01	01	0
Four attenders in mourning with favours and gloves	00	18	0
Paid for six quarts of best port and six of mounting (mountain) ...	01	01	0
Paid for St. Andrew's duty	01	04	0
Paid for St. George the Martyr's parish dutys	02	15	0

£141 14 11

March 7, 1799. Received from Mr. James and William Falconer the sum of one hundred and forty pound, in full of the within bill and all demands.

JOHN HURST.

F. The Falconer family is twice connected with the WILBRAHAM family:—

(1) Mary Dalmahoy (wife of John Falconer) was 3rd daughter of John Dalmahoy by Rachael, daughter of Thos. Wilbraham, Esq., of Nantwich, Co. Cheshire.

(2) Wm. Falconer (Recorder of Chester), fourth son of John Falconer and Mary Dalmahoy, married his second cousin Elizabeth Wilbraham, daughter of Randle Wilbraham, Esq., of Nantwich, ancestor of the first Lord Skelmersdale.

G. Description of Portrait of Thos. Falconer of Bengal.

Drab or snuff brown coat, and waist coat to match. Plain cravat, no lace. Dark back ground. White wig with knot at end. Fresh complexion. Brown eyes. Dark eyebrows.



31275

James Esdaile.¹

IN going through numerous bundles of old letters, receipts, and other miscellaneous papers, with a view to destroying as many as possible, I came across three letters, written from Hughli in 1844 by the celebrated James Esdaile, who was then Civil Surgeon of that district. These letters teem with political and social allusions, and it occurred to me that they might be of interest to the readers of *Bengal: Past and Present*. They were addressed to John Grant,² a senior member of the Bengal Medical Service, then on furlough in England; and came into my possession through his widow, who was my grand-aunt.

James Esdaile was born at Montrose on 6th February 1808, educated at Edinburgh University, where he took the degree of M.D. in 1829, and entered the Bengal Medical Service on 10th February 1831 as Assistant Surgeon. From 1835 to 1838 he was on furlough in Europe. He succeeded Dr. Thomas Wise³ as Civil Surgeon of Hughli early in 1839, his appointment being notified in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 7th February 1839. He also succeeded Wise in the appointment of Principal of Hughli College; but that appointment was shortly afterwards separated from the Civil Surgeoncy and given to

¹ I am indebted to my friend, Mr. E. W. Mudge, of the Imperial Library, for the information about Esdaile's marriages, and the deaths of his first and second wives; and also for much help in tracing the allusions in the letters to contemporaries in Calcutta.

² John Grant; the friend to whom these letters were addressed, was born on 28th August 1794, entered the Bengal Medical Service as Assistant Surgeon on 7th October 1816, became Surgeon on 17th August 1827, Superintending Surgeon on 17th July 1852, retired on 11th September 1857, and died in London on 14th April 1862. For a great part of his service he held the office of "Apothecary General," or, as it is now called, Medical Store-keeper. As such, he occupied the residence attached to the Medical Store Depot, at the north end of the east side of Wellesley Place, Calcutta. One of his sons drew, on the wall of the staircase of that house, a life size charcoal picture of a mounted officer which was still in existence not many years ago. Grant married, as his second wife, at St. John's Cathedral, Calcutta, on 4th April 1825, Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Sir John Hayes. Along with (Sir) James Ronald Martin he edited the third edition of a once well-known work, "On the Formation, Discipline, and Economy of Armies" by Robert Jackson (London; Parker, Farnival, and Parker; Military Library, Whitehall, 1845), and wrote a biography of Deputy Inspector-General Jackson as an introduction. The famous Euxalan poet, Henry Derwala, dedicated his poems to John Grant. His widow died in London on 10th May 1896.

³ Thomas Alexander Wise, born 13th June 1802, educated at Edinburgh University, where he took the degree of M.D. in 1824. Entered the Bengal Medical Service as Assistant Surgeon on 13th August 1827, became Surgeon on 2nd February 1844, and retired on 11th February 1851. After his retirement he received the diplomas of F.R.C.P., Edinburgh, in 1852, and F.R.C.S., England, in 1859. He died only twenty years ago, at Norwood, on 23rd July 1889. Dr. Wise was Civil

James Sutherland.⁴ In the *Calcutta Gazette* of 22nd April 1843 Esdaile was appointed also Registrar of Deeds, Hughli.

In 1845 he began the experiments in mesmerism, which made him famous, the first being done on 4th April 1845.⁵ In a period of eight months he performed 73 operations on patients rendered unconscious by mesmerism several being major operations, amputations and excisions of tumours, on patients in this condition, who apparently felt no pain. The list of tumours removed includes fourteen cases of extirpation of *elephantiasis scroti*, a long, bloody, and, one would think, a very painful operation. One of these tumours weighed as much as eighty pounds.

Esdaile having reported his success in obtaining anæsthesia by mesmerism, Government ordered further experiments to be conducted in Calcutta. A room, with accommodation for ten patients, was allotted in the Calcutta Native Hospital, for the admission of patients willing to submit to operation under mesmerism, and a committee appointed by Government to watch and to report upon the experiments, which, of course, were carried out by Esdaile. This committee consisted of the following seven members:—

James Atkinson, Inspector-General of Hospitals, Chairman.

E. M. Gordon, Esq.

Duncan Stewart, M.D., Presidency Surgeon.

John Jackson, Surgeon to the Native Hospital.

James Hume, Esq. (Police Magistrate).

A. Rogers, Esq.

William Brooke O'Shaughnessy, M.D., Secretary.

Surgeon of Hughli for ten years, 1829 to 1839. He founded the Inambara Hospital at Hughli (it has since been transferred to Chinsura), and had a large share in the foundation of Hughli College, of which he was the first Principal, from 1836 to 1839, in addition to his duties as Civil Surgeon. In 1839 he became Secretary to the Committee of Public Education, an appointment corresponding roughly to the Directorship of Public Instruction nowadays, and afterwards Principal of Dakka College. Dr. Wise was a voluminous writer on medical subjects. His best known work is A "Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine" (Calcutta, 1845), he also wrote "A Treatise on the Diseases of the Eye, as they appear in Hindustan" (Calcutta, 1847), "Cholera, its symptoms, causes, and remedies" (Cork, 1864); "Review of the History of Medicine" (two volumes, London, 1867); "A Treatise on the Bala Bheya of Eastern Bengal;" and "An Essay on the Pathology of the Blood and its containing vessels," a work which went through three editions (Calcutta, 1831, London 1842, and Edinburgh, 1858).

⁴ James Sutherland, see note to letter No. 2 below.

⁵ *Experiments in Mesmerism*. These experiments are described in Esdaile's published works, a list of which is given, but these are not easily accessible nowadays. I have not myself seen them. A short account of them is given as Appendix Q, pages 175 to 177, of a small work called "A Sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District, from 1795 to 1845," by George Toynebee, I.C.S. This account was given by Assistant Surgeon Bala Chandra Chaudhuri, who had himself witnessed and taken part in these experiments.

Of the first ten patients experimented upon, three could not be brought under the mesmeric influence, and were discharged; the other seven underwent operation with success. These seven cases included five tumours excised, one amputation of the thigh, and one minor operation. Of these, three tumours and the amputation case were reported on as having undergone operation without apparent pain; in the other three the absence of pain was considered doubtful. There could, however, be no doubt whatever as to whether pain was present or not, in a subject upon whom operation was performed without an anæsthetic of any kind.

The report of the committee being favourable, a mesmeric hospital was opened, as an experiment, for one year, in November 1846 in Mott's Lane, Calcutta, where cases of all kinds were admitted and operated on, under the mesmeric influence, by Esdaile. This hospital, having only been sanctioned for one year, was closed in January 1848. Esdaile was promoted to the rank of Surgeon from 1st January 1848, and was also appointed one of the Presidency Surgeons. The Calcutta public petitioned Government to keep the hospital open, but were informed that, if they chose, the hospital might be reopened and supported by public subscription. Accordingly it was revived, under Esdaile's superintendence, from 1st September 1848, but it was kept up for only one year. Soon after it was closed Esdaile was appointed Superintendent of the Sukea Street dispensary, where he continued to practise mesmerism, until he left India on furlough in June 1851. He retired on 11th October 1853, and died at Sydenham on 10th January 1859.

Esdaile was unfortunate in his family life. He married three times, but had no children. His first marriage took place during his furlough; his wife died on the voyage to India. In the *Asiatic Journal* for January 1839 appears the following announcement among the deaths:—"9th November 1838. On board the *Duke of Bedford*, Mary, wife of James Esdaile, Esq., M.D., in her 18th year." He married a second time while stationed at Hughli. "At Chinsura, 17th November 1842, James Esdaile, M.D., Civil Surgeon of Hughli, to Sophia, daughter of the late J. J. Ullmann, Esq., of Wilmington, Delaware." Mr. Esdaile's sister, Eliza, was married at Chinsura in the following month, on 26th December 1842, to James Sutherland, Principal of Hughli College.

Badan Chunder Chaudhuri was one of the first batch of medical students who entered the Medical College of Calcutta, when it was founded in 1835; but was not one of the four who were the first to qualify, having withdrawn from the final examination at his first attempt. In 1842, soon after he qualified, he was appointed Sub-Assistant Surgeon to the Imambarah Hospital, being the first officer to hold that appointment. He officiated for a short time, in 1853, as Civil Surgeon of Hughli, and retired in 1857. He lived in Hughli for another half century, dying so recently as 18th August 1907, aged 97. He is said to have left a very large fortune.

The second Mrs. Esdaile died in Calcutta, aged 44, on 27th July 1850, and lies in the Lower Circular Road Cemetery. Esdaile made a third matrimonial venture, and on 3rd February 1851, barely six months after his second wife's death, at St. John's, Calcutta, married Mrs. Eliza Morton, widow, daughter of Thomas Weatherhead.

The three letters given below were written in 1844, a year before Esdaile began his mesmeric experiments at the Imambara Hospital, Hughli, so we hear nothing about them. It is possible that the case of a cure (or supposed cure) of hydrophobia, to which he refers at the end of his first letter, may have been effected by mesmerism, but this is a mere guess.

The impression gathered from his letters is that of a disappointed man, more interested in general politics than in his own profession; but at the same time ambitious to leave Hughli, which he elsewhere describes as "a wretched and obscure village," for the wider scope of a more important medical appointment in Calcutta.

As it happened, it was only a very short time after Esdaile's experiments on mesmeric anæsthesia that chloroform was introduced. Doctor (afterwards Sir James) Simpson made his first experiments with ether in 1846, after hearing of the success of trials of that drug in America, and in 1847 he carried out, on himself and his assistants, the famous experiments with chloroform which led to its general introduction in surgical practice.

The discovery of the possibility of inducing general anæsthesia by chloroform, and of performing surgical operations without pain under the influence of that drug, was fatal to any chance there might otherwise have been of the practice of performing operation on patients in state of mesmeric trance meeting with general acceptance. Chloroform was much more sure; and, while chloroform also has its own risks, these were at first neither known nor suspected. Not every individual was capable of inducing unconsciousness by mesmerism, not every patient was susceptible to mesmeric influence. Any one could administer chloroform, every human being was subject to its power. Moreover, the administration of a general anæsthetic was free from the suspicion of charlatanism, and also free from the vague fears of future will-subjection to the operator, with which mesmerism has always been associated. On the other hand, few patients who had to undergo operation but would gladly accept anæsthesia by mesmerism rather than suffer without any anæsthetic at all, as all, high and low, rich and poor, alike had to do seventy years ago. Had he lived, and made his experiments half a century earlier, or had the discovery of general anæsthesia been delayed for another fifty years, James Esdaile's name, instead of being familiar only to a few curious investigators of old records,

would have stood high on the roll of fame, among the great men of the world.*

The following is a list of Esdaile's published works, all but the first of which deal with his studies in mesmerism.

(1) "Letters from the Red Sea, Egypt, and the Continent." Calcutta, 1830.

(2) "Mesmeric Facts," reported by James Esdaile, M.D., Civil Assistant Surgeon, Hooghly. 1845. Reprinted from *India Journal of Medical and Physical Science*, Volume III, Nos. 5 and 6, 1845.

(3) "Mesmerism in India, and its Practical Application in Surgery and Medicine." London, 1846.

(4) "A Record of Cases treated in the Mesmeric Hospital, from November 1846 to December 1847, with Reports of the Official Visitors." Printed by order of the Government, Calcutta, 1847.

(5) "A Review of my Reviewers." Calcutta, 1848. (Reprinted from the *Indian Register of Medical Science*, Volume I.)

(6) "The Introduction of Mesmerism as an Anæsthetic and Curative Agent into the Hospitals of India." Perth, 1852.

(7) "Natural and Mesmeric Clairvoyance, with the Practical Application of Mesmerism in Surgery and Medicine." London, 1852.

These letters were written before the days of postage stamps, before, also, envelopes were invented. Each is written on a double sheet of thin paper, of quarto size. To fasten the letter, the top and bottom of the sheet are folded over the middle, in the proportion of $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and $\frac{1}{2}$; the sheet is again folded in three the edges fastened with a wafer, and the address written on the back, *i.e.*, on the side where there is no junction of folded edges. Each

* *Esdaile's work in Mesmerism.* The late Mr. F. W. H. Myers, in his great work "Human Personality, and its Survival of Bodily Death" (two volumes, Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, and Bombay, 1903), speaks thus of Esdaile's work:—"Next came the era of Elliotism in England, and of Esdaile in his hospital at Calcutta. Their method lay in mesmeric passes, Elliotism's object being mostly the direct cure of maladies, Esdaile's deep anæsthesia, under which he performed hundreds of serious operations. His success in this direction was absolutely unique;—was certainly (setting aside supernormal phenomena) the most extraordinary performance in mesmeric history. Had not his achievements been matters of official record, the apparent impossibility of repeating them would probably by this time have been held to have disproved them altogether." (Vol. I, page 160, para 507).

The following passage also occurs in the appendix to Chapter V, page 435, para. 509a:—"In former times Esdaile's patients were stated to be hysterical. In reply to this he said 'I cannot possibly see how hysteria has got into my hospitals, where I never saw it before—coolies and felons not being at all nervous subjects. . . . As natural hysteria may be supposed to be more powerful than imitation, I shall look with impatience for the announcement in the *Morning Post* that Mrs. Frenke has been cured of her nervous headaches by the skilful application of hysteria, and that Lady Tantrani had had her arm cut off while in a fit of hysteria, without knowing it. These should be easy tests for our fashionable physicians and surgeons, as they have the disease and antidote ready made to their hands whereas it costs me and my assistants great trouble to make the coolies and prisoners of Bengal hysterical to the degree necessary to render them insensible to the loss of their members."

sheet is thus folded into nine folds in all. Each letter bears several postmarks, some of them of the old-fashioned oblong shape familiar to stamp collectors.

The first letter is addressed "By the *Hindoostan* steamer, *via* Southampton. Dr. Grant, care of Lady Hayes, No. 7, Melbury Terrace, Dorset Square, London. After arrival it has been re-addressed, "10, Grosvenor Place, Bath." In the left hand lower corner there are initials which look like R. B. These may have been a "frank" to carry the letter from London to Bath. There is also a docket, presumably in Dr. Grant's handwriting. "Esdaile—Memorial—answered 2 November/44."

This letter bears no less than six postmarks, English and Indian, as follows:—

- (1) A long narrow oblong red, with the words "Postage not paid to—" The last word is illegible, but presumably must have been "pay."
- (2) A red oblong, with the single word, "India."
- (3) A large red oblong, with the words, in five lines, "Calcutta /G. P. O.—Ship Letter/ 14 May 14/1844."
- (4) A small red circle, with inscription in three lines "LK/10 Jy 10/ 1844."
- (5) A small black circle, with similar inscription "PK/10 Jy 10/ 1844."
- (6) A large double circle, in black, with inscription "Bath." At the top of the circle, between the lines, and inside the circle three lines "Jy 11/ 1844/A."

The second letter bears the same address, except that the name of the steamer is *Bentinck*; it is not re-addressed, and there are no initials in the corner. It has only four postmarks, three of which are much the same as those on the first letter, *viz.*, the red oblong with "India," the Calcutta General Post Office postmark, dated 5th July, and the London postmark, a small red circle, with "UK/16 SP 16/1844." The fourth postmark is new. It is oblong, very dark red, with three lines of inscription "HOOCHLY/ 1844 July 4th/ Paid 3-6." The date, "44 July 4th," and the postage "3-6" are written in ink, the rest stamped with the handstamp of the Post Office. This letter is docketed, "Answered 2 November/44. Received 16 September/44."

The third letter has the same address, by *Tenasserim* steamer, and the same postmarks as the second, only the dates, and the postage, which was three rupees, being different. It is docketed, Received 8 August/44. Answered 2 November /44." August is evidently a mistake for October.

The postage, Rs. 3-6 for the second, and Rs. 3 for the third letter, seems high. My own recollections run back to the early sixties, certainly within twenty years of the date of these letters, and the postage was then, I think only one shilling to, and eight annas from, India.

Letter No. I.

HOOGHLY, 12th May 1844.

MY DEAR GRANT,

I have been waiting to congratulate you on retiring from the service (so unselfish am I!) on a handsome income, as we had been led to expect by the newspapers. But I begin to fear it is "too good news to be true," else Barlow¹ would have had some inkling of it. If you should be disappointed in this, I trust you have secured advantages for the boys, etc., which will enable you to return with a mind at ease to this country, to which you have so many ties. I continue to "eat my leek and swear" as usual, but I shall have finished it in seven years more, and then the Company must look out for another Governor-General for I won't remain a moment longer. Lord Edward Absolute² is, at present, quiescent—a sign that he will run amuck soon, it is supposed. His last piece of energetic injustice has been a savage order levelled against the poor Civil Surgeons,³ by which they are deprived of their appointments if absent above six months on sick leave. Now, I hope, this would have raised my "dander" (as all injustice does), even if I had not been in the prescribed list. But there is no virtue extant, Sir! I tried all sorts of ways to rouse the Pills to a sense of their wrongs, and urged them to united resistance, but I might as well have addressed so many Poppy Heads. They died and gave no sign, and are hardly worth saving. That they might not have the Sin of Suicide to answer for, I circulated a Petition to the Court of Directors, in this Division. Some three or four signed it, others thought it useless, and most of them

¹ *Barlow*:—Sir Robert Barlow, B.C.S., fourth son of Sir George Barlow, and second Baronet. He was born on 22nd September 1797, entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1817, and was for sixteen years a Judge of the High Court, or rather of the old *Sadr Dwan* and *Nisamat Adalat*. He married Augusta Louisa, daughter of Major-General Seymour, Governor of St. Lucia, and died in London on 21st January 1857. There is a mural tablet to his memory in St Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta.

² *Lord Edward Absolute*:—Lord Ellenborough, who was Governor-General from February 1842, when he succeeded Lord Auckland, to July 1844, when he was recalled by the Court of Directors. Sir Anthony Absolute is one of the leading characters in Sheridan's comedy, *The Rivals*.

³ *Order against Civil Surgeons*:—The following is the order to which Esdaile refers. It was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 22nd November 1843:—

"The Governor-General is pleased to direct that the following Resolution prescribing the terms on which leave of absence on private affairs, or on medical certificate, will be granted hereafter to Medical Officers holding Civil appointments, be published for general information:—

"*Resolution*.—Any Medical Officer in Civil Medical employ who shall proceed on leave of absence from the station to which he is attached, whether on private affairs or on Medical Certificate, shall forfeit during the period of such absence the whole of his Civil Salary, and shall be entitled to draw his Military Pay and Allowances only, subject to the Rules in the Military Department. The Medical Officer performing the duties of the absentee shall receive the entire allowances of the situation in which he may be appointed to officiate, unless he be in medical charge of a Regiment or the wing of a Regiment at the same Station, in which case he will receive his allowance for such charge, and too super a month additional for the performance of the Civil duties.

"Any Medical Officer in Civil Medical employ who shall be absent from his duty, whether on Medical Certificate or on account of his Private Affairs, for a period exceeding six months at one time, shall not be permitted to return to his Civil appointment without a fresh nomination thereto, and shall be considered from the date of the expiration of the six months to be at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief.

"By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council—(Signed) J. A. Dorin, Secretary to the Government of India." (See also note *Chack and Co.* below).

advised a Petition to the Local Government first! This was like the frog begging from the serpent's belly not to be swallowed!

They say here that you and Martin¹¹ have potential voices in Leadenhall Street, "and they cannot be better employed than in denouncing this outrage upon our Profession. I enclose you our case, and I think it is unanswerable *in the present state of things*. By the way, poor Cheek¹² and Company are likely to be cruelly disappointed, as it is said they are not to enjoy the boon. How they can be excluded from a pension for *length of service* passes my simple understanding. Try to put this right too, and you will be our "*Magnus Apollo*." Talking of Apollo, his temple in Calcutta is shut, and there is little chance of its being

¹¹ *Martin* :—Sir James Ramsdell Martin. He was born on 12th May 1796, educated at St. George's Hospital, became M.R.C.S. in 1814, and entered the Bengal Medical Service as Assistant Surgeon on 5th September 1817, becoming Surgeon on 22nd September 1828, and retiring on 20th May 1842. He was Surgeon to the Governor-General's Bodyguard and served with that force in the Burmese war of 1824-26, being present at the capture of Donabaw, and receiving the medal and clasp for the campaign. Among other appointments which he held during his Indian career were those of Assistant Surgeon and afterwards Surgeon to the Presidency General Hospital, Surgeon to the Native Hospital, Surgeon to the Governor-General, and Presidency Surgeon.

After his retirement from India, he was appointed one of the original Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons, England, in 1844; Fellow of the Royal Society in 1845; and Examining Physician to the East India Company on 18th January 1859, an appointment which subsequently merged into that of President of the Medical Board, India Office, in 1864. This post he held till within a few days of his death, presiding at a meeting of the Board on 17th November 1874. He died in London on 27th November 1874. The late Sir Joseph Fayrer succeeded him as President of the Medical Board.

Martin was made a C.B. on 25th April 1860, and knighted in the same year. In 1864 he was granted the rank of Honorary Inspector-General. He was the author of "Notes on the Medical Topography of Calcutta" (8vo., Calcutta, 1837, 2nd edition 1839); and edited the 6th, 7th and 8th editions of "The Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions," by James Johnson, a Naval Surgeon (London: J and A. Churchill, 1841, 1855 and 1861). These editions are practically Martin's work. He also wrote many minor medical works. His successor, Sir Joseph Fayrer, wrote the "Life of Sir James Ramsdell Martin," published in London in 1897.

¹² *Leadenhall Street* :—The India Office, in that street.

¹³ *Cheek and Company* :—The reference here is to the Assistant Surgeons who had "given up promotion."

Prior to the Mutiny, medical officers of the rank of Assistant Surgeon only were eligible for appointment as Civil Surgeons, only six such appointments in the whole of Bengal and the United Provinces being tenable by officers of the rank of Surgeon. When the turn of an Assistant Surgeon in civil employment came, for promotion to the rank of Surgeon, he had to quit his civil appointment and revert to military duty. He was, however, allowed the option of "giving up promotion," remaining for the rest of his service in the station to which he was appointed as Civil Assistant Surgeon, and resigning all claims to future promotion, furlough pay, or pension. As there was then no compulsory retirement for age, this meant practically a life appointment, if the holder cared to spend the rest of his life in India. The pay of a Civil Assistant Surgeon was small, but men were allowed, one might even say expected, to supplement their pay by the application of their energies in other directions. Many went in for indigo planting, *semindari*, and other forms of trade or commerce; some piled up large fortunes by such means. One can easily understand that, to such men, the loss of future promotion and pension was a comparatively small matter, and that it paid them to resign all such claims in order to remain for life at the station in which all their interests were concentrated. In the last twenty years of the eighteenth, and the first twenty years of the nineteenth centuries, many of the Bengal Civil

opened again. Mad : Baxter¹⁷ has retired from public life to Chandernagore. When I last saw Barlow (that second Daniel) he was only complaining of *trop de santé*, as usual, and was in a state of great excitement, the three English horses having arrived, "such horses" you may suppose. You will find him younger than ever, when you return. I have been rather "cock a hoop" lately, in consequence of a lucky hit (you know my modesty) I made in the doctoring line; having succeeded in curing a case of Hydrophobia. I see you taking my "Longitude," infidel! But to convince you I will send it *in print*, and you will oblige me by having it reprinted in England, as it is a thing not done every day, and I will not engage to do it always myself. But I believe it may be done again by equally *comprehensive* treatment.

Surgeoncies were occupied by men who had given up promotion, and settled permanently in their stations. At the time at which Esdaile wrote, this practice had died out, and only three such officers, Assistant Surgeons, who had "given up promotion and" remained in the Service; and the last of them had made his choice nearly twenty years before. These three were Lamb, Strong, and Cheek.

John Lamb entered the Service as Assistant Surgeon on 26th July 1809, and when his turn for promotion came, in 1823, declined it, in order to remain permanently at Malda. He retired on 15th February 1856.

Francis Pembie Strong entered as Assistant Surgeon on 23rd September 1851 at the age of 21. In 1852 he succeeded Henry Young as Civil Assistant Surgeon of the 24 Parganas, or "Calcutta Sadr," as the appointment was then called, and held that post, without taking leave or furlough, for 35 years, surely a record! In the beginning of 1857 he went Home on furlough, and died in London on 15th May 1858.

George Nicholas Cheek was born on 18th November 1793, joined the Army Medical Department in 1813, and served in the Peninsula during that year, being present at the capture of San Sebastian and Orthes, for which he received a medal and clasp. He was also present at Waterloo. When peace was declared, many of the junior medical officers were discharged. Cheek got a commission in the Bengal Medical Service, which he joined on 30th September 1816. He served in the third Maratha war of 1817-18, and was present with the Centre Division of the Grand Army, at the siege and capture of Hathras. Soon after he settled down as Civil Assistant Surgeon of the district then known as the "Jungle mahals," later as West Burdwan, and now called Bankura. He never left India, but died at the Nilgiris on 26th June 1859.

When Esdaile speaks of these officers not enjoying "the Boon," apparently he means that they were excepted from the operation of the order; or in other words were not allowed to break the bargain they had made by taking furlough. His indignation at these officers not receiving a pension seems quite misplaced. All of them had, deliberately, given up their claims to promotion and pension, to which they were entitled, to retain one station permanently, "a boon" to which they were otherwise not entitled. And, the Government having carried out its share of the bargain, they had no reason to complain that their share of the bargain was, in turn, exacted from them.

"*Madame Baxter and the Temple of Apollo* :—Mrs. Nina Baxter, proprietress of the *Sans Souci* Theatre in Calcutta, which stood in Park Street, and now forms part of St. Xavier's College. The last regular performance in this theatre was one of *Othello*, given for Madame Baxter's benefit on 24th April 1844. ("The Calcutta Stage," Part II, by Mr. E. W. Mudge—*Statesman*, 29th October 1925.)

"*Hydrophobia* :—Dr. Esdaile must surely have been mistaken in supposing that he had cured a case of this disease. A few cases of cure have been recorded, but it is generally supposed that, in these cases, the diagnosis was mistaken. I do not know in what English Medical Journal, if any, Esdaile's report appeared. It would be interesting to know whether mesmerism was the agent by which the cure was effected.

Give my kindest regards and best wishes to Mrs. Grant, and ask if she would like a monthly overland despatch of Bandel cheese? ¹⁰ Remember me kindly to Miss Grant also, and ask her if she would answer me if I presumed to write to her, and be all assured that I never forget a benefit. Wishing you *Honor, Salus, et Argentum, atque bonum Appetitum*.

I am yours ever,
J. S. ESDAILE.

Letter No. 11.

HOOCHLY, 3rd July 1844.

MY DEAR GRANT,

I have been crying out night and day for the last fortnight "Oh ! for one hour of good John Grant." By one of Fortune's cantrips the College is about to become vacant ¹¹ and with a friend like you, I might "beat down all opposition," as Lord E. says. As it is, I shall go to the wall, although I have good access to that "respectable gentleman," Mr. Bird. ¹² The Council will promote the Hero of Thermopylæ, ¹³ I believe. Things must be as they

¹⁰ *Bandel cheese*.—Bandel is still famous for its cream cheese. One would hardly imagine that they could have survived a journey to England, even overland, sixty-five years ago.

¹¹ *The College*.—The Calcutta Medical College is obviously intended. I cannot say which professorship therein was the object of Esdaile's ambition. No new professor appears to have been appointed in 1844, but three appointments were made in General Order No. 86 of 7th March 1845; viz., Surgeon J. T. Pearson to be Professor of Anatomy; Surgeon D. Stewart of Midwifery, and Assistant Surgeon R. O'Shaughnessy of Surgery. The first two were senior to Esdaile. All three were men some note in their day.

Duncan Stewart took the diploma of L.R.C.S., Edinburgh, 1823, and the degree of M.D., King's College, Aberdeen, in 1824, and entered the Bengal Medical Service as Assistant Surgeon on 13th April 1825, at the age of 21, becoming Surgeon on 9th March 1839, and retiring on 9th October 1855. After his retirement he was appointed Staff Surgeon to the East India Company's dépôt at Warley Barracks. He died at Tonbridge Wells on 26th March 1875.

John Thomas Pearson was educated at Glasgow University, where he took the degree of C.M. in 1826, and entered the Bengal Medical Service the same year, at the age of 24. He became Surgeon on 1st February 1841, and died at Barrackpore on 31st March 1851.

Richard O'Shaughnessy was an uncovenanted medical officer from 1839 to 1841, when he was appointed an Assistant Surgeon on 4th December 1841 at the age of 29. He became Surgeon on 9th October 1855, retired on 4th May 1860, and died on 13th April 1889. He was the author of a work on "Diseases of the Jaws" printed in Calcutta, in 1844.

¹² *Mr. Bird*.—William Wilberforce Bird, L.C.S., entered the Service in 1803, became member of the Supreme Council in 1838, Deputy Governor of Bengal in 1842, and held, among other appointments, that of President of the Council of Education. He retired in 1844, and died on 1st June 1857.

¹³ *The Hero of Thermopylæ*.—The reference must be to some medical officer, who was to succeed to a professorship in the Medical College. The only medical officer to whom this title could possibly be applied, even, as it obviously is here, in jest, is William Brydon, the sole survivor of the retreat from Kabul in 1842.

William Brydon was born on 9th October 1811, and entered the Bengal Medical Service as Assistant Surgeon 9th July 1835, became Surgeon on 14th November 1849, and retired on 1st November 1859. He died at Westfield, Roxshire, on 20th March 1873.

He served with the 5th Bengal Infantry in the Afghan War of 1839-42, in the Zornat Valley, at Kabul, and in the retreat from Kabul, being the only member of the retreating force to reach Jelalabad.

may, I have lived long enough to consider disappointment a matter of course. Greenlaw¹⁸ died sooner than was expected, and gave Sutherland¹⁹ his dying testimony, and there is no doubt entertained that he will succeed to the place, which will be, however, cut down to Rs. 1,000 a month.

I wrote to you last month, and enclosed the draft of a Petition to the Court against the cruel and unjust Order affecting the sick leave of the Civil Surgeons. Only four Bengalis²⁰ had the courage to sign it, but it has been sent for up the country, and I expect that many donkeys will now summon up resolution to have a fling at the dead Lion²¹—it will be a laughable illustration of "before" and "after."²² We (all reasoning men, *viz.*) are all rejoicing at our recent deliverance from the reign of Terror, and I have the proud satisfaction of having served my country, as well as the Court of Directors, by helping to punch the great Bombastes to death. I enclose you some of my secret efforts in the cause of freedom and common sense. The story of the "Triumphal Vase" is, he had a Gold Cup sent out from England covered with his high feats of arms, with room left for future glory. *Sic transit gloria!*

It is a wise saying of a French courtier, and worthy of all acceptance. *Il faut tenir le pot de chambre aux Ministres tant qu'ils sont en place, et le leur verser sur la tête quand ils n'y sont plus.* Not having attended to the first part of the advice I feel myself at liberty to follow the latter. It is ungenerous (very) and unchristianlike (I allow) to rejoice in any

alive. [A number of hostages and prisoners also survived and were subsequently rescued.] This incident has been commemorated in one of the battle pictures of Lady Butler, formerly Miss Thompson. After his escape, Brydon also served through the defence of Jhalabad, with Brigadier Monteath in the Nazim Valley, and with General Pollock in the advance on Kabul in 1842, receiving the medals for Jhalabad and Kabul. He served with the 40th Bengal Infantry in the Burmese war of 1852-53, and was present at the capture of Rangoon on 14th April 1852, receiving the medal. In the Mutiny he took part in the defence of Lucknow, being severely wounded, and was mentioned in Brigadier-General Inglis' despatch of 26th September 1857. For these services he got one year's extra service towards pension, the Mutiny medal, with clasp for the defence of Lucknow, and was made a C.B. on 16th November 1858. Truly a fine record of war service!

¹⁸ *Greenlaw*:—Charles Beckett Greenlaw was Cornet of Calcutta. He died in Calcutta on 15th June 1844, aged 60, and is buried in the Lower Circular Road Cemetery. There is also a bust erected in his honour in the Calcutta Town Hall, with the following inscription:—"Charles Beckett Greenlaw, Esq., Secretary to the Marine Board. This bust has been erected by the community of British India in token of the devoted enthusiasm and untiring energy with which, for twenty years, against the most disheartening difficulties, he ably, zealously, and perseveringly advocated the cause of steam communication, and finally secured its establishment. 1845." Greenlaw's efforts in this cause are referred to in an article on the subject in *Bengal: Past and Present* for January and April 1908.

¹⁹ *Sutherland*:—James Sutherland began life as a sailor, served in the Indian Marine, then joined J. S. Buckingham in 1828 in editing the *Calcutta Journal*. He also worked on the *Bengal Chronicle*, which afterwards became the *Bengal Harbuz*, on the *Calcutta Chronicle*, which was suppressed by Government, and on the *Bengal Herald*. In 1837 he was appointed Professor of English Literature in Hughli College, and in 1839 became also Principal of the College, taking over that office from Esdaile. As mentioned above, he married the sister of Esdaile's second wife, in December 1842. He died in Calcutta on 1st October 1857, aged 61.

²⁰ *Bengalis*:—*i.e.*, Civil Assistant Surgeons in Bengal.

²¹ *"The dead Lion"*:—Lord Ellenborough, after his recall.

²² *"Before" and "After,"*:—Refers to two well known engravings by Hogarth.

one's misfortunes. But even Mrs. Fry²⁴ does not pity Cacus, Polyphemus, or the Dragon of Wantley. So here goes. *Gardez l'eau!*²⁵

Who kil'd Lord Ellenborough?

We, said the Directors.

In spite of his Protectors

We kil'd Lord Ellenborough.

Who saw him die?

We, said the Council.*

With very Goodwill

We saw him die.

Who caught his blood?

I, said Mr. Bird.

By a just award†

I caught his blood.

Who will make his shroud?

We, said the Ditchers" †

We'll be the stitchers

And we'll make his shroud.

Who will dig his grave?

We, said the Civilians.*

Though it cost millions

We'll dig his grave.

Who will toll the Bell?

We, cried the people ‡

We'll mount the steeple,

And we'll toll the Bell.

Both Pagans and Christians now dry up their tears
And hope dawns again in the hearts of the Ameer²⁶
The sick Civil Surgeons revive with three cheers :
Throughout the whole country the pleasure was thorough
When they heard the bell toll for Lord Ellenborough.
Moral: If you would become a great man

*Not Varior.*²⁷

* The learned Dunse Scotus justly remarks, his is a little word to rhyme to, and asks the reader to supply a better.

Anon.

† Better. "By me it was stirred."

Leonidas Pot.

‡ The rhyme is better than the sense here to my apprehension.

Petrus von Donkins.

* The extravagance of the Civilians is notorious—is infamous.

Sam Snooks, LL. LL. N. I.

‡ This is a great poetical license; there is, properly speaking, no "People" in India, and "steeples" are *rari wantus in gurgite vasto*.

Ed. Hark.

²⁴ *Mrs. Fry*;—Elizabeth Fry, *née* Gurney, the famous Quakeress-philanthropist, and prison-reformer, born 1780, died 1845.

²⁵ "*Gardez l'eau*";—Literally "mind the water." Before the introduction of modern sanitary arrangements, it was the custom, in Europe, to empty pails and other receptacles of slops from the windows on to the ground below, street or courtyard, as the case might be. When this was done in a street, it was expected that some warning should be given, such as the words quoted. They were a well-known phrase in Edinburgh, in the form of "gardylow."

²⁶ "*Not Varior*";—The "various notes" on the right of the page, with their imaginary signatures, are Esdaile's.

²⁷ *The Ditchers*;—The inhabitants of Calcutta, residents within the enclosure formed by the Mahratta Ditch. This nickname was once in common use, though it is seldom heard nowadays.

²⁸ *The Ameer*;—Of Sind, annexed in 1843, during Lord Ellenborough's tenure of office as Governor-General.

Make yourself as small as you can;
If my Lord had been decent and civil
He would not have been sent to the devil.

If the Court of Directors want a Poet Laureat, this will perhaps recommend me to them.

But to pass "from lively to severe," I enclose some doctors' stuff. Pray read the case of Hydrophobia, and say, if it is not a pretty piece of Medical Logic? You will oblige me by having it printed in the English Medical Journals. The other things are "*peu de chose*," but I send them to show you that I have recovered from my dumbness.

Give my kindest regards to Mrs. and Miss Grant, and let me hear of your happiness.

Yours ever,
J^S. ESDALE.

Barlow is in a disgusting state of health.

Letter No. III.

HOOCHLY, 30th July 1844.

MY DEAR GRANT,

I take the opportunity of Lord Ellenborough's departure to write by him, * and if he presents you this, I hope you will treat him as he deserves. Lord Bacon says (and he had felt it himself) that it is a most melancholy spectacle to see a man following the funeral of his own reputation. But to console Lord E. I have written an Epitaph for him which will do him justice with posterity. Its origin was this, his *chères amis* the Lobsters ** are disconsolate at his departure, and "from red to blue begin to turn." Various testimonials of their attachment have been talked of, but the one that struck my imagination as the most happy was, that the Testimonial should be in the shape of a *Monument*. Hence this "Epitaph to the Memory of the late G. G." A free translation is added for Mrs. Grant's benefit. "*Hic jacet Edwardus Primus, Dux et Dictator Indiar, Magnus per seipsum estimatus Statium rapuit, statium scivit omnia atque sibi ipsi exemplum fecit. Ut Pyrrhus, per vetulam iracundam immature exitus fuit. Memoriae suae Exercitus fletus hoc Monumentum posuit.*"

Approach with awe this sacred award,
Below it lies the first Edward;
Dictator of the Indian State
And by himself esteemed the great.
Nought he hated like a College
Yet found nought above his knowledge.
His gifts from Heaven were so ample,
From himself he took example,
Killed, like Pyrrhus, by old woman,
When planning actions superhuman,
The weeping Army mourn their friend,
His sudden and untimely end,
And to perpetuate their Lament,
Have raised to him this Monument.

* *Lord Ellenborough's Departure*;—He left in the steamer *Tenasserim*, on or about 1st August 1844.

** *The Lobsters*;—The soldiers, redcoats.

But I shall miss him very much, however, for he has kept me in a constant guffaw for months. I fear this must be my *ultimus carchinnus* till you come back.

If I were sure that you would be in a carchinnatory humour on receipt of this, I would continue this strain. But it is dangerous to laugh across the ocean; a joke must be very good to bear so long a voyage. Though good when it left this, it may land flat and stale, or be illtimed. The Sodgers gave their "Friend" a consolatory feed yesterday, at which Sir H. Hardinge¹¹ was not present, though the party had been delayed expressly for him. He is too old a soldier to take up a false position at the opening of a campaign. The *Tenasserim* sails on the 1st of August with the rejected of India. It was said that the *Auckland* was to be the vessel. There would have been poetical justice in this. Can't you imagine Lord Auckland grinning and singing out of the funnel in this wise?

"I warn you most solemnly—Tol lol de rol de ri do.
Needs you must come with I—Tol lol de dol de di do.
Your time is come, as well as mine,
To pack your traps and come and dine
On board the *Auckland* steamer."

And then his Lordship's very emphatic refusal. *Bus.*
In pace requiescat. With kindest regards to Mrs. Grant.

I am yours ever,
J. S. ESDAILE.

D. G. CRAWFORD,
Lieut.-Colonel I.M.S.



¹¹ *Sir H. Hardinge*.—Sir Henry Hardinge, Ellenborough's successor as Governor-General, landed in Calcutta at the end of July 1844, and took over charge at once. He was born at Wrotham, in Kent, on 30th March 1725. He served in the Peninsula, and was present at the battles of Vindera, where he was severely wounded, at Corunna, where he was with Sir John Moore when the General received his mortal wound; at Albuera, Vittoria, Salamanca, the battle of the Pyrenees, Nive, Nivelle, the siege of San Sebastian, and the operations on the Bidassoa. At the battle of Ligny, just before Waterloo, he lost his left hand from a round shot. During his tenure of office as Governor-General, the first Sikh War, or Sutlej campaign, was fought. In this war Hardinge, waiving his rank as Governor-General, served as second in command under Sir Hugh Gough, and was present at the battles of Mudki, Ferozshah, and Sobraon. He left India, after making over charge to Lord Dalhousie, on 1st January 1846. On the death of the Duke of Wellington, in 1852, he became Commander-in-Chief. He died on 23rd September 1856. On 2nd May 1846 he was created Viscount Hardinge of Lahore and King's Newton.

Bengal Mofussil Records.

NO. I. MIDNAPORE (MILITARY). PART III.

75.

TO G. VANSITTART.

MHAN BOLOON :

6th January 1768.

SIR,

Two days ago I addressed you on my arrival here, and indeed on the road the behaviour of the present Raja's people was such as engaged my attention. They made proposals to Gausinarain which were favourable. I was willing to see whether Gausinarain had any influence here and desired him to produce those in the country who were of his party. Poor man not one he could produce, and if your orders must expressly be put into execution, I must remain here to support him, or I'm afraid none of the riots will remain, being adverse to him as he never was Raja. I'll wait for your answer to my last, and act accordingly. No accounts from Chatinah, good or bad, tho' I have sent for the revenue of two . . . rupees against this.

Burr-Baloon's Vakiel is here and wishes to settle ; there will be no objection on his part.

I have taken prisoner a harcaro who was with one of the Patchaet runaways, he calls himself Mr. Verelst's . . . that he had orders to bring him to Calcutta, and was on the way, but waited on hearing of my march, he cannot shew . . . nor order, nor . . . paper with English . . . seal or distich, but as he took the Governor's name, I abstained from putting him to the question till your sentiments are known. The Patchaet fellow has run away to Nagpore, where his daughter is married. I shall keep the harcaro prisoner until I hear. I am with real regard (etc.)

J. FERGUSSON.

76.

To G. Vansittart from J. Fergusson at Mhan Boloon, 15th January 1768. The ink is very faded, and a large portion of the paper has been torn away.

77.

To G. Vansittart from J. Fergusson at Runzipore, 20th January 1768 In similar condition.

"After having settled the Tuskees of Mhan Boloon according to my instructions and left Gausinarain extremely well satisfied with his situation, I march'd hither with the double view of bringing the Zemindar to a sense of his dependence and to the payment of a revenue either directly or through the Supbur Zemindar who claims a right to the place and of bringing the Zemindar of Chahina,* whose Pargunnah is adjacent, to a sense of his duty. . . ."

* Chahina.

72

TO G. VAMSIYANT.

SUPHUR

26th January 1768.

SIR,

I did myself the pleasure of writing to you the 20th instant, in wch. I inform you of having settled the Purga, of Mhan Boloan, also that the Zemindar of Runjdpore had disappeared, nor could all my endeavours induce him to come to me in order to accommodate matters.

I have, therefore, set up a.....(according to the custom of the country) and taken possession of it for the Company, as it is acknowledge by all parties a part of the Suphur and Ameynagur pergunnahs. I have therefore told them to keep possession until I had consulted you, and at their request I left two punes with about territory they

Increase of revenue
in the possession
as the Chatinah
they dread to

Portion of MS. broken off and lost.

I have been induced on that acct. to take a bond of considerable value from him, to be forfeited provided his relation is either sternly or clandestinely assisted or supported by him in any attempts towards the recovery of Runjdpore without my express order to that purpose. The conduct of the Chatinah Zemindar and a desire of promoting the plan of civilizing and familiarising the country people to our government, also lessening the despotic sway of the Zemindars by informing and instructing the ryots that in case of oppression there was redress, not only prolonged my stay in this quarter in general, but also particularly induced me to march to Chatinah bysar. It lies N.-W. of Suphur, distant by the route we came 13 coss, very stony . . . road : it is by much the best Purgunnah in

Portion of MS. broken off and lost.

by on account of their being
acct. of a considerable
it produces but
inhabitants are an
spect of their neighbourhood

polished set : few, or pikes' abundance of riots and petty merchants. The country is divided into talooks, all of wch. are possessed by the blood and marriage relations of ye Zemindar, and the late defect and delay in paying of the revenue was owing to them ; for they, not being used to pay any at all, pay the small assess demanded from them now with great reluctance. The ryots are both able and willing to pay an adequate revenue. I went about much among the villages, while I stayed, and indeed they appear'd to me to apprehend in its full force the advantages accruing in our protection. In short the Zemindar here is held to his duty by a well grounded apprehension that his own people would desert him, whereas in the other pergunnahs the ryots, such as they are, are solely attached to the Zemindar, but I have the satisfaction to think that these

determined in future
and subjection.

Of Chatinah is by all
disposed but his good
overruled by his turbulent.

Portion of MS. broken off and lost.

Amidst these general intentions towards improving the country I was not unattentive to the measures necessary to enforce the immediate payment of the revenue. As Chatinah was the most culpable, I inflicted corporal punishment on his Vakeel on acct. of breaking a formal promise to me in the revenue collections, and have taken a written promise from his Divan by which the muzza is to be clear'd off in Pagun, and the tuskees kists to be paid regularly within the month. I wrote a severe check to the Zemindar, and order'd him not to allow those people who occasion'd delays in the revenue any way whatsoever, and that if he on any other occasion proved dilatory in the remitting of his revenue he would be drove from his Purguah.

[MS. here Defaced.]

The many fruitless incursions from Bisanapore into these pergunahs in permit of Damgdarsing, and the unrelenting manner in which his suspected protectors were plunder'd and treated has had a very bad effect here. The strictest discipline (for every seapoy knows my sentiments so well that he won't so much as go into a village if not on the march), my most persuasive and familiar address, nay the desire of their Zemindar, cannot induce the ryots to remain their houses when we approach. They carry their family and effects into the jungle, but indeed they never fail to come in crowds to pay their respects to me when I go a riding or walking in the jungle. A few days more will bring us to Bulrampore. I am (etc.)

J. FERGUSSON.

79.

TO G. VANSITTART.

CALCUTTA,

26th January 1768.

SIR,

Lieutenant Fergusson has my consent for his stay some time longer; but as you have more than your share of Lieutenants, he must be removed and an Ensign appointed to the Battalion in his stead.

I am (etc.)

H. VERELST,

[Four signatures illegible.]

JAS. ALEXANDER.

CLAUDE RUSSEL.

[Illegible Signature.]

CHARLES FLOYER.

E. BABER,

Secretary.

[From the Governor and Council.]

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE:

15th February 1768.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 13th. I imagine that I have no seapoys in these Companies likely to answer as Grenadiers, seeing those I had turn'd over into the other Company as probable for that purpose don't answer the end, if I abstract one or two which may be among the 32 seapoys on Command and a very few on whose account I assumed

a latitude in your orders which I hope is pardonable. Those, tho' as tall as any of those I sent, I could not prevail on myself to dismiss indiscriminately, with the crowd, seeing their real interest and superior fidelity and attachment had not only engaged my attention but also approbation.

Forgive me, then, if I presumed to retain them solely with a view of doing their merit that justice which I look on as my duty, whether I regard my own credit or the good of the service.

But to descend to particulars of 3 havildars, 2 had actually done duty in the Grenadiers: of 4 Nalks the 2 shortest belong to Saheich Adam's Company before their promotion, and of the Seapoys twenty (the above excepted) the tallest men I had, and indeed I flattered myself, that several would have answer'd.

Believe me with gratitude and esteem, Sir (etc.)

J. FERGUSSON.

I have received the beef for which accept my best thanks.

81.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE:
26th February 1768.

SIR,

I have been favor'd with yours of the 24th.

I am not a little surpris'd to hear that the Tahsildar at Gatseela complains of the seapoys for, in order to obviate any misunderstanding of that sort, I had sent one of my best Jemmidars with the plainest instructions to act in every respect according to his directions. I shall this day enforce these orders, and at the same time know his reason for dispensing with them.

I approve of the scheme of Tehsildars, and (forgive my freedom) particularly as the punes instructed by their Jemmidar here, who I now find to be a very bad man, act so rapaciously in the distant pergunnahs that they almost do more harm than good in regard of the collections, and, if this is the case now, they will be worse when I am recall'd.

I was obliged to alter the *kistbundy* of the Nuzzeranna in Suphur, etc., so it will be all paid up by 30th of Chaud instead of Pagun in the *kistbundy* made out before. Part of the Nuzzanas is ready here, but I wait for ballances in order to send compleat one at once. The Suphur Zemindar agrees to 75 Dos.—Rs. *tuskees* for Runzipore, and on his earnest intreaty to be excused paying their *sal* on account of the great expense he has been at by keeping pikes there to prevent any claims for the runaway and that ryots do not come in cleverly, I, knowing the truth of his assertion in both cases, have agreed and hope you will be pleased to approve.

I am (etc.)

J. FERGUSSON.

82.

TO G. VANSITTART, ESQ.

BULRAMPORE:
29th February 1768.

SIR,

The manner in which the Collanpore man has lodged his complaints does me great injustice. It is true indeed on application from the Saneacoolea Zemindar, I send a puné

with a *perwana* to Colliaspore desiring him to appear and answer to a complaint lodged against him, who soon returned with an answer that Zemindar and his principal people were gone to Midnapore, and that when they return'd he would send a proper person, in which answer I acquiesced nor has any of my people been near him since.

You'll please recollect that thus far I acted in consequence of general instructions from yourself to make all inquiry and examination possible into the disputes betwixt zemindars, and then communicate and refer the whole to you for the decision. I hope, therefore, Sir, that an unjust complaint will not interfere with this your orders, but that you will authorise me to examine into the affair, when I shall not fail to communicate to whatever I can learn here and refer the parties to Midnapore.

As to the Jemmidar of punes his fault that induced me to call him a bad man was information I had given me that it was a practise to make use of the *purwanas* sent to hasten the treasure at the end of the month (when Zemindar of Purgas proved dilatory) as means to extort sums of money from them to obviate the effects of their extraordinary zeal in their collections, which sums were no sooner obtained than they sat down with the utmost patience knowing that my impatience would probably make a job for another punes, I had this told, yet as I have no proof of it, I do not insist on it, but what kindled my wrath against him when I did address you last was his sending his own nephew, a punes, to Jambunie with the Tannidar's chit for the balance of Maag, who so he soon as he got hold of the person who did business there, instead of taxing him on the head of revenue, he addressed him: "You Suwah, my Zemindar's son is going to be married: give me immediately 10 Rs. for that purpose, for I have as much from the Jatbunie Zemindar." "That I'll give you," answered the other, "but not now, for I have only 2 rrs., which I am to send immediately to Bulrampore as part of last month's *kist*." "No, no, you give me 10 Rs. for the Zemindar and some for myself, or I won't let you stir hence." On wch, the Diwan was obliged to comply. "Now," says the Pune, "here is a *perwana* in your name you must immediately repair to Berhampore, carrying with you what bullocks, buffaloes, or other substance you have in the world, not only to make out the ballances of the revenue, but to make your peace with the people in power there:" which speech terrified the present person so much, that he took the first opportunity of exsaping into the jungle, on wch, indeed every individual in the *pargunah* ran also into the jungles, and it cost me a great deal of trouble to persuade them out again.

However, Sir, I must beg the favor, as I have dismissed the punes hence never to return, that the jemmidar, being sensible that I know him, will be on his guard so as not to act so in future, I beg he may not be now, however much I may be of opinion that a man of sense and integrity will be necessary when the charge of the collections is left to the Tannidar by himself.

I beg your pardon for using the expression *Sa/*. What I meant was that the revenue of Runseepore should begin to be exacted from the Zemindar of Supur from the beginning of next year, according to the Orissa way of computing, which I believe happens in the beginning of Sept. '88, for reasons which I mentioned in my last, but if you think that improper, the Zemindar will agree to any settlement that he possibly can make good.

I understand that I ought to have sent you a return of the stores when I sent them. I hope you'll forgive me what is not intentionally done, but merely omission. I am (etc.)

J. FERGUSSON.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE:
4th March 1768.

SIR,

I have this moment received your letter of the 3rd. I acknowledge the full force of your reasoning, but must say in my own vindication that when I started that objection to the Tanidar, on his representing the case to me, he said that tho' the Coliaspore collections were immediately remitted to Midnapore, yet that he was considered as a Jungle Zemindar. However, I shall avoid falling into the same errors in future, and at present shall order the Lalgur Zemindar to make his complaint to you. I am very sorry that you insist on punishing the jemmadar, not that I would wish to be supposed to plead on behalf of a worthless fellow, but that I think that it affects myself. It was not without examination and chastisement I forgave him, if I may call that chastisement which does not extend to corporal punishment; for tho' he had the address to induce the Jambunie man to plead in his behalf, and to say that he gave him the money of his own accord and without any violence offer'd him, yet I checked him in the severest manner, and order'd the money to be paid into the revenue list, it being deficient. Forgive me, Sir, if I once more presume to delay your orders until I am favor'd with your answer, as I am conscious it must appear very despicable in the eye of everybody to be obliged to send in a person to Midnapore prisoner for a crime, a great one indeed, but wch. I took it upon me to pardon. In a word, I feel a great deal more than I can express, and earnestly request that this one more favor you'll be pleased to add to many, at least to forgive the jemmadar if you should immediately send another in his place. I shall in future act so circumspectly as to advise you of every thing whatsoever before I take any step in it, so I hope that in future I shall have occasion to trouble you with few requests of the same nature.

As to the peon he was drove hence directly, and I hardly think he would venture to remain in Midnapore after being disgracefully turned out here.

As to ye fines, after having taken bonds from them for the sums of 100 Rs. each, I remitted the debt, in consequence of their ready appearance on the spot, acquiescence in the revenue before settled for them, but more especially in regard to your favour of the 6th January, wch. at that time I wholly misunderstood, and it is only this moment by repeatedly perusing it that I find I ought to have levied at least 100 Rs., and this mistake I was led into by not giving the word "further" in your's due force.

As to Supur you know that I can supply it out of the sum on wch. I consulted you, as to Buna I have not that in my power, nor of Ameynagar wholly, but as the error was entirely mine it is but proper that I should be the only sufferer, as I would by no means recur on the Zemindars from the same principle on wch. I have requested the jemmidar's pardon above.

However, Sir, in both these points it rests with your breast to indulge me or not, for be assured that whatever you are pleased to order or direct shall be put into execution (while my judgment and ability enable me) without the slightest deviation, whatever private uneasiness it may cost me.

Pardon my freedom in respect of the length and contents of this letter, but I esteem it far the honestest and most candid part with one whose friendship I have experienced openly to remonstrate on a point that either really or imaginarily affects me than to hoard any secret regret. I am (etc.)

J. FERGUSSON.

TO G. VANSITTART,

BULRAMPORE,
9th March 1768.

SIR,

I have received your letters. So soon as the new Jemmidar arrives to take the charge, this one shall be sent away.

If my Gomasta acted according to the representations of the Gatseela Raja's Vackeel, it's not only without my knowledge but contrary to strictest instructions, yet I will not absolutely say until I have received his own vindication, yet must I entertain the strongest suspicions that his suggestions are both malicious and groundless; from the following considerations.

1st.—That my Gomasta, who is 20 years resident in Gatseela, thus addressed me when here: "According to the instructions I have received so will I act, but that won't screen me from accusations, when there is a complaint lodged against me: let not my master doubt me until my accuser proves the fact in my presence."

2nd.—That the affair of the rice has been communicated to me by him and is as follows: My Gomasta gave money to the Raja before hand on condition that he should give him rice at the lowest price of the season. This rice when produced proved much more than the run of the market, on wch. it was objected to; but it was soon agreed on by the Raja, who was on the spot, to make up in quantity what was deficient in quality, but, in about half an hour after, instructed by this same Vackeel, he receded from that on wch. the Gomasta, being tyed up by my instructions from the least appearance of violence, demanded his money to be return'd and the rice carried away, rather than wch. they came into the above-mention'd proposal.

3rd.—If I am of any consequence here, ought not the complaint have been first lodged here, and then if to no effect, carried to Midnapore? But so far from that, the Vackeel, who remained here several days, conceal'd his going to Midnapore, mentioning that he obtain'd 15 days leave from the Raja to visit his family who reside at Soubung.

Who is the individual in the jungles, great or small, to whose complaints I have denied a patient ear and whose grievances I have not redress'd even to their own content when justly grounded? Why, then, should such petty complaints be carried before you before I have so much as been made acquainted with them. Tho' a consciousness of innocence may alleviate my chagrin, yet my vexation is so considerable that it is some days before I am again in a proper frame either to attend to the Company's business or my own.

Were I, Sir, to explain all the true reasons of these complaints, it might have an invidious appearance: time may perhaps disclose the true source of them. So far as regards the Raja, I can, however, mention without such reserve that my servant should maintain an unlimited intercourse and connection with the country, not only prevents him from acting in a despotick manner, and arbitrary influence gradually diminishes, but it also gives us an opportunity of being more immediately acquainted with the real value of his possessions—a knowledge that must, of course, be disagreeable to him. When it is suggested to him under these colours to discountenance my trade, no wonder he should give in to it. I could recriminate on the Raja by uncontestable facts, such as confining people for disregarding his discouragement of contracts voluntarily entered into with my Gomasta, but that is below my notice.

Let me, Sir, as is my duty, pass by these complaints, and represent that, as well by my own knowledge as exact advice from the Tassildar, I have reason to believe the revenue precarious unless a speedy remedy is applied.

Consent, then, Sir, that I should this instant interpose. My own reputation next to your's is concerned. Let me impose on this Raja a Diwan well acquainted with the purgunnah, very agreeable to the ryots, not disagreeable, I believe to the Raja, but who will not undertake the task unless appointed hence as a guard to secure him from the dangers of evil councillors, with which the Raja is beset.

The person I mean formerly served in Gatseela, where he quitted Ramsingdal because he would not agree to pay a revenue without being attack'd by our forces. I know him to be clever, and believe he will undertake the task at my request.

The Gatseela Raja complains of it as a hardship imposed by me alone the stopping of the passage of salt bullocks from going the way of Hildepoir in his purgunnah, by which he loses about Rs. 2,000 a year.

Inclosed is Gour Hurries account of his stewardship at Gatseela, and he assures me he has received no more in any respect. He desires that the Raja's Mohurer may be made to compare notes with him, when he does not doubt to make his statement of the matter appear the just one. He also adds that it was not his fault, but acct's. were sealed before, he having repeatedly required it. He is at present in a fever; otherwise I should have order'd him to Midnapore.

I am, etc.,

J. FERGUSSON.

Gour Hurry's account of money received for the Gatseela Raja.

Ballance of money received when Tassildar to be sent to Jangpore	...	Rs.	169	0	0
Articles allowed him for diet total amount	...	"	49	0	0
<hr/>					
A horse wch. was given him voluntarily by the Raja.	...	"	209	0	0
Remainder the Raja money lent	...	"	48	0	0
<hr/>					
No wages, Cattle paid for	...	"	161	0	0

85.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE:

15th March 1768.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 12th. It is no small satisfaction to me that I can prove by the Tassildar and others, beyond all dispute or question, that the Raja complain'd to me of my Gomasta neither directly nor indirectly, until the 10th current (I believe) and that indeed, in consequence of my having sent an haicaro to know why the people were not in their houses on the road, and to know if they had any grievances that I might redress them, to this perwana I had a set of vague complaints, the salt being the only stated one. Every particular, vague as the complaint was, I ordered to be considered here, and was told that, without inquiry on the spot, it would not be known whether what he said was true or false. I had also taken measures to do that when another circumstance drew my attention elsewhere.

A letter from Lieutenant Lumsdaine at Patchaet,* dated 3rd last, informed me that Mousnall, one of the former Rajas of that place, was in some part of Mhan Bhoon Purgunnah and that his people made plundering incursions into Patchaet. I immediately despatched my jungle spies for information, one of which soon return'd, and had got such certain intelligence that he engaged to conduct me to the house where he lay.

Expedition and secrecy was the very life of the undertaking. Measures I took to secure both. I calculated the properest time for setting out so as to arrive about break of day, but I was but ill supported in the execution by my men, particularly by those who in duty ought to have done most—the sergeant and subadar.

Scarce had I marched 6 coss when my troops began to lag. I resolved myself to set the example, and marched on foot at the head of the advanced guard, ordering by all means to keep close up, we having no baggage to wait for; this was promised, but not performed, for by the time we had marched 3 coss more, I found my guard dwindled to the Jemadar, Havildar, Naik and sepoy, besides two ordeilles. This obliged me to halt and send a pune back, who having gone a full coss got only three sepoy asleep on the way whom he bro't up and he reported that the main body must be far behind. Thus was I reduced to the option of losing the effects of so much fatigue and some reputation by waiting for them as it must be day, or pushing on with those present: the latter I chose, and tho' they overtook us, yet the smallness of our party screen'd us from any suspicions, and we arrived at the very village before the Raja was aware: he however got notice soon for us, for in my presence while I was running up, six of his people pull'd him away towards the jungles and two shot which I order'd my orderly to fire on his saise, who ran after him with a horse, did not prevent him from reaching his master and mounting him before we could get up. Thus he escaped. Had I any force, I should have immediately followed him, but my whole consisted of 7 rank and file, a jemadar and myself. His force was considerable: 25 firelocks of which two taken, and a great number of matchlocks, besides chewara. They, however, attempted nothing but made their escape with expedition. Two harcaros who call themselves Mr. Vereist's were here. As they had no papers nor perwana with English distick, I took them prisoners, and they wait your orders. All this happened early in the morning, and after all was over, and the Mhan Bhooon Vackeel had come to excuse his entertaining him (tho' his son-in-law can have no orders by telling us that he was imposed on by the Harcaros,) the Sergeant, Subadar, and party, being 65 rank and file, arrived atone p.m.†

Deem it not rashness in me that I pushed on: my character was at stake, and judge not that I undertook too much by attempting to go 18 coss without a halt: the sepoy have told me they can run 30 along for once or so. I am persuaded, that though the Raja escaped, yet that having effected so long a march undiscover'd will not only keep my own people to their duty, but also prevent these vagrants from taking shelter here. The effects we have

* Patchaet (Panchkot) "The name of a mountain in Manbhoom near the confluence of the Barakar with the Damodar, and of a Hindu State, the capital of which lies behind this hill, of great antiquity and extent. Panchkot lay west of and next to the realms of Bishnupur and Birbhum. The words mean fifty millions, supposed to refer to the number of thieftaincies and *paragana* which it dominated, and when the English obtained it in 1760 as a dependency of Bardwan, by which it had been conquered it was supposed to extend to the borders of Bombay. Its chiefs claim to be Rajputs, though no acknowledged Rajputs will intermarry with them. In appearance they show a very large intermixture of Aryan blood."—W. B. Oldham: *Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Bardwan District*, p. 18. See J. Grant: *View of the Revenue of Bengal in the 5th Report* (Madras Reprint), Vol. I., p. 464.

taken are 1....., 2 mares, wearing apparel, a set of brass utensils. The value of the whole has not been estimated: no silver, gold, or cash. Your orders regarding that and also the present harcaros will oblige one who is with regard and esteem, your (etc.)

J. FERGUSSON.

26.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BAHAMPUR:
18th March 1768.

SIR,

Your letter of the 17th arrived last night. The complaint against my circar was making what call a hurricane on the road, because he could get neither dack nor vicats on the road, tho' ready to pay for them, when he was carrying the jemidar's and seapoys' pay to them, and also some money for my private concerns, being told by a Digwa that it was the Raja's orders that, since my people went backwards and forwards so often, they might go without guides. But in respect of my Gomasta, who resides there and manages my trade, he insists that he will not only clear himself of every circumstance alleged against him, but prove at a hearing that the Raja's vackeels gave every malicious obstruction in their power to his free traffick with the country people, particularly the Vackeel who first complain'd at Midnapore. I have, however, sent a trusty person to make further enquiry on the spot, and have ordered my Gomasta and the Raja's Vakeel hither, where they shall have strict justice done them.

The unlimited power you have given me to dispose of what fell into my hands gives me great pleasure, as it gives me an opportunity of convincing my seapoys that it is their interest and advantage to exert themselves when required of them.

As to the affair of Cudjung the best thing I shall observe is that Jaganaut in his petition calls it part of the Gatseela zamindary. Now not only the Chowdrie's Gomasta, who is here and of old standing, but the Morebunge Vackeel and Herpesendar's deny that, but insist that it is wholly part of the Morebunge Raja's Morrattoe districts, nor did I ever hear any of the Gatseela's people acknowledge that it belonged to their zamindary.

In August I think it was that Herpesendar came to me with a complaint that the Gatseela Raja had made an incursion Cudjung, took his women prisoners, and carried off all his effects. My first enquiry was to Herpesendar and whether Cudjung was not a purgunnah in Gatseela zamindary. Every one around me unanimously agreed that it was not, but, as I mentioned above, I accordingly sent a perwanah to the Raja informing him of the complaint and to know why he acted in such a manner and whether he had any claims on Herpesendar. He answered not for some time: at last, on pressing him, he said that he had orders from the Morebunge Raja so to do, but that if I disapproved he would interfere, and that he would also return what he had carried off from Cudjung, which he did. After this Herpesendar proposed to pay a *tushes* to the Company in order to have the benefit of their protection. To this the Morebunge Vackeel, who was on the spot, objected by insisting that Hirpesendar could not make his master's land over to *tushes* without his consent, as the other could not say he was independent. I took no notice of the matter. It was after this that I was informed that his cousin Jaganaut, who was remindar of Upernana, being removed thence by another, laid claim to Cudjung, the inheritance of Goberdan Purnasia Hirpesendar's brother, and that he request from me to confirm him in his right. To this I answered "You are none of the Company's remindars, but the Morebunge Raja's independent inheritance. Whatever disputes you have in your own family

these he must decide. If Jagannut or any of my people see you ill make your complaint to me, and you'll find justice done you."

It was in consideration of that circumstance (of his being without the limits of our purgas) that I avoided hitherto sending any orders of any kind, altho' he visits to me sometimes in gratitude for doing him justice, and no doubt with a view to magnify his own importance. It is this Hirpesendar whom I meant for Diwan to the Raja, and I shall write him to repair here, according to your desire, and send him to Midnapore if you think necessary.

As to Govindram Sircar he is a good man enough, and the revenues at first went on well with him, but he understands not accounts nor writes well, if at all, and in such a purgunnah as Gatsela his timorousness would prevent any good effects from his activity. He has run often to me here for protection and in dread of his life. Besides the Raja despoiled him at his . . . ; I, therefore doubt if he would undertake it. I am certain that the Gatsela Raja is in no distress nor at a loss how to pay his revenues were he separated from his evil councillors. To my knowledge very large sums deposits of the former Raja fell into his hands, and the ryots, etc., have contributed much above what has been paid into our hands. If then, Sir, you mean to benefit him with duty on the salt, let me request you would afford the same indulgence to the other Zemindars, who stand equally in need of it.

The Gatsela Raja I have at present order'd to be kept within the Fort until he has brought up his arrears of revenue, which he is easily able to do not having as yet advanced any part of the general collection he made all over the purgunnah last month, and until he has produced to me the zemindar of Dampara, for whom he is security, and who has stole cows and buffaloes to a considerable amount from Supher, and whom I had drove out of the jungles long ago had not the Raja interposed. I must request the favor of some paper as mine is almost expended.

I am (etc.)
J. FERGUSSON.

87.

TO G. VANSITTART.

CALCUTTA :
19th March. 1768.

SIR,

I have received your favour of the 6th ultimo regarding the Singboom Province.

As I hope soon to gain possession of Cuttac, I would rather chuse to defer taking any measures regarding Singboom till that time.

I am (etc.)
H. VERELST.

88.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :
20th March 1765.

SIR,

Your letter of yesterday I was favour'd with this morning at 6 o'clock. I had order'd the...on explication of your perwana to be copied, and sent it off under my own hand desiring the messenger to bring Kirpisendaw as soon as possible, so that the circumstances of the salt trade and all being included, I inclose your perwana.

If the Gatseela Vackeel proves in the wrong I shall send him and the circumstances of the examination to you. I did not know that the Gatseela Raja was summoned to repair to Midnapore and that no cause prevented him, otherwise I had acted a very bad part in writing to you as I did; for my orders regarding him had been sent sometime before in consequence of a letter from the Tasildar about the revenue who also insisted strongly on the head of evil councillors, who they are at present he exactly knows. I hope, however, your goodness will induce you to forgive my having inadvertently appeared to have interfered with your orders, and I shall immediately dismiss a messenger to cancel the instructions I had given. Govindram Sircar is at present at Patumbe, where he had resided since he quitted Gatseela, but I shall also write him to repair here, when according to your desire, I'll send him to Midnapore.

As to Kirpisendaw, if the account I have is just, the district is not his but his brother's, Gouberdun Birnaick's. It will afford me most pleasure if you will be pleas'd to order me in for a few days on the occasion you mention, not that I have the vanity to think that, I can be of the least use to you in your determination, but that I flatter myself I can give more light into the situation of Gatseela in particular, and indeed of the jungles in general, by conversation than can be easily done in writing, and also account for any part of my conduct that at present may appear inconsistently satisfactory.

I am obliged to you for the advice you have given me regarding my private affairs. I have entered into no new concerns, and I am hopeful that the most part of what I have will be entirely off my hands in April, if not will be lodged in my godown here waiting for the swell of the river.

As to the Harcaros I have nothing further to say of them than their peremptorily affirming that they belonged to Mr. Verelst, they have imposed on the Mhan Zemindar by that means, and even that they were put in charge of my Harcaros, insinuating to the Mhan Vackeel that they could set all to right again, and made no doubt of making me repent my expeditions. On this I order'd them into the Seapoy Guard to be allowed only rice, dal, and salt and to be debarred conversation with the country people. It was indeed told me that they carried themselves with a very high hand at Mhan Bhooom, ordering the ryots to furnish them goats, milk, rice, etc., and that they flogged some in a very cruel manner for remissness in those points, but no direct complaint was made to me to that purpose. This day being stormy and rainy, I shall send them tomorrow under a guard of seapoys.

I thank you for the supply of paper you have been pleased to send me, and am (*etc.*)

J. FERGUSSON.

89.

To G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE !

28th March 1763.

SIR,

A Vackeel of Kirpisendaw's has just arrived here who say he is perfectly versed in the affairs in question, and offers his attendance at Midnapore for that purpose. Your orders whether to send him or wait sometime longer for Kirpisendaw himself, and whether my attention will be requisite, will oblige.

Sir (*etc.*)

J. FERGUSSON

I have just sent a deer new killed, whose intrails I have taken out, in hopes it will reach in good order. J. F.

90.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULDAHPORE:

1st April 1768.

SIR,

I have received your letter of 30th. Kirpasendaw is not yet arrived, but I expect him daily as does his Vackeel.

I have both wrote and sent a man (in my opinion) of probity to the Gatsela Raja desiring him to represent his grievances if founded on faith, and to give an instance of the violence of my gomastas: he has disregarded both: nor, either by Vackeel or letter, will he condescend to give an instance to strengthen or verify his complaint. From a variety of reasons, therefore, which shall be communicated in due time, I am earnest to have the present state of Gatsela, canvassed in your presence as soon as possible as matters are in such a situation there at present (if what intelligence I have thence be true) that if this step is deferred, I am afraid disagreeable consequences will ensue which I can by no means answer for, as my orders are disregarded there. I mean as far as concerns the Raja: as to the Tasildar I look on him in a far different light: I mean as a person of both abilities and probity, and I can affirm he keeps up a regular correspondence with me, informing me of all particulars that reach his ears.

If then, Sir, you will please to order the Raja to Midnapore now, I am persuaded Kirpasendaw will not be behind him, and Govindram Circar is already arrived here, and will proceed to Midnapore with me when you are pleased to call on me. I judged it proper to detain him here, as if he proceeds to Midnapore before the Gatsela Raja, it may render him diffident of going, as he must be sensible he has used Govindram ill. Gour Harry was some time ago seized with a violent rheumatick fever of wch. after for several days jungal he could not get the better here, so I permitted him to go to his home in the Burdwan Province: so soon as he recovers he will return.

Herewith I do myself the pleasure to transmit you a return of the seapoys as disposed according to your orders here and in the respective Purgas. With regard (*etc.*)

J. FERGUSSON.

I could have sent another deer today, but the condition of the last as also of the wild hog you was good enough to send here deter me.—J. F.

91.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BELVEDERE:

2nd April 1768.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 26th ultimo.

I have had the Hircarrahs severely punished for their audacity. Should anything of a similar nature hereafter occur, I want to have the offenders detained till you hear from me, that they may receive their punishment on the spot where their offences were committed. The guard of seapoys are herewith returned.

I am (*etc.*)

H. VERELST

92

TO G. VANSITTART

BULRAMPORE :
4th April 1768.

SIR,

I yesterday received your letter enclosing the 2 perwanas, wch. I immediately forwarded ; and, as the bearer is an excellent walker, I am persuaded he'll arrive there this day about 3 o'clock P.M.

Kirpasendaw is already arrived, and as soon as I shall have heard that the Gatseela Raja is on his way I shall set out for Midnapore in order to attend you.

I was much obliged to you for your offer of a room in the Factory, but if my occupying a room there will be the least inconvenience to you, I can quarter myself on the Doctor.

I am (etc.)
J. FERGUSSON.

93

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :
9th April 1768.

SIR,

This moment I have received a letter from the Tasildhar at Gatseela informing me that he has sent to the Raja to desire that he might, in compliance with orders brought both by Harcaros from Midnapore and here, repair to Midnapore without delay, taking every method to engage the Raja to go, by assuring him it would turn to his advantage in every respect, and that the Raja sent him for answer that he was sick at any rate, that he was not disposed to go anywhere, that he had appointed a person on his part to be near him, that Tasildar in order to be accountable for the revenue, and that he himself would not think of going anywhere.

The Tasildar adds that he knows not whether this intelligence is true or false, but that the Raja is led up or down the jungles by his evil connections, who deter him from coming near even the Fort not to mention Midnapore. He likewise writes that it is a great trouble and difficulty to collect the revenue, as he is cautious of using the least violence lest it should give a pleasurable handle to the people about the Raja to lead him to worse measures. I must at the same time acquaint you that the Raja sent for his Zemindar who stole the buffaloes and cattle from Suphur and made him return most of them so as to satisfy the Suphur Vackeel. I cannot really make any observation at all on his conduct therefore worthy of your notice. I should be very glad if you would please advise me how to act on the occasion or whether it is necessary to take any notice at all of it. Kirpasendaw is here still. He has once or twice desired to leave his Vackeel, as his own affairs are not . . . by his absence, but I have hitherto detained him until an answer should be transmitted me. Govindram Circar has several complaints against the Raja of violence done to himself and several of his relations, all of which desired him to be suspended until the Raja himself or some of his principal people were on the spot, whether Midnapore or here, that the matter might be fairly canvassed. There are likewise some ryots here with complaints against the Raja, and I did not allow them an audience hitherto as it might alarm the Raja and prevent his coming to Midnapore. I request you'll please to send me what orders and instructions you deem

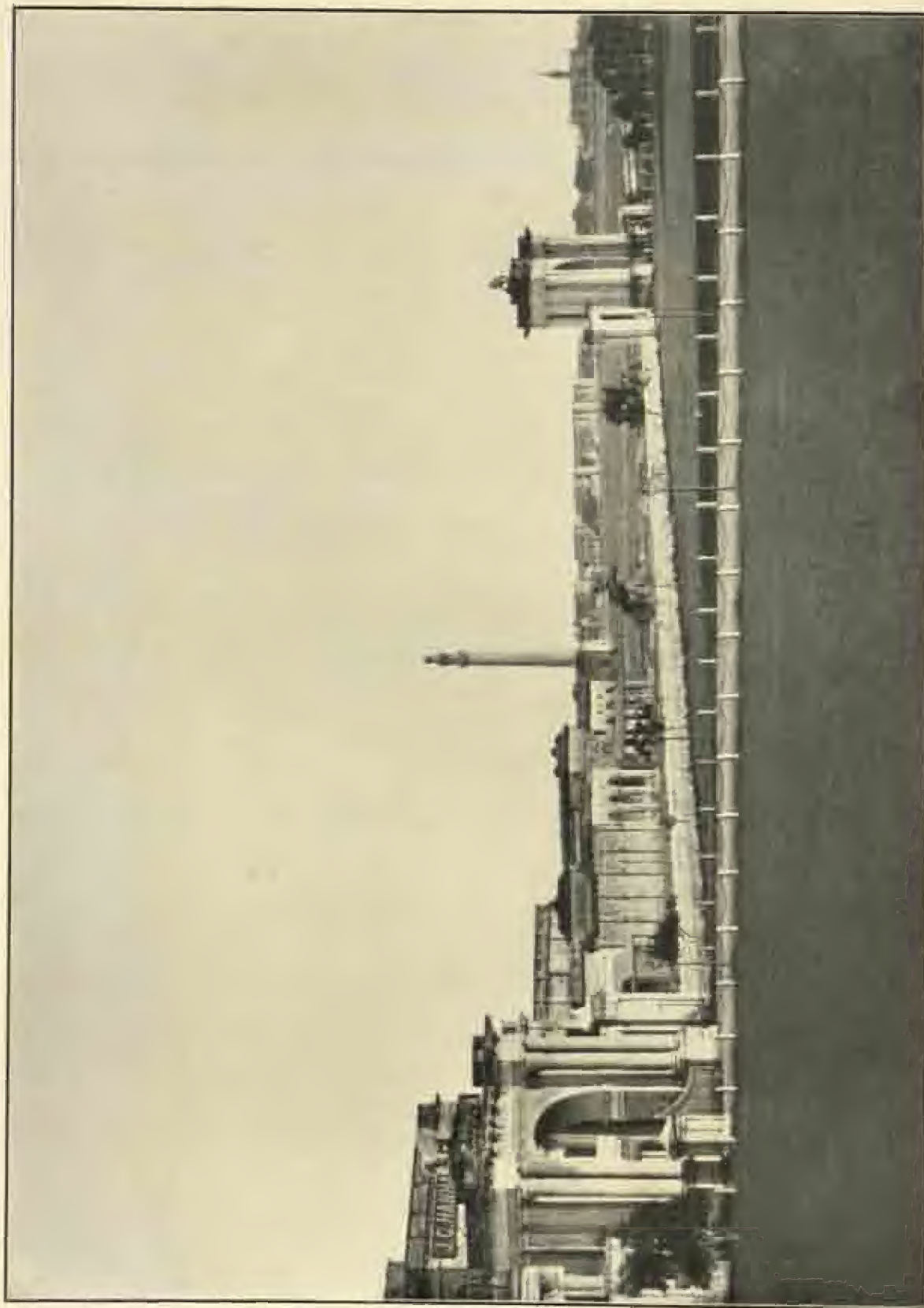
best adapted to remedy these evils in the pargannas, and how I am to conduct myself to their complainants.

I am (&c.)

J. FERGUSSON.

I must beg leave to trouble you to acquaint Mr. Pierce that I have twice overhauled my papers, but have not as yet found it. I shall again have a strict search, and to morrow acknowledge his favor and advise him of the result. Excuse this freedom.—J. F.





SCOTT THOMSON'S CORNER BEEN FROM GOVERNMENT HOUSE. 1868.

(Photo. supplied by Messrs. Johnston & Keffauers by kind permission of Maharajahdhray of Baroda.)

Bengal Mofussil Records.

MIDNAPORE (CIVIL No. 1.)*

1.

TO THE HON'BLE LORD CLIVE,

President and Govr. of ye Council of Fort William.

MIDNAPORE :

December 1765.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

In pursuance of your appointment, I arrived here the 29th ultimo and, Mr. Watts being ready to return to Calcutta, I received from him the charge of the Factory on the 1st instant.

Three months of the new year is now near elapsed, and the present being the proper season for settling the *teskces* I am to request your Lordship's, and to orders on that subject.

I am with great respect,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

2.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE,

President and Govr., etc., Council of Fort William.

MIDNAPORE :

20th December 1765.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 9th instant ; in consequence thereof I have sent orders to several zemindars to repair to Midnapore, and, whenever they arrive, I shall proceed in adjusting the *teshkces*, observing to levy such an increase upon the present settlement as it may appear the lands can yield, without risk of distressing the ryots. If your Lordship and Council have any further commands for my instruction in this business, I request I may be favor'd with them as soon as possible.

Your directions in regard to the rates of Rupees shall be duly attended to in the receipt of the Revenues.

In a few days more I shall have a Dispatch of about 80,000 Rupees in Treasure and 6 or 7,000 pieces of the Compy's Investment ready to send to Calcutta ; I request therefore that four mutass may be order'd down to Gangacolly to receive it.

I am with great respect, etc.,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

* These letters are preserved in a letter-copy book which is now in a condition of advanced decay, is almost impossible to open it without damaging the worn paper. This copy book, I believe, was made by order of E. A. Barwell (son of Richard Barwell) who was Collector of Midnapore in 1827. The military correspondence of which three instalments have appeared in *Bengal: Past and Present* is taken from the original letters. A map to illustrate these Records will be found in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV. Some of these letters may perhaps be thought of little interest, but it is important that the student should have a general idea of what he may expect to find in the collection as a whole.

For M. Verelst's appointment as Supervisor see *Original Consultations*. 1766 19th May, 20th and 26th May and June 2nd.

MIDNAPORE :

The 24th December 1765.

TO THE RIGHT HONBLE LORD CLIVE,

President and Govr. and Gentlemen of the Select Committee of Fort William.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

In pursuance of the orders which were sent me by the President and Council, I had begun to adjust the Settlement of the Lands and had (informed) them of my Intentions to levy such an Increase upon the Present Rents as it might appear the Country could bear. I have now received the letter from your Committees of the 20th Instant, In obedience to which I shall suspend my further proceedings in this business until the arrival of Mr. Verelst, whom you have thought proper to appoint Supervisor.

I am sorry to be given to understand by this resolution that your Lordship and Gentlemen deem me unequal to the appointment I have had the honor to receive from you; for after its being declared as the unanimous opinion of the Council that this Residency was not a station which required the presence of a Member of the Board, Either my Integrity or Capacity must, I am afraid, stand very defective in your Esteem, to occasion the nomination of a Member of the Select Committee to settle the Revenues of an Inconsiderable province and supervise the proceedings of the Resident.

At the same time that I wrote the Board in the General manner above-mentioned, I did myself the honor to address Lord Clive, acquainting him in more particular terms of my intentions myself and expectations in regard to an increase, and I must now take the liberty to transmit a Copy of that address for your full information. I have there set forth the only Funds that remains for adding to the Revenues of this province, and promised that the utmost it can yield shall be obtained for the Company. Will your Lordship and Gent. then indulge me so far as to receive an Estimate from myself . . . this proposed Increase? If when it appears before you, it should not in every respect answer your Expectations, I shall with great cheerfulness assist in realizing such a plan as you may think proper to order under the Conduct of Mr. Verelst. But if, on the contrary, my Estimate of Increase shall meet with your approbation, you will not see that Necessity for Lessening my authority, which I think might always prove of prejudice to the Public Business in the absence of the superior.

As to your proposition of letting the Lands on more advantageous Leases than have been hitherto granted, I imagine it might proceed from your not being sufficiently advis'd of the Constitution of this Province; There is no part of the Lands occupied by Farmers, the whole is possessed by hereditary Zemindars, who derive their Right from original Sumeds granted to their ancestors. By these they are entitled to the Residue of the Rents after paying the Government's Revenue, and when the increase now intended is added to their former Payments, I do not apprehend that there will remain of the proportion more than a scanty maintenance; which, were they to be dispossessed of entirely, must always be allowed them.

I am, etc., etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

4

MIDNAPORE :

The 29th December 1765.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE,

President and Govr., etc., Council of Fort William.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

Under an Escort of a Havildar and Twelve Seapoys, I now Dispatch to Gongacolly seventeen Chests of treasure and one hundred and forty seven Bales of piece-goods, to be forwarded from thence to Calcutta ; the Invoices thereof shall be transmitted by the Dawks.

I am with due respect, etc.

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

5

MIDNAPORE :

The 31st December 1765.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE,

President and Govr. ye Council of Fort William.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

This serves to enclose to you—the invoices of 17 chests of treasure and 147 Bales piece-goods dispatched this day to Gongacolly, to be forwarded from thence to Calcutta ; The invoice of the treasure amounts to Sicca Rupees 10,000 and that of the piece-goods to Arcot Rupees 35,607-14-0.

If Four Murwas have not been ordered to Gongacolly, agreeable to the request in my letter of the 20th, it will be necessary to send them down immediately on receipt hereof.

I am with due respect,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

6

MIDNAPORE :

The 8th February 1765.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE,

President and Govr., etc., Council of Fort William.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

Under an Escort of a Havildar and twelve Seapoys, I now dispatch to Gongacolly fifteen chests of treasure, to be forwarded from thence to Calcutta. The invoice thereof shall be transmitted by the dawk.

I am with due respect, etc., etc.,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

7

TO THE HON'BLE LORD CLIVE, ETC., ETC.

MIDNAPORE :

8th February 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

This serves to enclose you the invoice of fifteen chests of treasure, dispatched this day to Gongacolly, to be forwarded from there to Calcutta. The amount thereof is Sicca Rupees 88,000, which, together with my draft upon Mr. Lawrell¹ of 12,000 Sonot Rupees are enclosed, makes up the remittance to Rs. 1,00,000. I further transmit you three drafts for our Military

¹ James Lawrell had been transferred to Bengal from Madras in 1758. He had been trained as an Engineer at Woolwich. Naval Storekeeper 1769. Member of Revenue Committee of Circuit. 1772. Zemindar of Calcutta, 1774.

Paymaster General amounting to Current Rupees 16,870-9-0, and the accounts of the Factory for the months of December and January

I am with great respect,
[J. GRAHAM.]

8.

TO THE HON'BLE LORD CLIVE, ETC., ETC.

MIDNAPORE.
5th March 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

Under an escort of a naick and six seapoys I now dispatch to Gongacolly nine boxes of piece goods to be forwarded from thence to Calcutta: the invoice thereof shall be transmitted by the dawks.

I am with great respect,
[J. GRAHAM.]

9.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE, ETC., ETC.

MIDNAPORE.
10th March 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

I have received your commands of the 3rd instant, and in consequence thereof I now transmit a statement of the Company's investment providing at this Factory. The reasons which I have assigned for the increase and decrease of the different articles, as well as for the advance in the prices, may it is very possible be in some measure found defective, the contracts with the merchants having been made, and the duty advanced before my appointment to the Factory. In such case, however, I apprehend Mr. Watts, the late Resident, will be able to give you whatever further information you may require. In pursuance of your orders, a statement of the Factory to the 5th instant is also provided.

In these three months past an abstract of the nature you direct has been regularly forwarded to the President. I shall continue to observe it as a rule to do so, and your other regulations shall likewise be strictly adhered to so far as they regard myself or this Factory.

A dispatch of 89 bales of piece goods was sent from hence the 5th instant and forwarded on boats from Gongacolly. I now enclose to your Lordship, etc., the invoice thereof and, as I shall have a dispatch of treasure ready in a few days, I request that two boats may be kept in readiness at Gongacolly to receive it.

I am, etc., etc.,
[J. GRAHAM.]

10.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE, ETC., ETC.

MIDNAPORE.
16th March 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

Under an escort of a Havildar and 12 sepoys I now dispatch to Gongacolly sixteen chests of treasure to be forwarded from thence to Calcutta. The invoice thereof shall be transmitted by dawks.

I am, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

11

TO WM. B. SUMNER, AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TRADE, FORT WILLIAM.

MIDNAPORE :

16th March 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received your letter of the 7th instant advertising me that you have fixed two Rupees per Md. of 20 Sa. Wt. for the selling price of your salt at Anundpore. I shall be very glad if it is in my power to dispose of it at that rate for the benefit of the Society, but at present I must acquaint you that there is no such prospect. The merchants are now here who used to be the purchasers, and this also is their customary season of purchasing so as to arrive at Ghyā before the setting in of the rains; but they all declare to me that they dare not venture to buy at such an enhanced price, until their advices from the up-country merchants of the state of the markets above shall afford them a prospect of profiting by their purchases. I am apt to conclude, therefore, that, exclusive of what may be wanted for the consumption of the province—perhaps 10 or 12,000 mds.—we shall not be able to effect any considerable sales till after the rains.

Every service in my power shall be cheerfully render'd the Society without any consideration being expected or required. I have appointed a gomastah under me, named Godadur Holdar, for receiving and selling the salt at Anundpore, and as I am now beginning to transport thither from the Collasees, I have given him orders to erect golahs at the Society's expense.

I beg leave to submit to your approbation the following list of servants to be employed at the golah, together with their monthly wages :—

A Gomastah	...	...	...	...	A. Rs. 30
A Golah keeper Tavidar	...	...	...	...	" 15
One Moharer	...	...	...	...	" 10
One Jemantdar	...	...	...	...	" 5
Four Peons— $3\frac{1}{2}$ each	...	...	...	...	" 14
One Weighman	...	...	...	...	" 5
Four Weighmen Cooleys—3 each	...	...	...	...	" 12
Per Md. A. Rs.					" 91

I must not omit to remark to you that by the merchants above mentioned, I mean the merchants of this country, who, for these three years past, have been the only purchasers of salt; the up-country merchants, having received some disgust during Mr. Burdett's residence, have not since that time come personally to Anundpore, but united in some of the adjacent districts for the salt being brought to them: altho' I have not heard this year of their arrival at all.

I am, Gentlemen, etc., etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

12.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE, ETC., ETC.

MIDNAPORE :

18th March 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

On the 16th instant I dispatched to your Lordship, etc., 16 chests of treasure. The invoice thereof is now enclosed amounting to Sa. Rs. 94,500, which, together with a bill of

exchange upon Mr. Lawrell for 5 Son Sa. Rs. 5,500 also enclosed, compleats the remittance to Rupees 1,00,000. I further transmit you a draft upon the Paymaster General for the amount of our military disbursements for February and the accounts of the Factory for the same month.

I am, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

13-

TO WM. H. SUMNER, ESQ., AND THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TRADE AT FORT WILLIAM.

SHAWPORE:
29th March 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received a letter from Mr. Marriott¹ at Ballasore advising me that a number of beparees, with about 2,000 head of carriage bullocks, came into Busta, a village in the Moratta district adjoining to the Province of Jallesore, with an intention to purchase and carry away a quantity of salt, and desiring that I would interpose to prevent this enquiry to the Society's trade. As I have it not in my power to exercise force in the Moratta territories, I have been able to afford Mr. Marriott no further assistance than by writing letters to the Ballasore Phousdar and the Resident at Cuttack² explaining the nature of the Society's privileges, and desiring that they will not countenance this illicit infringement of them. I do not apprehend, however, that my endeavours will have the desired effect; and I, therefore, thought proper to advise you of the circumstance that you may take what further means you may think necessary to put an effectual stop to this practice. It is not the quantity of salt that they can carry away that is to be regarded (altho' it is very possible it may effect my sales at Amundpore), but the example which it sets for depressing and undervaluing the Society's exclusive grants, and thereby prejudicing the general scheme.

I am, etc.
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

14-

TO HARRY VERELST, ESQ., ETC., AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

KHEBAR:
6th April 1766.

GENTLEMAN,

Being at present employ'd, pursuant to orders from the Secret Committee, in making a circuit of the Midnapore and Jallesore Provinces, I take the liberty to trouble you with the

¹Randolph Marriott, arrived 25th July 1753. Writer and Assistant at Cosimbazar, when, according to Holwell, he escaped capture when that place was seized in the troubles of 1756. Assistant Buxey 1757. With Verelst and Rumbold to Chittagong 1760, of Council 1763, and the first to propose the restoration of Mir Jafir. Sent to Benares as Resident in 1765 but got into trouble by illicit profits in the Native Mint. Returned to Calcutta. Sent to Ballasore where he remained till his death in 1783. Graham had served as 4th to him at Benares.

²The references to Cuttack are most interesting, as they belong to a chapter of a history that is almost entirely lost. Notice the silence on the subject of English activities in Orissa at this time in the volumes on Ballasore and Cuttack in the *Bengal District Gazetteers*.

Bourdett or Bardett, John. Arrived 4th August 1755. Assistant in the Accomplant's Office 1756. Survived the Black Hole. Sent with Holwell as a prisoner to Marshidabad. Granted two years' service by the Company. Resident at Ballasore 1759. Claimed by Lord Clive with Lylester and Gray as "the most factious among the Councillors." He was the author of the famous remark "Your Lordship seems determined to render the Service a burden to those who have chanced to differ from you in opinion." Hill (*Life of Europeans*, p. 13) says that Bardett was dismissed. It seems that he resigned. See 1765. O. C. 25th September. No. 6.

accompanying extract from my observations on the Purgana of Cossijurah, as I am of opinion that the subject thereof may merit your consideration.

The case of Bulrampore bund received your decision in the month of August last year; but as it does not appear that the circumstance of there being no actual loss on the part of Burdwan, and that by repairing and strengthening their bund, there is a possibility of saving both countries, were at that time sufficiently attended to, I presume now to represent it to you again, and to request that it may be re-considered with these additional lights. That no actual loss has accrued to the Burdwan province needs not to be insisted on; and that there is a possibility of securing both countries seems to me to be plainly implied from Captain De Gloss' draught and report. At present I understand that the Burdwan bund is totally out of repair, being greatly sunk and broke down in a number of places. It might, therefore, very well be represented by the Aumin, who went from that factory, that the river would most probably overflow on the Chitwah side; but I believe it is the opinion of Capt. De Gloss that the repairing of that bund and deepening at the same time the channel of the river by digging the earth out of it, which might be required for the work, would effectually secure both purganas from inundation, and thereby prevent loss to either. If, upon a further enquiry, it is found that this can be effected, I make no doubt but you will issue your orders accordingly.

The other circumstance of shutting up the mouth of Denyeah Creek by the bund at Mandargatchee cannot but appear, (after the offers made on the part of the Cossijurah Raja to Raja Tilluckhund), to be a very unmerited injury and injustice; and, as it moreover occasions such a considerable loss to the Company's lands in this Province, I hope your immediate directions will be given for having it remedied.

The present is the season of cultivation, and, if I can obtain your favourable determination on the foregoing points, we may still expect to reap the benefit thereof, by encouraging the ryots to work those lands, which hitherto they have been so much averse to, for reason of their being liable to inundation.

If the Cossijurah Raja is permitted to repair the bund at Bulrampore, he will require the assistance of some money for that purpose. I request, therefore, to know whether I may in such case, make him an advance out of the Treasury, to be repaid in the ensuing year in the same manner as his Poolbundee. The expense which the Raja was at last year on this account amounts to upwards of 4,000 rupees, for which he has had no allowance made him, altho' the bund was cut by a public order.

I am, &c.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

15.

Extract from Mr. Graham's Remarks on the Purgana of Cossijurah in the Province of Midnapore.

..... The Branch of the Cassai, mentioned in the account of Shawpore and Colabpore, another small river called the Kero, and several creeks pass through this Purgana, so that the land, which is cultivated, is in a very flourishing condition; but the country, being very low, is subject almost to constant inundations, which occasion considerable loss to the revenues, and great distress to the Raja. Last year, for example, the cutting of the bund (which he had raised) at Bulrampore, in consequence of the Burdwan Factory's representation to the Board, caused a loss to the Cossijurah country, by the overflowing of the river Pittowah, of at least Rs. 6,000, besides the expense which the Raja had been at in the work, and a like loss may very well be apprehended annually, as he is now positively forbid to make any other bund there. The Board's orders were given in consequence of the Burdwan representation that a greater loss might accrue to the Company, if the river should break their

bund and burst out on their side; but that the river did actually break their bund was, by no means the case; and the repairing and strengthening of their bund, I imagine, would have prevented it and saved both countries. The Burdwan Raja could very well have afforded such an expense: and, with all due deference, the Factory there should rather, I think, have tried this method than made such a pressing application to the Board to have the Cossijurah bund cut, upon mere supposition, and which was attended with this additional grievance of being out at a time (the middle of August) when the crop was almost ready for reaping. The Company's interest, I will allow, deserves all manner of precaution and attention; but, surely the Cossijurah Raja's case merits also some consideration, if by this order he is to be subjected to a certain and continued loss, upon the supposition that a greater loss might ensue in Burdwan. He is now in arrears to the Company account last year's rent about Rs. 20,000, Rs. 10,000 of which may be said to have arisen from the affairs of this bund; and he finds himself greatly diffculted to pay up his present malguzarry, of which this, amongst others, is the cause.

Another loss, which he suffers, proceeds also from the conduct of the Burdwan people. The waters which collect in Cossijurah in the time of the rains should find their outlet into the Roopnarain by a creek (called Denyeh Creek) that runs through a small part of the Purgana Mundlegant. This part, which the creek passes through being very low land, there is a risk of its overflowing in its course to the Roopnarain perhaps too or 150 bigahs in the Mundlegant Purgana, to prevent which inconsiderable loss the Burdwan people stop the course of the waters, by shutting up the mouth of the creek at a place called Mondargatchee, and threw them back upon Cossijurah to the ruin of no less than 5,000 bigahs of arable land in that country. This, besides being such a considerable loss to the Raja, appears to be a piece of the greatest injustice, and has been of long duration; and the offers which he heretofore made to Tilluckchund,¹ of making a bund thro' the Mundlegant grounds on each side of the creek and giving up to that Purgana a quantity of cultivated land out of his own country equivalent to what would be wasted in raising such a bund, were neither accepted nor listen'd to.

16.

TO HARRY VERELST, ESQ., ETC., ETC.

AGRACHAW.

11th April 1776.

GENTLEMAN,

I have received your commands of the 31st ultimo and the rule which is laid down shall in future be punctually observed.

I did myself the honour to address you under date 6th instant relative to some points which occur'd in the Purgans of Cossijurah, and having since visited all the districts of Midnapore, excepting what are situated to the S.-W., I am now advanced into the Province of Jallesore. I am very sorry to find, as well as from my own observation as from the inspection of the accounts of the Purganas, that there is vast quantities of lands lying waste in this Province which, from the scarcity of ryotts, there is very little hopes of our being able to cultivate, notwithstanding it is all arable ground. In the Purgana of Agrachaw alone

¹ See an article in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. CIV, April 1872, "The Burdwan Raj." It is only necessary to glimpse at the *Press Lists of Ancient Documents preserved at the Imperial Record Office* to see that this able article is very incomplete. The history of the English in rural Bangs has scarcely been commenced.

they have rendered me an account of upwards of 10,000 begas on this situation, owing entirely to the deficiency of ryotts: and, unless we can by some means procure an increase of them, the lands must still remain in the same desolated state. With a view to prevent, if possible, so great a loss, and to effect an object, which may prove beneficial to the Company's interest and the good of the country, I have proposed the granting talooks out of the waste lands to any responsible persons, who may offer and engage to come and settle on them with the ryotts; and I have to that purpose issued a proclamation in the catcherry. The terms, which I have stipulated, you will find contained in the accompanying extract from my Remarks on the aforesaid Purgana; and, if they meet with your approbation, I beg to submit it to your consideration, whether it may not possibly assist my endeavours to publish those terms in Calcutta.

I am, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

17.

Extract from Mr. Graham's remarks on the Purgana of Agrachour in the Province of Jalesore.

The lands of this Purgana are $6\frac{1}{2}$ annas in possession of the Chowdrey and $9\frac{1}{2}$ annas in the hands of 18 Talookdars, but I am sorry to understand and observe that they are far from being in a flourishing state. According to the accounts which the Chowdrey and Talookdars render, the Malgumary is paid from the rents of about 6,000 begas which is cultivated, whilst upwards of 10,000 begas of arable land is lying waste, exclusive of the jungles and basee zemins. Last year, the Chowdrey and Talookdars executed an obligation to Mr. Watts to cultivate 2,500 begas of this land, but I do not find they have exceeded 500. In short, I see no prospect of getting such a quantity of land cultivated but by dividing it into talooks, and appointing such responsible persons as may offer to talooks of 1,000 or 1,500 begas. Depending, therefore, that this method will be approved of as tending both to the Company's interest and the good of the country, I have issued a proclamation accordingly in the Cutcherry, which now moves with me, at the Cutcherry of Midnapore, and in the Cutcherry of the Purgana. The terms I have stipulated for the pottahs to the ryotts are as follows:—

Lands which produce other crops besides paddy, to pay.

Lands which produce only paddy, to pay.

The 1st year	... As. 5 per bega.	The 1st year	... As. 4 per bega.
" 2nd "	... " 11 " "	" 2nd "	... " 8 " "
" 3rd "	... Re. 1 " "	" 3rd "	... " 12 " "

And the Talookdar's teshkees with the Company to be settled agreeable to the produce of this jummaabundee. If responsible people are encouraged from these terms to collect ryotts and come and settle on the lands, a very large increase of revenues may be expected to accrue to the Company in the course of a few years, for I understand that the most of the Purganas are in the same situation, and I intend to make the same publication in them as I advance.

In the meantime, as I observe by the complaints of the ryotts, that a much greater number in proportion are settled upon the Talookdar's lands, I imagine they may be able to cultivate more than what they at present hold pottahs for. I have, therefore, issued a perwanna offering them pottahs on the above terms whatever they will cultivate of the waste lands, over and above their stated leases. By this method we may expect some little advantage, until there is time for persons to offer and accept of talooks.

18.

TO WILLIAM ALDERSEY, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Council of Fort William.

TIRUCHACHOUR :

13th April 1766.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 7th instant, but I am not acquainted with any Europeans not in the Company's Service residing within the Districts of the Midnapore Residency. The gentleman, who assists me in my private business, is of European parents, but born in Bengal. I do not suppose, therefore, that he is comprehended in the order of Council. If I understand that he is, I shall demand from him such an account as is required on my return to the Factory.

During the time of my Secretaryship I received into my hands a sum of money, for the tonnage, etc., of vessels that had passes granted them by the President and Council; but the multiplicity of business whilst in office, and the constant shifting of my situation since, put it totally out of my power till now to make up an account of it. I beg, Sir, you will represent this circumstance to the President and Council, and obtain their order for receiving into the Treasury C. Rs. 5,485 . . . which you will find to be the amount as per accompanying Statement. Having obtained this order from the Board, the enclos'd bill for the money upon my attorney, Mr. Lawrell, will be honour'd with immediate payment.

I am, etc., etc.,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

19.

TO HARRY VERELST, ESQ., ETC., ETC.

BEERCOOL :

19th April 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received your letter of the 14th instant, and I shall observe it as a rule in future to forward my monthly account to the Presidency by the 15th of month ensuing. They would have been so transmitted this month, had not my absence from the Factory occasion'd some unavoidable delay; and should the same reason prevent their being dispatch'd so early as they ought to be in future, I hope it will be excused, after that there will be nothing to obstruct a due observance of your order.

The Treasury and Cash accounts, together with those of charges collection, charges general, etc., for the month of March are now forwarded, as also two Bills of Exchange on the Paymaster-General: one drawn by me for C. Rs. 6,497-10-8 being the amount of the military disbursements in March, and one drawn by Captain De Gloss, Surveyor for C. Rs. 1,110 . . . account the Expences of his Survey.

Since the commencement of the New Regulations, I have, agreeable to the desire of the Paymaster-General, granted a bill upon you monthly in his favor for the amount of reckonings due to the troops station'd at Midnapore. This monthly Draft, I am to request, may be honour'd with acceptance whenever it appears, and the amount shall be duly notified at the time I transmit the accounts. The one for March was C. Rs. 384-5.

The above mention'd accounts for March being drawn out after a new Form wch particularizes the batta by which the Rupees actually received are converted into Alla Sica and Calcutta Currency, I shall be glad to know whether it meets with your approbation. Heretofore an imaginary batta of 22 per cent. was made use of to convert the Allah

Sicca into Current Rupees; but as that calculation will seldom fail to produce a false amount of Current Rupees, when compared with the Company's establish'd *batta* on the different species, I was led to adopt the method which is now before you on taking charge of the Residency.¹

I am with respect,
Gentlemen, etc., etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

20

TO W. B. SUMNER, ESQ., ETC., MEMBERS OF THE COMMERCE OF TRADE AT FORT WILLIAM.

DANTOON:
25th April 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received your letters of the 2nd and 19th instant. In consequence of the letter, the Agent of Messrs. Stibbert² and Hare have deliver'd over to me the *Lauprie* collarees, and people on my part are now employ'd in receiving the Salt which is ready. As Messrs. Stibbert and Hare had put a stop to the boiling some time before I received your Order, by the time it arrived I found almost all the *Molungees* had gone, and engaged themselves at the work in the *Moratta* Districts. I have now employ'd people to bring them back and renew the boiling; but, as it will be attended with a good deal of trouble and petty charges, I would beg leave to propose the delivering the whole of produce of these collarees to the Society at Calcutta, on the same Terms with the salt produc'd at *Beertool*, instead of receiving what is now ready and working the remainder of the season on account of the Society. If this proposal is agreeable to you, I shall receive the little profit which occurs as compensation for my trouble, and the Committee will be reliev'd from the perplexity and inconvenience of adjusting accounts with *gunastahs*.

The *beparas*, who were at *Busta*, came thither by some roads which lye thro' the jungles to the Westward of this province, *Burdwan*, etc., of which I am unable to obtain any exact account. If the *Morattas* furnish them with salt they will return by the same route. However I am endeavouring to engage them either to come and purchase at *Anandpore* or to quit the country.

I am, Gentlemen etc., etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

21.

TO WILLIAM ALDERSEY, ESQ., *Secretary, Etc.*

MIDNAPORE:
21st May 1766.

I now transmit you from my Assistant Mr. Hampton a description of the nature required in your letter of the 7th ultimo. The particulars thereof will, I hope, be deemed

¹ For explanation of currency exchange, etc., see Price, *Notes on the History of Midnapore*, p. 195.

² *Belgadler-General* Giles Stibbert. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV., p. 492. See 1766, O. C. 10th March No. 1 for a letter from Major Giles Stibbert and Mr. Peter Gallopine, Attorney of Mr. Francis Hare, regarding the value of the Salt *Estakals*. O. C. 3rd March No. 8 gives the decision of the Arbitrators on the salt farms of these two gentlemen. Francis Hare had been appointed a writer on 23rd November 1739 in London. In 1776 he asked leave to come down from *Chuprah* to settle his affairs. He seems to have held a contract for victualling the army. In 1769 of Council, Import Warehouse Keeper. Member of Controlling Committee of Revenue 1770. Died in 1772.

sufficient to entitle him to the protection of the Company, and the peculiar circumstances which appear in his case, I trust will ensure him the countenance of the Board.

I am, &c., &c.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

22

TO JOHN GRAHAM, ESQ.

MIDNAPORE
1st May 1766.

SIR,

In consequence of your communicating to me the resolution of the President and Council of the 3rd March; I must now inform you that I was born in Bengal and went to England for Education. That I came out in the year 1730 a Writer in the Honble Company's Service for Bencoolen; at which place I continued till the beginning of the year 1760, when, not having a good state of health, I desired permission to resign the Service and repair to this place my native country. This my request was granted, by the then Governor and Council of Fort Marlbro'; and I took my passage on a Snow Commanded by Captain Dunn; but, before we could get off the Coast, we had the misfortune to be taken by the two French ships, which afterwards took all the Company's settlements on the west Coast of Sumatra. By those two misfortunes, I lost all the small Fortune I had attain'd in my long service; which has reduced me to the necessity of gaining a subsistence through the favor of the Gentlemen of this place.

I am with due respect,
Sir,
Your most and humble Servant,
(Sd.) CHA. HAMPTON.

23

TO W. B. SUNNER, ESQ., &C., GENTLEMEN OF COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

MIDNAPORE:
10th May 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I have been favour'd with your letter of the 28th Ult., and I am glad to find that method, which I have adopted for stating the monthly accounts, meets with your approbation. In consequence thereof, the accounts for April, which are now forwarded, are made out upon the same plan, and it shall always be observ'd in future.

I further transmit you herewith the following Bills of Exchange.

- | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|--------|------------|
| 1. | My Bill as Pay Master upon the Milly: Payn: Gent: for the amount Military Disbursements of the month of April | .. | C. Rs. | 7,304-13-6 |
| 2. | Captain De Glosa's Bill upon Do: for the Expenses of his Survey | ... | " | 1,665-0-0 |
| 3. | My private Bill upon Mr. James Lawrell which on presentment will be duly discharg'd for Sen Rs. 20,000 | ... | " | 12,200-0-0 |

In all C. Rs. 31,169-13-6

And I am likewise to advise that I have drawn on you, under date the 1st, for C. Rs. 384-5-4, in favour of the Pay Master General, being the amount of Off Reckonings due to the Troops stationed at this Factory for the Month of April.

I am with Respect, etc., etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

24

TO W. B. SUMNER, ESQ., ETC., MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TRADE AT FORT
WILLIAM.

Members of the Committee of Trade at Fort William.

MIDNAPORE :
22nd May 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I am favor'd with your letters of the 3rd and 15th Instant. In consequence of your acceptance of my offer for the produce of the Lamprie Colarees, I have accounted with the last proprietors for the advance which they had made, and am now continuing the boiling.

Immediately on receipt of your letter of the 3rd, I transmitted the intimation which you desired to the bepatrees in the Moratta Districts, and I have now issued the publication directed in yr. last. If, in consequence thereof, any proposals are offer'd to me, I shall take care to forward them.

In pursuance of your former orders, I have effected sales at Anundpore of about 15,000 Maunds of salt at the price which you stipulated (C. Rs. 2 Per Maund) and it is now weighing off. I should be glad to know whether I am to continue selling at that rate, or to suspend my sales until we see the effect of this publication for proposals. As I shall have a call for some money here to discharge the hire of the salt from the collarees to Anundpore, and to carry on my business at Lamprie, I request your permission to supply myself out of the Anundpore sales, and grant drafts for the same in your favor on my attorneys in Calcutta.

In addition to the servants which I formerly advised you to have employ'd at Anundpore, the business had required my entertaining four more Weighmen and a Poslar, which I hope you will not disapprove. The former are to receive each $4\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees monthly wages—the latter 5 Rupees.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and humble Servant,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

25.

TO W. B. SUMNER, ESQ., & GENTLEMEN OF COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM,

MIDNAPORE :
25th May 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I have been favor'd with your letter of the 10th Instant.

Amongst the orders sent to this Factory previous to my appointment I meet with the two following. The first under date the 21 January 1765, wherein the Resident is directed to keep two sets of books, the one to include accounts of the revenues, and the other the accounts of the Investment Expenses of the Factory, etc. The second under date the 24th October accompanying an Extract of the General Letter for the *Greenville*, wherein it is directed that two copies of the Books of the Factory shall be sent annually to the Presidency to be forwarded with the General books from thence to England.

That the omission of executing these orders may not be attributed to any neglect of mine, I must now take the liberty to acquaint you that I have not found any books at the

Factory whereupon to proceed: Three different sets have at different times been open'd, but none of them have been compleat, or indeed near finish'd. I propose now, however, with your approbation, to open two sets for the present year, upon the above directed plan, and I shall take care to have them compleat so as to be transmitted to Europe with the books of the Presidency, by the Jan'y ship. I shall pay due attention in the course of this business to the directions contain'd in the Sub-Accomptant's Letter of the 16th December 1764, but for my further assistance I must request your determination on the following particulars.

First, Whether all the old ballances now charged to the several purganas are to be brought forward in the new books? This querie is made in reference to some directions which have been sent me by the Select Committee, and which Mr. Verelst will be kind enough to take the trouble to explain to you.

Secondly, Whether the ballance of Midnapore Fort and Building is to be brought upon the new books: agreeably to the Statement deliver'd to me by Mr. Watts, when I took charge of the Factory, which only includes the expence from Novr. 1763, and whether you will order a compleat account to be made up and sent me from Calcutta?

Thirdly, Whether you approve that the advances directed to be made from the one sett of books to the other should be enter'd under the Heads *Revenue Books* and *Factory Books*, or what heads you would choose to have open'd for those transfers?

Fourthly, Whether the Military Disbursement are to be esteemed a charge upon the Revenues or the Factory: and, of consequence, into which Books their amount is to be brought?

Fifthly, By what rule or standard I am to ascertain the amount of the teskkees of each Purga at the beginning of the year, in Current Rupees, the Teskkees being always adjusted in Allah Siccas? The method lately adopted for converting the Rupees actually received into Allah Siccas and Calcutta Currency having met with your approbation is in future to be continued; but then, this depending entirely upon the receipts, it is impossible to pronounce beforehand a certain produce in either species. To remedy this inconvenience, I would humbly propose, if you approve it, that such a battia, as you shall think proper, shall be established upon the Allah Siccas, agreeably to which the amount of the teskkees, to be debited in Current Rupees; whilst the receipts shall continue to be enter'd according to the method at present followed. Any difference then arising in Allah Siccas at the end of the year will be a ballance actually due from the Country, whilst the difference wch may arise in the Current Rupees will be a Profit or Loss to the Company: and must be adjusted accordingly by that account.

This necessary work having already been long delay'd, I beg I may be favor'd with your answer as soon as possible.

I am, with respect,
Your most obedient and humble Servant.
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

26.

TO W. R. SUMNER, ESQ., AND GENTLEMEN OF COUNCIL.

MIDNAPORE:
5th June 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I was in due course favoured with your letter of the 22nd May, and in consequence thereof the proclamation of the Nabob Syd O'Dowla was publicly read at this Factory.

As I shall have a despatch of cloth ready to send to Calcutta in a few days hence, I request that two mutwas may be ordered down to Gongacolly to receive it.

I am, etc.,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

27.

TO W. B. SUMNER, ESQ., ETC., MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TRADE AT FORT WILLIAM.

MIDNAPORE :

9th June 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

Having sold to the end of last month to the amount of 21,000 Mds. of Salt at the Society's golahs at Annulpore, I have now the pleasure to transmit you the following accounts:—

1. Charges building golahs for the reception of 80,000 Mds. of Salt.
2. Charges March.
3. Account receipt of Salt to the 31st of May.
4. Account Sales of do. to do.
5. Cash account of the Society for March 1766.

All the accounts, I hope, will upon inspection, be found right and receive your approbation.

I am favor'd with your letter of the 28th ulto. and, agreeably to your desire, I shall continue my sales at Annulpore. After repeated endeavours, I have at length prevail'd upon one of the up-country beparees to come down to the golahs, and I expect that he will take off in a few days to the amount of 10,000 Mds.

I am much obliged by the permission you have given me for taking up what sums I may want to carry on my own business out of your cash. In consequence thereof, I have drawn a supply in the month of May of Curr. Rupees 35,100, for which I now engage you a bill upon Mr. Lawrell, payable at five days' sight. The ballance of your cash shall be remitted, either when fresh opportunities offer of drawing or in species, as you may think proper to direct.

I am, Gentlemen, etc., etc.,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

28.

TO W. B. SUMNER, ESQ., ETC., GENTLEMEN OF COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

MIDNAPORE :

12th June 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I have been favor'd with your letter of the 2nd instant, and the instructions, therein contain'd, regarding the books to be open'd at this factory, shall be duly observ'd. I have received from the Sub-Accountant the account which you directed him to transmit me, and I will take the liberty to correspond with that Gentleman for whatever further information I may stand in need of.

Enclosed I forward to you the Accounts of the Factory for the month of May together with two Bills of Exchange, *viz.*, one drawn by me upon the Military Paymaster-General for 6,100 C. Rs. , and one drawn by Captain De Gloss¹ on do. for C. Rs. 1,110.

I am with due Respect, etc.,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

¹ Perhaps the Capt. Luis de Gloss, who in 1769 superintended the buildings at Dinapore, and afterwards manufactured gunpowder and cast canoes at Calcutta.

In November 1772 he became Lieut.-Colonel, and with his resignation submitted a history of his services. See 1772. O. C. 17th December No. 4 and 31st December No. 9.

39.

TO W. E. SUMNER, ESQ., ETC., GENTLEMEN OF COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

MIDNAPORE :
15th June 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

Under escort of one Naick and six Seapoya, I now dispatch to Gongacolly eight chests of Treasure and sixty bales of piece-goods, to be forwarded from thence to Calcutta, the Invoices thereof shall be transmitted by the Dawks.

I am with due respect,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

30.

TO W. B. SUMNER, ESQ., AND GENTLEMEN OF COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

MIDNAPORE :
15th June 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

This serves to enclose to you the invoices of eight chests treasure and sixty bales piece-goods dispatch'd this day to Gongacolly, to be forwarded from thence to Calcutta. The invoice of the Treasure amounts to Sicca weight 50,000 . . . and that of the piece-goods to A. Rs. 14,108-11-9.

I have received your favour of the 9th advising of your having station'd two Mutwas constantly at Gongacolly for the service of this Factory.

I am with due respect, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

31.

TO MR. JAMES LAWRELL,

*Secretary to the Committee of Trade at Fort William.*MIDNAPORE :
15th June 1766.

SIR,

I am favor'd with your letter of the 12th instant. Immediately on receipt thereof, I dispatched orders to Anundpore to stop the sales of the Society's salt, and this morning I received advice from the gomastah that he had accordingly done so. He acquaints me, however, that prior to the arrival of these orders, he had settled contracts with the beparees for the disposal of upwards of 25,000 Mds., that 12,600 Mds. thereof had been weighed off and deliver'd to them; the remainder he has, by my directions, stop't in the goahs, until I can receive the orders of the Committee, which you will, therefore, please to obtain for me without loss of time.

I must desire you will inform the Committee that amongst the number who have not received their salt is the beparee Babooram Noyk. This is the man who I advised them in my letter of the 9th instant. I had taken such pains to engage down to the goahs; and as for a further mark of encouragement, his contract of 9,001 Mds. was settled in my preference. I hope the Committee will not object to its being fulfilled.

Enclos'd I transmit you a draft on Mr. James Winsley for C. Rs. 5,400 which amount I have drawn here from the ballance of the Society's Cash for May.

I am, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

32.

TO W. B. SUMNER, ESQ., AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

MIDNAPORE :

17th June 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

This serves to accompany the account of this Factory for the month of June together with two Bills of Exchange upon the Paymaster-General ; one drawn by Captain De Gloss for C. Rs. 1,665—and one drawn by me for C. Rs. 6,950.

I am with due respect, etc.,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

33.

TO W. B. SUMNER, ESQ., AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TRADE AT FORT WILLIAM.

MIDNAPORE :

7th July 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I was duly favor'd with your letter of the 25th ulto acknowledging receipt of my account for the month of May ; and I have now the pleasure to transmit you the following for the month of June

- No. 1. Charges Merchandize
 2. Acctt. Receipts of Salt to the 30th June
 3. Acctt. Sales of do. to the 14th do. inclusive
 4. Cash account of the Society for June 1766

all which I hope upon examination will be found right

On the 15th ultimo I forwarded to your Secretary a Bill of Exchange on Mr. James Winsley for C. Rs. 5,400 and I now enclose you two more for C. Rs. 11,200. One on the aforesaid Gentleman for C. Rs. 5,400 ; and one Mr. James Lawrell for C. Rs. 5,800. For the ballance of your Cash, I am in hopes of obtaining Bills from hence in a few days, but if I should not succeed by the 15th instant, I shall dispatch, what I cannot remit, to Calcutta in specie.

In consequence of your Secretary's Letter of the 12th of June, all further Sales at Anundpore have been stop'd since the 14th of that month, what remains in the golahs, and is still to be reced. from the Collaries, I shall wait your orders for the Delivery of to the Persons who have become Purchasers. It is necessary, however, I should here acquaint you, that the failure of some of the Subbung Contractors will occasion a Deficiency in the quantity of Salt which Mr. Watts specified to deliver at Anundpore. This Delivery, I hope, will be compensated by a surplus from Beercool and Balsai, exclusive of the Lamprie Collarees ; and any difference raising therefrom in the accounts will be adjusted with the Committee by my Attorneys.

I am, Gentlemen, etc.,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

¹ Beercool became a sort of Brighton to Calcutta in Warren Hastings' days.

34

TO W. B. SUMNER, ESQ., AND GENTLEMEN OF COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

MIDNAPORE.
22nd July 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I am favor'd with your Letter of the 14th instant. The list of investment and the extract from the Hon'ble Company's Separate Letter, which were enclos'd therein, shall be strictly attended to.

I am also favor'd with a letter from the Secretary, of the 16th, transmitting me, by your order, a copy of the 66th Para of the General Line, dated the 24th December 1765, wherein my Hon'ble employers have been pleased to take a very favourable notice of my endeavours in the Office of Secretary. Permit me through the channel of your Board to express the grateful sense which I entertain of this fresh mark of their approbation and favor, and to offer the assurance that, whatever trust in their service the Hon'ble the President and Council may think proper to repose in me, shall always be discharged as far as may be in my power with diligence and fidelity.

The Bungalloes which were built at this Place by Mr. Parker Hatley,¹ I imagine, must have cost at least 4,000 rupees. In their present state, however, I do not esteem them worth more than 2,000 rupees, although it is necessary to observe that during these seven months past they have been employ'd for the Company's Service in the quality of a cotrah, apartment for the Surgeon, etc.

I am with due respect,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

35

TO W. B. SUMNER, ESQ., AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TRADE AT FORT WILLIAM.

MIDNAPORE.
25th July, 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received your favor of the 15th of July as also two from your Secretary, dated the 12th. In consequence thereof, I have order'd the Salt which is at Anundpore golahs to be deliver'd to Suberam the gomasta of Cossinaut, etc., Merchants and the Zemindars of the contract shall in like manner be deliver'd as it arrives from the collarees, but as it can only be brought to the golahs by Land Carriage, the rains must abate a little before I can possibly transport it.

As I find I shall not be able to succeed in procuring Bills for the whole ballance of your Cash, I yesterday dispatch'd from Anundpore four Chests of Treasure containing: Sa. Rs. 19,500, and 2,000 or C. Rs. 24,880—to be forwarded by boat from Cuttack to Calcutta. The Invoice shall be transmitted with the monthly accounts, and the ballance of cash if I fail in procuring Bills shall then be remitted.

I am, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

¹ Parker Hatley. Alderman in the Mayor's Court 1764. His request to resign and go home in the *Grenville* appears in the Public Proceedings, 1766, P. 71.

36.

TO W. B. SUMNER, ESQ., AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TRADE.

MIDNAPORE :

3rd August 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

Enclosed I transmit you account charges, merchandize, and cash account for the month of July, as also the two following Bills of Exchange.

1 Bill drawn by me upon Mr. Lawrell for C. Rs. 15,000.

1 Do. drawn by Godadur Hoidar upon Manick Hoidar and Ram Hoidar at 11 days sight for Rs. 9,774-8-9.

These remittances together with the invoice of Treasure, advised of in my last, compleat the ballance of your Cash, which remained in my hands the preceeding month.

There will be now no further business at the golahs, except the delivery of the salt to the purchasers, as it arrives from the Collarees: I have, therefore, discharged the superfluous servants, retaining in pay only such as I judge will be necessary until the delivery is completed, *viz.* :—

1 Gomasta.

2 Choppadars.

1 Head Coyal.

3 Pems.

2 Coyals.

I am, etc.,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

37.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE,

President and Governor and Council at Fort William.

MIDNAPORE :

6th August 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

I have the honour to transmit you enclos'd the accounts of this Factory for the month of July, together with a Bill of Exchange upon the Military Paymaster-General for C. Rs. 6,800.

As I apprehend that the new Regulations relative to Dusticks have by this time taken place, I request to be informed whether I am in future to grant dusticks from hence to Calcutta, for the dispatches of the Company's Treasure and Investment, and of the salt from the Collarees belonging to the Society of Trade. A good deal of inconvenience will necessarily attend the delay of receiving dusticks from Calcutta: for these purposes, especially in the Dispatches of Salt, however, I submit entirely to your Lordship &c.'s determination, the propriety of my being so far vested with this privilege, and I shall strictly adhere to the orders, which you may think proper to give.—I am with all due respect, etc., etc., Midnapore, 6th August 1766.

38.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE, ETC., ETC.

MIDNAPORE :

10th August 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

Under the escort of Hubeeb Cawn, Havildar, and six sepoy, I now dispatch to your Lordship, etc., eight chests of Treasure. The Invoice thereof shall be forwarded by the dawks.

I am with respect, etc.,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

however, how soon I can receive your determination as the season approaches for advancing to the Molungees, and those of Lamprie collatees will be apt to go away; and engage themselves in the Moratia Grounds, if not entertain'd.

I am, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

42

To HUGH WATTS, Esq.

MIDNAPORE :
25th August 1766.

SIR,

I have rece'd your favor of the 21st Instant, and in consequence thereof I now transmit you an abstract of the annual Expence of this Factory for two years compleat, also of the expence of that part of the present year which is elaps'd and which you may compleat into another Year's Abstract, by adding 3 months' expence at the rate of C.Rs. 1,800 *per* Month, which I am certain it will not exceed.

You, of your own knowledge, Sir, can acquaint his Lordship that there are no accounts remaining at the Factory of an older Date than November 1765, and that it was therefore impossible for me to trace the expences further back. I have purposely omitted to state the expence of Garrison Stores, because I could not render it perfect. The damaged Stores sold during the Chiefship of Mr. Beaumont¹ and yourself, exceeds considerably the cost of what were laid in during that period, and I had no older accounts to instruct me in what was the Original Stock of the Store-house.

If this abstract should appear in any respect imperfect, I shall be ready to rectify it in such manner as you may instruct me.

I am, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

AN ABSTRACT OF ANNUAL EXPENCE AT MIDNAPORE FACTORY.

From November 1763 to October 1764 inclusive.

CHARGES MIDNAPORE FACTORY.—

	RS.	AS.	P.	RS.	AS.	P.
This Head contains all the charges of the Factory for these 12 months the charges of the collections excepted, and comprehends the Workmen's wages employed in building the Fort, the cost of materials, Petty Charges, etc. The amount, as collected from the Monthly account, is	C. 69,736	11	3

CHUNAM AND TAGOREE DADNEY.—

The amount of the advances for these articles, collected also from the monthly accounts	...	...	...	12,091	2	9
					81,827	14 0

¹ Aclm Beaumont. In 1757 Major of Calcutta. Originally a free merchant, he was appointed a factor in the Company's Service in reward for his services as a volunteer during the siege. Provisional Military Store-keeper 1763. Resident at Midnapore 1764.

From November 1764 to October 1765 inclusive.

PAY AND ALLOWANCES TO THE COVENANT SERVANTS.—

	RS.	AS.	P.
Mr. Watts' Way Charges from Calcutta ...	540	0	0
Mr. Fenwicke's Do. ...	108	0	0
Mr. Hatley's to Calcutta ...	108	0	0
			756 0 0

CHARGES MIDNAPORE FACTORY.—

Comprehending the expences recited above 33,902 0 3

CHARGES GENERAL.—

This forms a separte Head from May 1765

and the amount is ... 6,026 6 6

39,928 6 9

40,684 6 9

N.B.—In this year's acc'ts. the Expences of Tagree and Chunam is included under the foregoing Heads.

From November 1765 to July 1766 inclusive.

PAY AND ALLOWANCES TO THE COVENANT SERVANTS.—

	RS.	AS.	P.
Mr. Watts' Way Charges to Calcutta ...	540	0	0
Mr. Fenwicke's Do. ...	108	0	0
Mr. Graham's Do. from Calcutta ...	540	0	0
			1,188 0 0

CHARGES MIDNAPORE FACTORY.—

Comprehends as in the preceeding year

and amounts to ... 17,798 15 0

CHARGES GENERAL.—

Do. Do. ... 8,455 3 9

26,254 7 9

27,442 7 9

Current Rupees ... 1,49,954 7 6

44

TO THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} LORD CLIVE, ETC., ETC.

MIDNAPORE:

31st August 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

Under Escort of a Havildar and six Seapoys, I now dispatch to your Lordship, etc., the Company's two Mutwas laden with sixteen chests of Treasure and nineteen bales of piece-goods.

I am, etc.,

[JOHN GRAHAM.]

45.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE, ETC., ETC.

MIDNAPORE :
1st September 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

Enclosed I transmit you an invoice of Treasure (Rs. 100,000) and another of piece goods, dispatch'd from hence yesterday to be laden on the Company's Mutwas at Pertabpore, and proceed to Calcutta. I further enclose you two Bills of Exchange; one drawn by me upon the Paymaster-General for C. Rs. 655, and one drawn by a Merchant here for Sont Rs. 4,000 upon the house of Manick Holdar and Ram Holdar.

I have duly rece'd your Lordship, etc. commands of the 11th and 10th ulto. in consequence of the former I shall make applica. on to the President for whatever dustics may be wanted at this Factory; and the supplemental Directions relative to the investment shall be complied with as far as the possibility of procuring dies will admit.

I am, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM]

46.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE, ETC., ETC.

MIDNAPORE :
27th September 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

I have the honor to transmit you herewith the accounts of this Factory for the month of August. This being the last month of the Orixa year, the necessary adjustment with the remindars without which the Treasury account could not be closed is the reason to be assign'd for the delay in forwarding, those accounts beyond the time appointed by your Lordship, etc., orders.

I have likewise the honor to transmit you an invoice of nine chests of Treasure, dispatch'd from hence the 20th instant to be laden on the Company's Mutwas at Gongacolly. This dispatch compleats the sum of Rupees 600,000 remitted to your Lordship, etc., in the course of this year, exclusive of the advances made for the investment, and all the expences of the Factory, Civil and Military.

I beg leave to represent to your Lordship and Council the great want of a magazine in the Fort of Midnapore. A considerable quantity of Stores is laid up there are at present no better secured, than by being lodged in an old Tomb, which I hardly believe to be proof against a common Rocket; and is moreover by overtopping the walls of the Fort exposed to every attempt of an enemy. If your Lordship, etc., should approve of having a magazine built, you may depend on its being executed with the strictest economy. Indeed from the cheapness of bricks here it can hardly be said to incur a further expence than the workmen's labor and the cost of Chunam.

I am, etc., etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM]

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE, ETC., ETC.,

President and Gentlemen of the Select Committee at Fort William.

CALCUTTA:

3rd October 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 16th September, and with it a copy of the Hon'ble Comp'y's Instructions contained in the 43rd Para. of their Genl. Letter, dated the 24th December 1765. By these orders I find a call is made upon me, in consequence of the appointment I held at Burdwan about five years ago, to refund the allowances which I then rec'd. in that Station. But, as I cannot help esteeming my case in some circumstances different from that of the other Gentlemen, which my Hon'ble Masters may not perhaps have been acquainted with at the time they were pleased to issue those orders, I flatter myself I shall not be thought to presume in embracing this opportunity representing it to your Lordship, etc.

From the tenor of the Hon'ble Company's Directions, it would appear that they understand the allowances in question to have been made in the light of gratifications to their servants, on account of their private expences alone. But I must beg leave to observe that whatever footing these allowances might have been put upon after my time, the plan upon which they were originally regulated was very different.

When Mr. Sumner was deputed by the Board to settle the Burdwan Province, after a Scene of great labor and application, wherein he had all the backwardness of the Raja, the discontent of his troops, and the Chicanery of his Mutiseddies to combat with and overcome, he (Mr. Sumner) obtain'd for the Company the very advantageous Revenue of 32,50,000 Sa Rupees, altho' this was only our first year of possession. Not satisfied, however, himself with this adjustment, he was determined to free the Company from all attendant Expences, and to realize the aforementioned sum to them as a clear Revenue. With this view, therefore, he made additional proposals to the Raja, who for a long time stood out (alleging that he had assented to the payment of as large a sum as the Comp'y could be entitled to upon a scrutiny of his country), but, being at length prevailed upon by Mr. Sumner's perseverance, it was stipulated further that the Raja should defray the expences of the Resident and Servants who might be employ'd there on part of the Comp'y, as well of Collectors should they be found necessary, to be sent into the different purgunnahs. In this light, and upon this plan, the Raja's allowance was rec'd. both by Mr. Sumner and myself, and the Comp'y were thro' the whole course of that year put to no kind of expence.

Being at present here on leave of absence from the Right Hon'ble the President, and having left all my books and papers at Midnapore, it is not in my power to state to your Lordship, etc., the exact amount for the allowances which I did receive, but in general I can inform you that the monthly sum was fluctuating and not fixed, and for the most part under 3,000 Rs., that after discharging the wages of a great number of bucarries, peons, hircarrabs, tentmen, etc., which the business of the Cutchery and the unsettled situation of the country rendered it necessary to keep in pay, I receiv'd for myself such a residue as I judg'd to be sufficient to defray my expences. This sum and no more amounting upon in average to about a 1,000 Rs. per Month was all that came into my private purse, and I can, I am certain, with truth assure your Lordship, etc., that it did not exceed the charge I was at; for the resolution that was taken to disband the Raja's Troops (about 12,000 men) occasion'd our helping a

considerable detachment at Burdwan several months, and all the Officers belonging to it were invited in turn to a public table maintained by me. . . .

Upon the whole, then, as the mode in which this allowance was originally settled and received met with the confirmation of the then President and Council; as I have here declared that no part of it can be said to have been converted to my own private emolument, and as my conduct in the Burdwan Station was honor'd with the approbation of the Court of Directors so far as to order my continuance there, I request your Lordship, etc., and will indulge me in making reference of my case to the further consideration of my Honorable Masters.

I am, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

48

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE,
President and Governor and Council of Fort William.

MIDNAPORE :
10th October 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

This serves to accompany the account of this Factory for the month of September together with two Bills of Exchange; one drawn upon the Mily. Paymaster for C. Rs. 6,650, and one drawn on Messrs. Lawrell and Graham for C. Rs. 17,760.

I am, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

49

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE, ETC., ETC.

MIDNAPORE :
7th November 1766.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 20th ulto., and the Export Warehouse-keeper's remarks which accompanied it shall be carefully attended to. The Sannoes of the dispatches which have fall'n under his observation were part of the provision of last year. Those of the present Year now providing will be found, when receiv'd, to be entirely free of congee.

Agreeably to the proposal which met with your approbation, I have increas'd this year's order of investment in almost every article. A compleat list of the whole that is now providing is here enclos'd for your Lordship, etc's. observation, and the delivery of the whole at Calcutta, I hope, may be concluded by the first week in March.

In consequence of your permission, I shall proceed in building a magazine in the Fort, and, as soon as possible, I will forward to your Lordship, etc., an estimate of the expence it will incur.

The accounts of this Factory for the month of October are herewith transmitted, as also a Bill of Exchange drawn by me upon the Pay-General for C. Rs 6,900.

I am, etc., etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

38.

TO ALEX. CAMPBELL, ESQ.,

Secy. to the Select Committee at Fort William.

MIDNAPORE :

7th November 1766.

SIR,

After the intimation which Lord Clive imparted to me, when I had the honour to attend the Select Committee in person, I apprehend the enclosed penalty bond, obliging myself to abide by the ultimate determination of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, will be esteem'd and received as a final answer, to their order of the 24th of December 1765; and I am to request therefore that you will take the trouble of presenting it.

The amount of the allowances paid by the Burdwan Rajah during the time of my residency at that Factory appears by the publick Cash Accounts to be Rupees 27,076 . . . out of which I disburs'd the allowance to the Commanding Officer, and wages to hamans also appears by the publick Cash Accounts Rs. 14,076.

I disburs'd further the Pay to Cutcherry servants to their expences of the Factory, as set forth in my Letter of the 3rd ultimo, and of which I can furnish the particulars if required. 5,600 19,676 the Residue Rupees 7,400 is the sum which I have now transmitted you my Penalty Bond.

To explain this statement still further it is necessary I should remark to you that my appointment to succeed Mr. Semner was made in Council the 7th of September 1766. Mr. Johnstone was app'd the 16th of April following, and took charge of the Factory the beginning of May and so that the space of eight Months was the time from which I received the publick allowances.

I am, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

51.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLIVE, ETC., ETC.

MIDNAPORE :

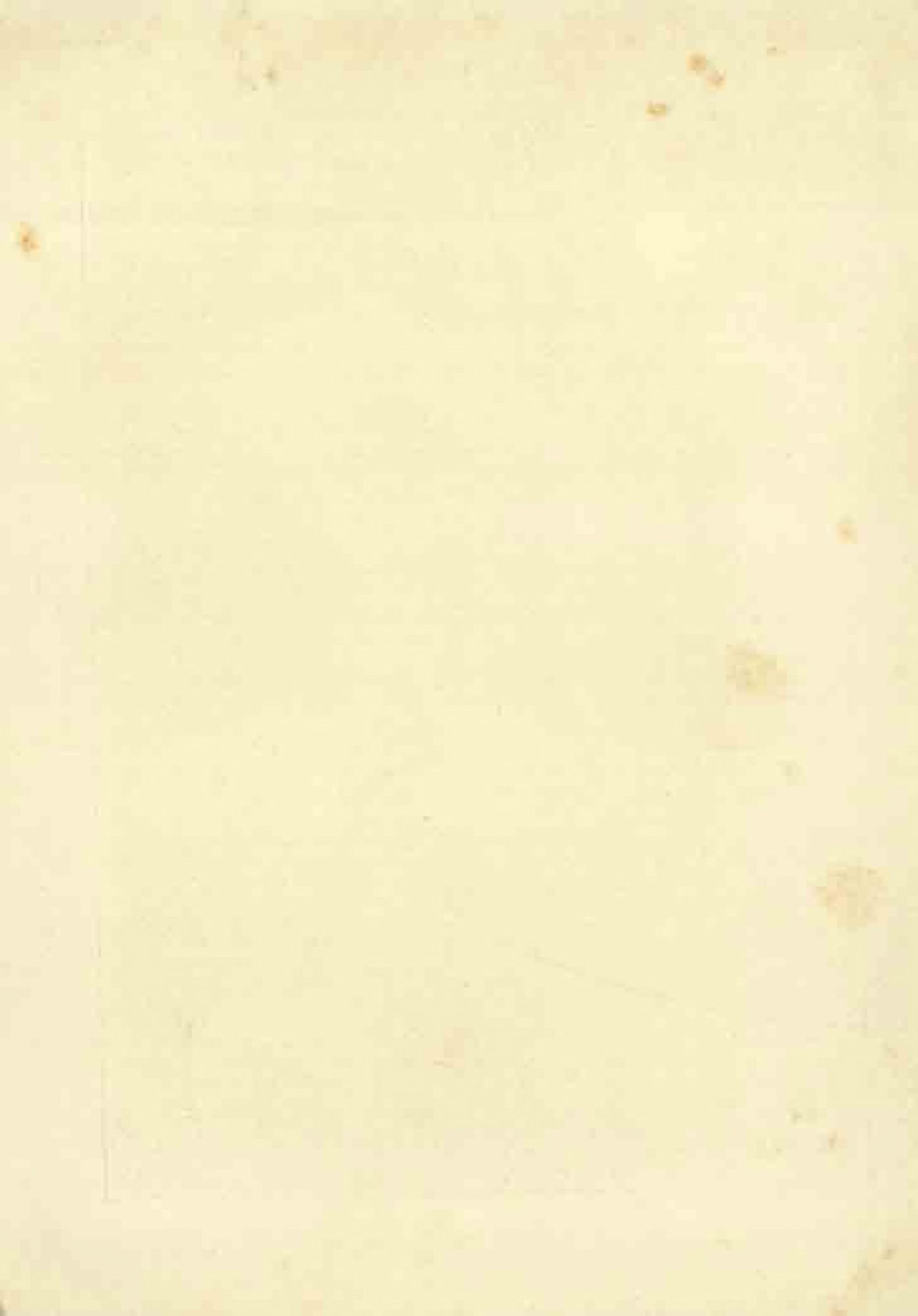
12th December 1776.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

I have the honor to transmit you herewith the accounts of this Factory for the month of November, together with two Bills of Exchange, one drawn upon Messrs. Lawrell and Graham for C. Rs. 28,000, and one drawn upon the Mily. Paymaster for C. Rs. 6,500.

I am, etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

(To be continued.)





VIEW SHOWING WRITERS' BUILDINGS, ST. ANDREW'S KIRK, THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS' MEMORIAL AS THEY STOOD IN 1870.
(Photo supplied by *Misses Johnston & Hoffmann by kind permission of the Maharajah of Baroda.*)

The Chandernagore Papers.

1778=1784.

Instalment No. 2.

PREFATORY NOTE.



IT was a widely spread belief that at the time Warren Hastings gave orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Dow¹ to capture Chandernagore, war had not actually been declared between the Courts of St. James and Versailles. It is to this supposed fact these lines, which appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* of March 27th, 1789, probably refer—

On the late intelligence from Pondicherry and Chandernagore

"How wanton is fate! how it sporteth with nations!

Behold a strong fortress besieged and won,

At once, both for flight and for fight preparations,

Yet no one have knowledge that war is begun."

Pondicherry capitulated, after a brief but gallant defence on October 16th, 1778²; but Colonel T.D. Pearse records "the capitulation will disgrace our annals for ever. Bellcombe called us *banditti*—said we attacked before war was declared—and at last made us confess we were what he called us, by stipulating that the place should not be destroyed till we knew that there was war and glossed it over by saying "till we receive advices from Europe."³ In surrendering Chandernagore Hocquart made a distinct *proviso* "if in all events war is not declared." As a matter of fact Hastings and his Council had by July 10th received advices, by way of Suez, that war had been declared by Great Britain against France on the 18th March and by that of France against Great Britain on the 30th of the same month.

For some time previous to the outbreak of the war, Hastings had more or less complete information in regard to French intrigues with the Mahratta durbars. At the time Colonel Dow reached Chandernagore, its commandant had already escaped seemingly with a view to reach the Mahratta Court by

¹ See article in Baskland : *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

² Forrest : *Selections from Letters, Despatches, etc., in the Foreign Department*. Vol. II, p. 663.

³ *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. II, pt. II, (2nd bound. P. 471).

⁴ Forrest : *Op. Cit.* P. 641.

overland journey. The able way in which Madame Chevalier made time for her fugitive husband has been described in a letter of Colonel Dow's which has been already printed in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. II, Pt. II, P. 391). In Chevalier's absence, therefore, it was Hocquart who had to perform the unpleasant duty of surrendering Chandernagore. Mr. Forrest in his volumes of selections has published some of Hocquart's letters found in the archives of the Foreign (then called "the Secret") Department. The letters given in this place are from the archives of the Home Department.

It may be observed that Hocquart's plea that he had *capitulated* was not admitted by Hastings. In a letter, dated 13th July, the latter writes: "In the letter which I addressed you jointly with other members of the Council on the 11th, we did not think it necessary to answer specifically to the different articles which you had proposed to our consideration, because the circumstances under which the town of Chandernagore was surrendered did not appear to be those of capitulation. We shall, however, allow due attention to the subject of your letter, nor had many of the articles contained in it escaped the observation of the board, but their resolutions upon them, whatever they may be, must be the result of their own free choice and cannot be made the conditions of a compact."

It is interesting to denote that Dow's expedition to Chandernagore was sent off from Barrackpur with such despatch and secrecy that even the Commander-in-Chief at Fort William Brigadier-General Giles Stibbert was kept in ignorance of its having been sent.

The story of the sufferings of the Chandernagore community as told by these papers, is an exceedingly sad one: and it must have rung the heart of so kindly a man as Warren Hastings to hear of repeated instances of sufferings endured by innocent persons in that rough retaliation for wrongs done elsewhere which is an inevitable accompaniment of war. Letter No. 53 shows how the seizure of a Cartel ship by the French at Mauritius led to retaliation, and other instances of the same sort of things will be found in these papers.

W. K. F.

66.

(1778, O. C. 29th July, No. 3.)

TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL,

FORT WILLIAM.

CHANDERNAGORE:

17th July 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

I have already had the honour of writing to you the 10th of this month, and conceived myself authorized to do it by the article of my letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Dow, dated

the morning of the same day, in which I answered to the first he wrote me for the immediate surrender of the town of Chandernagore. By my answer I only surrendered conditionally, reserving to myself to treat with Mr. Hastings and the Council of Calcutta for the different terms and conditions to be obtained for the inhabitants of Chandernagore, which article not having been contradicted by Lieutenant-Colonel Dow, is an article of capitulation, the performance of which I am to require, as I must be enabled to render an account of it to the Court of France in time and place.

It ought not to appear astonishing to you, Gentlemen, that I should have obtained this right, which I reserved to myself, and that I require your acquiescence to go to Calcutta to have the honour of conferring with you relative to what may concern the inhabitants of Chandernagore; and, with regard to myself, I should wish, Gentlemen, that [you] would afford me the means of returning to Europe.

I am your prisoner on my parole, and, according to the usages and rights of war, my demand is just. I hope then, Gentlemen, that you will be pleased to pay attention to my demand, and afford me the means of returning to France. The inhabitants of Chandernagore, as well as myself, await with the greatest earnestness to know what you have decided as to their fate, and I, Gentlemen, that you would facilitate to me the means of returning to Europe.

Be assured, Gentlemen of the respect, etc.

HOCQUART.

A true translation from the original

A. L. GILBERT,

French Translator.

61.

O. C. 1778. 29th July, No. 3.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

CHANDERNAGORE :

17th July, 1778.

SIR,

I received your letter under date the 13th of this month* by the hands of Lieut.-Col. Dow, and am very sensible of your politeness, and thank you for the proper attention, which you tell me you will pay to my letter. It appears to me, Sir, that you have not given sufficient attention to the expressions of my letter to Lieut.-Col. Dow, before the surrender which I made of the town of Chandernagore. These are my expressions:—"that I surrendered myself as well as the town of Chandernagore, reserving to myself to inform the Court of France, and to treat with Mr. Hastings and the Council of Calcutta for the different terms and conditions to be obtained for the inhabitants of Chandernagore." This article of my letter not having been contradicted by Lieut.-Col. Dow, is the condition on which I surrendered, and an article of capitulation. I hope likewise that, according to your letter, I shall soon be able to inform the inhabitants of Chandernagore of their fate. Relatively to the sixth article of my letter concerning the subsistances, I could, however, have wished much to have the honour of seeing you.

Prisoner on my parole I only desire to retire upon it into Europe, and one of the reasons which induced me to ask of you to have the honor of seeing you in Calcutta was to request you to facilitate to me the most speedy means of doing it. Nothing is more conform-

* This letter will be found in *Forrest's Selections*, Vol. II, p. 647.

able to the usages of war than for a Commandant, being a prisoner of war; to return to his country on his parole of honour. I accordingly address myself particularly to you, Sir, and I accompany this with a letter for the Council as well upon this subject as upon that of the short capitulation which I made with Lieut.-Col. Dow when I surrendered reserving to myself to treat with you and the Council of Calcutta for different terms and conditions to be obtained for the inhabitants of Chandernagore. I hope, Sir, that you and the Council will pay attention to my demand, and will be assured of the perfect consideration in the which I have the honour to be

A true translation from the original.
French Translator,
 A. L. GILBERT.

Your, etc.
 HOCQUART.

62.

1778. O. C., 29th July, No. 1.

CHANDERNAGORE
 22nd July 1778.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL,

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

In compliance with your orders of the 20th, I have ordered an officer with a small party of seapoys to take possession of the ship lying at Barnagore. Mr. Collings has also sent a proper person to take an account of her cargo should there be any on board.

This is accompany'd by a more compleat list of the prisoners, or inhabitants of this place, than that which I first transmitted, as many had concealed themselves, who afterwards appeared upon a proclamation, that such as did not surrender themselves should be put in close confinement.

The merchants and lower classes who are not all Europeans, but a mixt cast, are not properly on parole, but have subscribed the agreement or convention for remaining quietly in their houses, and are not permitted to pass the barriers, but, as this is an open place and near the foreign settlements, it will be impossible for me to answer for them, you will therefore consider how far they are to be trusted.

They are, however, in general possess'd of houses, families, property here, a few servants excepted, the confinement of whom would answer very little purpose at present, as they cannot well quit Bengal.

ALB. DOW, Lt.-Col. Commissary.

63.

[1778. O. C., 29th July No. 4.]

TO THE HON'BLE SUPREME COUNCIL OF CALCUTTA.

CHANDERNAGORE:
 23th July 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

I had the honor of writing you the 17th of this month and flattered myself that you would do me that of answering me; hitherto I could only attribute the delay to the importance of affairs with which you were occupied at the juncture, but in eight days and more I could not conceive but you might have found an instant to reply to the ancient Chief of

a Colony which is become yours by force and chance, inasmuch as the article of my capitulation with Lieut. Col. Dow on the 10th of this month particularly reserves to me the treating with Mr. Hastings and you, Gentlemen, for the terms to be obtained for the inhabitants of Chandernagore.

Nothing more sacred than such like conditions, no nation has yet known what it is to infringe them. I ought then to have expected, Gentlemen, an answer from you, and that you should have acknowledged the receipt of my letter which must have been delivered to you by Mr. Hastings, under whose cover I had the honor of addressing you and delivered it to Lieut.-Col. Dow that it might the more safely reach you, and he has assured me that he sent it.

Charged by my post to watch over whatever interests the inhabitants of Chandernagore, they address themselves to me to ask what you have determined, Gentlemen, respecting them, that is to say as to the subsistances to be given to the persons who only lived by the appointments which they received from the King. They were easily persuaded that you only waited the reports from the Commissaries Messrs. Collings and Shee, to determine. These reports have long since reached you, and nevertheless they see nothing yet determined on this head. It is, however, the first thing to be expected by those employed by a State, which suddenly finds itself subject to another flag, who the most of them have nothing to live on but what they received monthly, and who have already deprived themselves of the most necessary things of life and in this country, to begin with myself, who have given them the example, having made the greatest reforms in my house.

Certain informations confirmed by the Officers of your nation who are here and by the Commissaries, whom you have sent seal, confirm that war was not declared between France and Great Britain at the time that you, Gentlemen, and Lieut. Col. Dow, in his letter of the 10th in the Morning, and you Gentlemen in that of the 11th July, certified it to me.

It is very far from my thoughts to give credit to these reports, persuaded as I am that the administration of the affairs of the Hon'ble English Company is in too good hands and interested with persons too wise, too enlightened and too politic, to have undertaken the like acts of hostility, without being authorised to it by their Ministry in Europe.

A prisoner myself to the English nation by chance and force, as well as the inhabitants of Chandernagore, it is in such quality of a prisoner of war and in virtue of the flag of Great Britain which has been substituted in the room of France, that I have a right as well as those who held posts and the inhabitants of Chandernagore, to claim a subsistence, which in no case has even yet been refused. Altho' you informed me that the war existed, it is no reason for depriving persons living in a corner of the earth, at a distance as they are from their country, of that which is necessary for their livelihood; if war is declared, everything calls upon you, Gentlemen, and the Social Contract universally established dictates to you, that honor and the customs of war received throughout the whole world impose the law on you, to fix speedily the fate of the individuals whom chance and force have put under your flag, which was hoisted last Sunday, and if, as I cannot believe, that war be not declared, we have still further than to expect that you should attend to our preservation. We who lived before by the French Government, deprived of a fortune as is every Frenchman who prefers the Honor of serving his country and sacrificing his time to that occupation to the means of acquiring that fortune, the State affording us nominal livelihood. This distributive proportion of appointments is our only resource, deprived of which we cannot easily exist; I therefore expect, Gentlemen, with the greatest impatience an answer from the Council.

I hope then Gentlemen that you will be pleased to let me know very soon what you have settled on this head, as likewise with respect to the passage to Europe which I had the honor to ask from you; do not doubt, Gentlemen, of the perfect consideration with which have the honor to be, etc.

HOCQUART.

A true translation from the original.

A. L. GILBERT,
French Translator.

64.

1778. O.C. 29th July.

To COL. HOCQUART.

FORT WILLIAM:
29th July 1778.

SIR,

We have received your letters of the 17th, 25th and 29th July.

With respect to the reservation alluded to by you in the letter which you wrote to Lt. Colonel Dow on the surrender of Chandernagore to him, we cannot by any means consider it in the light of a capitulation, as it not only appears unprecedented to stipulate for a privilege to that for the surrender of a place or upon any terms relating to it after the actual surrender has been made, but incompatible with the very nature of such an act. At any rate, as Col. Dow did not expressly admit of the condition proposed by you, it cannot be binding upon us. We, will however, with great readiness attend to such articles as we can consistently grant to render the situation of the Gentlemen at Chandernagore as easy and comfortable as possible under their present circumstances. We have therefore agreed to allow those who were lately entertained in the service of his most Christian Majesty the same monthly pay which they received from their own Government before the capture of the place, and we request that you will furnish our Commissary, Mr. Collings with either the original attested copy of the Establishment, which they lately received and their pay, that he may continue to issue the amount to them accordingly from the 20th instant.

But out of respect to Mrs. Chevalier, we beg leave to make her a tender of an allowance for her subsistence equal to that of the late Commandant.

We shall be very happy, in order to facilitate your return to France, as you desire it by any means in our power. We have no suitable vessel going immediately to Europe, but we shall dispatch ships in the course of next month to Fort St. George on which you may embark if you think proper and from thence remove to Pondichery.

We have, etc.

(Unsigned draft of Governor-General and Council.)

65.

1778. O. C. 29TH JULY. No. 7.

Account of the allowances made to the French prisoners in the year 1761-62.

Commandant	...	...	...	...	A. Rs. 15 per day.
Captains	...	...	...	...	" 4 "
Subalterns	...	...	...	...	" 2 "
Sergeants	...	...	...	...	" 10 per month.

Volunteers	...	...	Ra. 1 per day.
French Gentlemen...	...	...	" 2 "
Do. Ladies	...	...	" 2 "
Frenchmen of an inferior class	...	...	" 1 "

Besides the above, habitations were allowed those who were in Calcutta. Hospital diet for the sick appears to be 10 A Rs. per month, also provisions and arrack to those in confinement at As. 4-3. Wounded peons were allowed Ra. 3 per month.

66.

1778. O.C. 6th August No. 12.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, AND MEMBERS OF THE
HON'BLE THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

CHANDERNAGORE:
5th August 1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

The lower class of French inhabitants of this place who by various means earned a precarious subsistence whilst the Government and commerce of their nation existed here, being by the late resolution deprived of every means of subsistence, they are now reduced to absolute want and despair.

In this state, as no ties can be binding upon them, attempts of escape and combinations may be expected, unless some mode of subsistence is provided by Government, or they be ordered into close confinement. The former seems to me the most humane and eligible, as in either case they must be subsisted at the public expense, many of them having no resources whatever of their own.

As I could not ascertain the number that may be in this predicament without a public enquiry, which I thought improper to institute before I should be honored with your orders respecting a subsistence for them, I beg leave to submit the above representation to you for that purpose. The numbers cannot be great.

Applications have been made to me by some of the merchants here for granting a sanction under your government to the former Notary Public, Nicolas de Calnois, to enter protests for non-payment or acceptance of letters of exchange, or bills drawn on other merchants here, which I promise to submit to your determination. Perhaps, it might be better to transfer all business of this nature to your own established courts in Fort William.

I have etc.

ALEX. DOW, Lt.-Col. Commy.

67.

1778. O. C., 6th August, No. 13.

TO LT.-COL. DOW.

FORT WILLIAM:
5th August 1778.

SIR,

We have received your letter of the 5th instant.

In order to provide for the police and good order of the town of Chandernagore, we desire that you will delegate a power in our name and by our authority to the person who lately had charge of this department under the French Government, to enable him to continue in the exercise of his judicial functions as heretofore; we also empower you to grant our

sanction to the Notary Public to continue to act as such in the protesting of Bills or in such other duties as have usually appertained to that office.

With respect to the lower class of inhabitants at Chandernagore, as their conditions have not undergone any alteration that could reduce them to actual want, and the same means being left for them to procure subsistence by following their usual occupation within the Town, we do not think they have any right to subsistence from us, nor can we agree to put the Company to the indefinite expence of maintaining them, particularly as an act of this kind might attract vagrants from other parts to Chandernagore to claim this bounty under the denomination of inhabitants.

The particular services which required your presence at Chandernagore being now over, and one Battalion of Seapoys sufficient to furnish guards for the Town, we permit you to return as soon as you shall have executed the orders contained in the foregoing part of this letter, but we desire that you will enjoin the officer who may be left in command not to interfere any further in the internal government or police of the town than shall be necessary for the preservation of the peace and the security of his charge.

We are, etc.,

(Unsigned draft of Governor-General and Council.)

65.

1778, O.C., 10th Aug. No. 10.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.

FORT WILLIAM:

5th August 1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

Inclosed a copy of the List of French Officers at Chandernagore, which I received from Monsr. Hocquart, with the salaries of their respective appointments. Monsr. Hocquart has desired me to represent to the Hon'ble Board that, exclusive of the fixed salaries he and some others drew an allowance for House Rent and Servants, which he hopes will be continued to them. I beg to be favoured with your orders on this point; in case it is your pleasure that these allowances should be continued, I shall apply to Monsr. Hocquart for an account thereof and transmit it to the Board.

Agreeable to the Orders of the Hon'ble Board I shall pay the allowances they have granted to the French Prisoners at Moorshidabad, and will give the necessary information to the Provincial Council there.

In the lists transmitted to me by the Provincial Councils at Dacca and Patna of effects attached by them belonging to the French, the former had omitted an account of goods found at the Factory of Jagdes, of which I find a copy amongst the papers I have received from the Hon'ble Board. As I imagine it is not your intention that these goods shall be restored, I have desired them to take the necessary steps for their security, 'till they receive your final instructions about them.

I have released the Spanish Snow and her Cargo.

I have the honor to be,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient and most humble servants,

L. COLLINGS.

69.

1778, O. C., 10th August. B.

INDIA:
CHANDERNAGORE.

COLONIES.

1778.

Officers and others who were employed in the Service of His Most Christian Majesty in Bengal, and the Posts and Pay which they enjoy.

Government.

Mr. Hocquart, Colonel of Infantry, Second-in-Command of the French Settlements in Bengal	Pay by the year.
...	4000 — " —
De La Saussaye, Commander of the Garrison	2204 — " —
Langeas de L'Espinasse, Lieut. of Infantry	1200 — " —

Administration.

Decorches de St. Croix, Sub-Commissary of the Colonies, Director of the Finances, Police and President of the Council of Justice	4000 — " —
Boulet, Writer for Colonies, charged with the Detail of the Classes	3000 — " —
Verlet,* Master Attendant	2200 — " —

Warehouse Keeper.

Mittard	2200 — " —
---------	------------

Clerks for the Writings.

Le Seigneur	2000 — " —
Trebillard de la Relandieu	2000 — " —
Bonnetour de Touron	2000 — " —
Macassy	1600 — " —
Nicolas de La Merliere†	1500 — " —
Chaillet	1500 — " —
De La Cour	1200 — " —
Panchique (A Portuguese)	1000 — " —
Lanniron (a Portuguese)	864 — " —

Council.

Nicholas de Calnois, Chief Notary Public	1800 — " —
Olivier, Bailiff to the Council	800 — " —

Cutcherry or Black Court of Justice.

Aussant, Joint Jemindar and Sworn Interpreter to the Council	2000 — " —
--	------------

Missionaries.

The Rev. Father François, a Capuchin Curate	1000 — " —
The Rev. Father Ferdinand, a Capuchin Vicar	900 — " —
Possevin, ‡ Antient Curate	1000 — " —
Garosato [Garafato], Antient Vicar	900 — " —
Garret, Priest	900 — " —

* A. a. Pierre Villet, the father of Madame Grand.

† Had married a daughter of P. Villet.

‡ A Jesuit.

<i>Hospital.</i>			<i>Pay by the year.</i>	
De Bretel, charged with the detail thereof	...	...	2000	— 11 —
Lancy, Physician	...	...	2000	— 11 —
Mille, Surgeon-Major	...	...	3200	— 11 —
Saïron Messis, Second Surgeon	...	...	1200	— 11 —
Delmas, Apothecary	...	...	1600	— 11 —
<i>Ways and Buildings.</i>				
De Beaufort, Architect and Grand Purveyor	...	...	1800	— 11 —
<i>Interpreter.</i>				
Massy de Comoré	...	...	2000	— 11 —
<i>Chiefs of the Factories.</i>				
Panon, Chief of the Factory of Patna	...	...	2000	— 11 —
Renault de Chilly,* Chief of that of Cossimbazar	...	...	2000	— 11 —
Sanson,† Chief of that of Ballasore	...	...	1500	— 11 —
<i>Masters of Work.</i>				
James Floe, Haven Master	...	...	1,200	— 11 —
Francis Le Bank, Second Master	...	...	576	— 11 —
Horel, Master Cooper	...	...	576	— 11 —
Morel, Master Sail-maker	...	...	432	— 11 —
Beautier, School Master (a Portuguese)	...	...	300	— 11 —
Charles D'Acrena, Writer of the Port (a Portuguese)	...	...	576	— 11 —
La Giroflé, Keeper of the ponton, which is a boat used for careening ships	...	...	288	— 11 —
<i>Soldiers.</i>				
Honoré Martin, Sergeant of the Regiment of Pondy	...	...	496	— 12 —
Peter Bronde, a Private of	do.	...	250	— 4 —
Charles Perluil, do.	do.	...	250	— 4 —
Mathurin Barbin, do.	do.	...	250	— 4 —
<i>Invalids.</i>				
Jean Deshayes, Invalid Corporal	...	...	273	— 12 —
Leon Florence, do. Private	...	...	250	— 4 —
Jean François La Barré, alias St. Maximien, Invalid Gunner	...	...	222	— 14 —
Madame Chevalier, according to the allowance which her husband had, and which has been granted her by the letter written the 29th of this month to Mr. Hocquart by the Gentlemen of the Supreme Court of Calcutta	...	...	12,000	— 11 —

* Son of the Renault who defended Chandernagore against Clive and Watson. See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. VI. P. 576 et seq.

† Captured with Chevalier at Cuttack by Alex. Elliot.

We Jean Baptiste Mary Hacinth Hocquart, Baron of Huitshize, First Gentleman to His Majesty the King of Poland, Duke of Lorraine and Bar, Head of the Order of Ancient Nobility, Governor for the King of the Towns and Castles of Fere and Sardinole, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Colonel of Infantry, Commandant at Chandernagore when taken by the English on the 10th July, 1778, certify the present state to be true and conformable to what his Most Christian Majesty paid to the above persons employed by him, the rupees reckoned at forty-eight Sols French Money. Chandernagore the 1st Aug. 1773.

HOCQUART.

70.

O.C. 1778, 10th August, No. 14.

Notice is hereby given to all the subjects of France resident in the Town of Calcutta who have not already given their parole of honour not to serve or act offensively or defensively against the Crown of Great Britain or its dependencies during the present war, that they are required to attend Charles Stafford Playdell, Esq., Superintendent of Police within seven days from the date hereof, in order to sign paroles to that effect, and to deliver to him an account of their occupations and places of abode. Notice is further given that all the subjects of France of whatsoever denominations are enjoined to leave this Town of Calcutta and repair to Chandernagore within 14 days after this date, and to remain there so long as any subjects of that nation shall be permitted to continue in Bengal. Any persons falling under this description who shall be found in Calcutta after the expiration of the above term will be seized and made prisoner.

By order,

(Draft).

71.

1778. O. C., 17th Aug., No. 44.

The Secretary having, in consequence of an order from the Govr.-Genl. informed Col. Watson that the Board that 250 Rs. per month would be sufficient for the use of one of his habitations in his dock yard which had been formerly allotted to his slaves, received the following answer.

FORT WILLIAM:

13th Aug. 1778.

Lieut.-Colonel Watson, returning his compliments to Mr. Auriol, has in consequence of the Board's approval ordered the quarters and compound where his coffries were lodged to be cleared out for the occupation of the French Prisoners.*

72.

1778. O. C., 2nd Sept. No. 8.

CHANDANAGORE:

25th Aug. 1778.

SIR,

In consequence of what I had the honor of settling with you, I send you the list and names of the unfortunate people whom the catastrophe of the 10th July has reduced to the necessity of having recourse to the subsistence which I asked for them. I divide this list into three classes, the first is of the officers of vessels who lived by their employ on their different ships on their voyages.

The second is of the sailors or seafaring people of those said vessels.

The third is of those employed in the service of different merchants who being now deprived of that resource by the embargoes laid on the warehouse of individuals, are now reduced to want their masters being themselves vexed (?) by the uncertainty unto which they are thrown by the Intercision of the Supreme Council with respect to their effects and merchandise.

* Not for the Chandernagore prisoners, but for those captured at sea or sent to Calcutta from Madras.—The French, on the other hand, usually sent the men facing men they captured at sea to the tender mercies of Haidar Ali.

I intend, Sir, to have the honor of seeing you in Calcutta on Friday or Saturday, where I shall wait the departure of the *Rochford*. Permit me to have the honour of reminding you, Sir, of the letter which you were pleased to promise me for the Governor of Madras Mr. Rumbold.

I have, etc.,
HOCQUART.

73.

1778, O. C., 4th Nov. A.

Names of persons who are desirous to obtain the subsistence.

Messrs. Le Sage formerly Commissary in the Squadron commanded by Mons.
de St. Georges in 1762 and 1763.

Pellegrin de St. René, Writer employed at the Isle of France with a salary 1800 livres,
come to Bengal with leave.

Captains and Officers of Ships.

Messrs. Thervallent Alliac
John Peter Morelle.
Michel La Roche.
Dennis Emery.
François Crocqueville.
Pierre Sacray.
Antoine Guillard.

Officers, Mariners and Sailors.

Etienne Vasse.
Pierre Tellier.
Benoit La Roche.
Michel Toumy.
Le Quay.
Michel Thomas.
François Thomas.
Gouzeron de Kerengoun.

Inhabitants.

Julien L'Étan.
François Aubert, Private Surgeon.
Pierre L'himan.

John Fromont.
Charles Rabbot.
Antoine Gauvin.
Joseph Morin.
Jean Bundjo.
Jean Rippert.
Petit Jean.
Nicholas St. Aubin.
Jean Vaze.

Joseph Rion.
Joseph Guairard.
Claude Verissel.
Joseph Trucke.
Jean Bonhomme.
Noel Prinje.
Jean Forde.
Charles Dacroix.
Paul David.
Amable Leger.

* The subject of the French pilots will be dealt with in a future article.

India.	Chandernagore.		Colonies.		1778.
	River Pilots.*	Liv.			Arcot Rupees a. r.
	Francis Puget	and 120 per mensem	...	...	50
	Jacques Chenau	" 84 "	...	...	35
	J. F. Pierre LeRoy	" 72 "	...	...	30
	Bonnaventua Martin	" 60 "	...	...	25
	François Le Gof	" 48 "	...	...	20
	Jean Radrigues	" 60 "	...	...	25
				Arcot Rupees	185
				Liv.	
	Yves Luc Riviere	...	...	and 48 per ms.	20
	Michel Lazenque	...	...	" 48 do.	20
	François du Cros	...	...	" 48 do.	20
	Henry de Peltier	...	...	" 48 do.	20
	François Charbonmau	...	...	" 48 do.	20
	Pierre Grasnier	...	...	" 36 do.	15

Total three hundred Arcot Rupees. 300

At Chandernagore the fourteenth of September, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

NICOLAS DE LA MERLIERE.

74.

1778. O.C. 16th November No. 19.

FORT WILLIAM:

November, 1778.

GENTLEMEN.

Accompanying I have the honor to lay before you two bills for the maintenance of French Prisoners at my Dockyard whom I was under the necessity of supplying as they refused to receive the provisions offered by the contractor.

By these bills the Board will perceive the expence which arises by supplying eleven men with everything necessary for their subsistence; as the different articles furnished have been all that were required from time to time, except ten only.

If the Commissary was authorised to pay each prisoner a fixed sum at the beginning of every month, I apprehend they would all prefer the receiving an allowance in money than of provisions. I should suppose fifteen rupees per month to be very sufficient to supply them with all the necessaries of life.

I am, etc,

HENRY WATSON.

78.

1778, O. C. 16th November. No. 20.

To J. P. AURIOL, Esq.,

Secretary to the Supreme Council in the General Department.

SIR,

I have been honor'd with your letter of the 15th instant, and in reply beg leave to acquaint you that agreeably to the order of the Governor-General and Council the French prisoners were tender'd provisions the same as the English troops receive, but they refused taking them.

I have etc.,

RICHARD JOHNSON.*

* The Agent to the Army.

79.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., GOVERNOR-GENERAL and MEMBERS OF
THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

PORT WILLIAM,
Jan. 2, 1779.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Having received Orders for making Brass Ordnance and Carriages, and permission granted to make use of the Marine Arsenal at Chandernagore, for the above purpose, I am under the necessity of carrying from Calcutta to Chandernagore every Article requisite for the Business, such as Copper, Tin, Iron, Teak Planks and Timbers. As these Articles are not permitted to pass up the River without paying Duties, I have to request an Order may be given to Mr. Petrie to pass them Duty-free, as these Articles are all Returned to Calcutta again when manufactured.

It being stipulated in the Terms for making Brass Ordnance that I am to make use of no other Copper but such as the Company sends from Europe, and to pay for such quantities as I may want at the Prices of the last Sale, I request an Order may be given to the Import Warehouse-Keeper to deliver such Copper and Iron as I may want according to the above Stipulation.

In the Order I have received for Casting Ordnance no particular Number is specified, it is therefore Necessary that the Quantities to be made should be fixed, that I may proportion my Expence in the Apparatus for Carrying on the Foundry accordingly.

From the very indifferent State of great part of the Brass Ordnance now in the Service, as well as the want of a Still further Supply to furnish the Temporary Brigade, and Complete the Sepoy Battalions whose Guns have lately been withdrawn from them. It appears to me that One Hundred Six Pounders would not be too great a Number should any Real Service Oblige the Troops to take the Field, and at the same time leaving a proper Quantity in Store.

I have the Honor to be,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most Obedient and Most Humble Servant,
JOHN GREEN,
Commissy. of Stores.

80.

1779 O.C. March 8, No. 7.

TO MR. WILLIAM BRUCE,
*Sell Secy. to the General Department
of Fort William.*

CALCUTTA,
POLICE OFFICE,
24th February 1779.

SIR,

Agreeable to the directions of the Governor-General and Council, received from you yesterday, I now furnish them with a list of French residents in Calcutta as have hitherto come within my knowledge.

I am, etc.,
C. S. PLAYDELL,
Supdt. Police.

81.

1779. O. C., 8th March, No. 8.

List of French Residents in Calcutta.

Robert Richard	...	...	...	...	Mechanick.
Jean Goddard	...	...	...	...	Ditto.
Pierre Mathieu Dudoit	...	...	...	...	Surgeon.
Monsr. Agniel	...	...	...	...	Ditto.
François Le Blanc	...	...	...	...	Writer in ye Customs House.
Noel Le Blanc	...	...	...	...	Jeweller.
Louis Dumoulin	...	...	...	...	Merchant.
Louis David	...	...	...	...	Shop Keeper.
Ponchelet	...	...	...	...	Musician.
Julian Marie Dupont	...	...	...	...	Writer.
Joseph Bernard	...	...	...	...	Tavern Keeper.
John Richard	...	...	...	...	Cook.
Noel Pringet	...	...	...	...	Hair Barber.
— Gaiaron	...	...	...	...	Ditto.

82.

1779. O. C., 15th Feb., No. 8.

The Governor-General, having carefully read the proceedings of the Committee appointed to examine the pretensions of French subjects who have petitioned to be permitted to remain in Bengal, judges the following persons entitled to that indulgence, conformably to the principles of the instructions delivered to the Commissary on the 16th November, and recommends accordingly.

No.					Aged. Natives.
4.	Fournier	...	...	...	1
7.	Pierre Petit Jean	...	...	...	1
10.					
12.	Jn. Ch. Olivier de Lamvion	...	...	...	1
16.	P. Sairay	...	...	...	1
19.	J. N. Versailles	...	...	...	1
20.	— Guillard	...	...	...	1
23.	F. Nicholas	...	...	...	1
25.	Jn. M. Chaillet	...	...	...	1
28.	— Bedore	...	...	...	1
31.	— Desgranges	...	...	...	1
33.	Laurent Hosel	...	...	...	1
37.	Mr. Deverinnes	...	...	...	1
38.	J. N. Delahay, a native, aged and infirm.	...	...	...	1
47.	Mr. Bonquot, Music Master	...	...	...
48.	— DeBretel	...	...	...	1
50.	J. Rustant	...	...	...	1
51.	J. Gallois	...	...	...	1
57.	Edd. Strothier	...	...	...	1
58.	L'Amié	...	...	...	1

60.	Jacques Le Floe	...	...	...	...	1	
63.	Lachoney	...	...	...	...	1	
65.	Verlès	...	...	...	...	1	
67.	M. L'Etant	...	...	...	...	1	
68.	M. Hirigoyen	...	...	...	...		1
71.	Messr. Duplessis	...	...	...	...		1
72.	J. Vierre	...	...	...	...
73.	Le Long	...	...	...	...	1	1
88.	Hendri (?) Le Peltier	...	...	...	...	0	1 W. H.
						19	9

83.

1779. O. C., 18th April, No. 1.

To J. P. Aumont, Esq.,
Secretary to the Council.

SIR,

I have the honour of your letter of the 15th instant containing the orders of the Hon'ble Govr.-General and Council regarding the French inhabitants of this settlement. I have published them to the parties concerned. As there is no mention made in what manner those who have been refused permission to remain in the country are to be removed out of it, whether on the Company's ships or cartel vessels, I will esteem myself particularly obliged to you for such information as you can afford me on that subject, for the satisfaction of the parties concerned, that they may hold themselves in readiness to comply with such further orders as the Hon'ble the Governor and Council may be pleased to issue concerning them.

I have etc.

P. GRANT,
 Commanding.

84.

O. C., 16th Decr., No. 18.

CAPTAIN CHARLES CHATFIELD.

Commanding of the 1st Battalion of Seapoys at Chandernagore.

SIR,

The Hon'ble Governor-General and Council, having been pleased to resolve that all the lower class of Frenchmen who shall be found within the Provinces be seized and made prisoners, you are directed to see this order carried into Execution with respect to the inhabitants of Chandernagore, or of the places dependant of it. I send you enclosed for your information copy of the list which the Board have received of this class of people, that you may be able to collect from it such or may be with the District mentioned, and act in strict conformity to the Board's Injunctions.

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
 26th December 1780.

Sgd. E. HAY,
Acting Secretary.

Liste des Sujets de France qui ont prêté le Serment de fidélité, Suivant les Certificats pour eux représentés.

François Farier	...	...	Habitant.
Pierre Padet	...	...	Idem.
Joseph Gairard	...	...	Idem.
Pierre Chaulet	...	...	Idem.
Edouard Strothier	...	...	Idem.
Pierre L' Ehimois	...	...	Idem et marchand.
Louis Bouquet	...	...	Habitant.
Pierre Sibrend	...	...	Idem.
Louis Bonnaud	...	...	Idem.
Augustin Costav de Narbonne	...	...	Idem.
Joseph Jamiot	...	...	Idem.
Jean Ripert	...	...	Idem.
Philippe Compoint	...	...	Idem.
Peter Sairay	...	...	Idem.
Jean Quentin Fromont	...	...	Idem. et horlogieur.
Jacob Freicht	...	...	Habitant.
John Charles Olivier Lanniroy	...	...	Etoit huissier du Conseil de Justice.
Joseph Rio	...	...	Jonnelliev.
Jean Jacques Floe	...	...	Mtre de Port.
Michel Briac	...	...	Habitant.
Jean Gallois	...	...	Conducteur de floter.
Jacques Philippe Hurpy dit Versailles	...	...	Habitant et conducteur derfloter.
Nicolas Biensse	...	...	Domestiques.
Antoine Gauvin	...	...
Urbain Merel	...	...
Pierre Junveent de Jesus	...	...	Portugais.
Louis Dumoulin	...	...	Idem.
Francois Menes	...	...	Idem.
Nicolas Hirigoyen	...	...	Idem.
Michel L'Elant	...	...	Idem.
Jean Rostant	...	...	Idem.

CHANDERNAGORE.
April 30th, 1779.

P. GRANT, Captn.
Commandg.

26.

1779 O.C. 28th June, No. 12.

List of French Widows at Chandernagore.

Madame Sinfray.	Dubois.
Ravby.	Vandore.
Terlus.	Mabille.
De Braux.	Champigny.
Mulletier.	Meyrac.
Wannee.	Lacour.
Aubert.	Solminihac.

87.

1780. O. C., 24th January No. 20.

CHANDERNAGORE :
8th Janry. 1780.

GENTLEMEN,

It is with regret we learn from public report that you have been pleased to appoint another person to the command of this Colony in the room of Capt'n P. Grant. The civility and mildness with which this Commandant has treated us since the fortune of the war placed us under his orders added to the knowledge we have of his character induce us to petition you, Gentlemen, in the most earnest manner to continue him in his command.

We dare flatter ourselves that you will be kind enough to grant us this favour for which we shall be very thankful.

We are with respect.

(Signed.) F. NICOLAS.
NICOLAS DE GEVONNE.
J. H. DELABAS.
GIBLOT DE JONY.
DESCRANGES.
NICOLAS DE CALNOIS.
NICOLAS DE MERLIERE.
P. MILLE.
FOUDQUET DE CHAMPIGNY.
J. DESMARCHAIS.
DE BRTEL.
AUDERENT CHAMBOX.
DURAND.
J. ARREAU.
F. FAIRIE.
DE VERRINES.

88.

1780. O. C., 24th January, No. 25.

CHANDERNAGORE :
23rd Jan. 1780.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

By order of the Commander-in-Chief dated Chandernagore, 6th Decr. 1773, the 34th Battalion was order'd to commence its march towards Chandernagore to relieve the 20th Battalion, which being relieved is ordered to join the Sepoy Corps at Barrackpore. As commanding a conquered settlement immediately under the orders of your Hon'ble Board, I deem it incumbent on me, to inform you of the arrival of the 34th Battalion in the neighbourhood of Chandernagore, and to request (the) honor of your firmands regarding the delivery over my charge.

I have etc.
P. GRANT,
Capt. Commanding.

89

1780. O. C., 27th March, No. 25.

CHANDERNAGORE:

March 13, 1780.

GENTLEMEN,

In pursuance of the object of your orders transmitted to me last Saturday by your Secretary, I this morning assembled the French inhabitants of this place, to whom I read a faithful translation of the extract of your late consultations regarding them.*

Permit me, in a few words, to inform you that they received the communication of your just resolution against them with the most perfect submission and respect, marked, however, with such an air of deep concern and despondency (being accompanied, even, in some with tears) as abundantly proved their sense of the grave misfortune they were about to experience in the forfeiture of those indulgences which they had derived from, and so happily enjoyed under your administration.

The behaviour of the three aged heads of the settlement (Messrs. Nicolas, Desgranges and De Bretel) on the occasion, and of such in general as felt themselves embarrassed from female connections or infant families, was more especially striking and affecting; nor did any of them appear to consider the withdrawal of the pension, or the threatened confiscation of their property, but as trifling evils in comparison with the distresses they pictured to themselves as consequent of their removal from a country and government to which they expressed a more than ordinary attachment.

I hope, Gentlemen, to meet with pardon for this detail of the effects produced by the execution of your orders; and with which I have to trouble you in the persuasion that it was consonant to the spirit of them to signify to you the manner in which they were received.

I have, etc.,

WM. DAVIES.

Capt. Cg. at Chandernagore.

90

1780. O. C., 29th May, No. 3.

In Circulation.

The following proposal from the Governor-General,

The Governor-General recommends that Mr. Molony be appointed to the office of Commissary at Chandernagore in the room of Mr. Collings, and Mr. Patterson his assistant in the room of Mr. Shee.

W. BRUERE.

Asst. Secy.

MR. WHEELER AGREES.

Agreed. P. F[ANCIS].

91.

1780. O. C., 26th Dec. No. 17.

Circular] To THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS,

Residents, and Collectors.

FORT WILLIAM:

26th Dec.

GENTLEMEN (OR SIR),

Having thought it proper to determine that all the lower class of Frenchmen who shall be found within the provinces to be seized and made prisoners, we direct that you carry this

* See No. 33.

order into immediate execution, in the division under your superintendence. Those of the better class are required to leave the Provinces by whatever means they can on or before the 31st of January by sea on pain of being made prisoners and kept in close custody should they be found in part of the provinces after that period.

We are, etc.

(Draft of Circular by Govt. Genl. and Supreme Council.)

92.

Total of French Inhabitants of Chandernagore.

1783, O.C., 26th Dec. No. 16.

Nicholas.	<i>Prisoners.</i>
De Culan.	De Bare.
De La Merliere.	Damoulin.
De Bretoet.	
Calnoiz.	
Givonna.	
Le Gov.	
La Bat.	
Desgranges.	
Chambon.	
Panon. At Patna.	
Breu. At Chinchura.	
Laval.	
Chambon Jr.	
Mille.	
Calvé.	
Falricé	
Arreau.	
Desmarchais	
Fournier.	
Arreau, Jr.	
Champignie.	
Champagnac.	
Descorches.	
Durand.	
—Macassry.	
Deverine.	
Le Seigneur	
Bedos.	
Verlée at Ballasore.	
Saïron—Messir.	
De Solminihac.	
L'Abbé Rousse.	
De Lacour.	
Pelon.	
Padet.	
Beltier.	

Aussant.
 Edward Strothier.
 Motel.
 Delmas. At Fuldangah.
 Pere François. Curé.
 Here ends the Higher Class of people of
 Chandernagore.
Pilots.
 Favier,
 Puget.
 Chennau.
 Le Roy.
 Jean Rodrigues.
 Bonnaventure Martin at Calcutta with Colonel Watson.
 Ducros.
 Le Goff at Khunporoor with Mr. Prinsep.
 Henri Peltier at Chinchura with Mr. Bloom.
 —Charbonneau
 Boquet at Chinchurah.
 Tixeira.
 Compoint.
 Lt. Dumoulin.
 David.
 Lanniron.
 Lanniron Jr.
 Sacray.
 Sacray Jr.
 Mr. Vierre.
 Le Long at Calcutta.
 Bonneau at Chinchurah with Mr. Bloom.
 Troyche at Calcutta.
 Mirigoyen.
 L'Estant.
 Jacques Floe.
 J. Rio.
 Laurent Horel at Khunpocer with Mr. Prinsep.
 La Fortune at Khunpocer with Mr. Prinsep.
 Sibe.
 L'Ehimaa.
 Versailles.
 Verron.
 Fromont.
 Morel.
 Jacob at Girretty.
 Duplessis.
 Duplessis Jr.
 Guillard.

Gallois.
 Chavlet.
 Jean Jacques Cavet.
 Gauvon at Chinchurah with Mr. Eaclos.
 Ernest.
 Jo. Bare.

93

1781. O. C. 13th Jan. No. 4.

CHANDERNAGORE :

28th Decem. 1780.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

In consequence of the orders of the Board transmitted to me by the Secretary, I have apprehended and made prisoners all those who could be found in Chandernagore whose names are mentioned in the list which I received with the order. A list of them that are seized I send accompanying this. In compassion to Monsr. David, who is an industrious man of genteel appearance and fair character, I have confined him to his own house as also Messrs. Du Moulin and Texeira, who are both very old and infirm.

I have, &c.

CHAS. CHATFIELD,

Capt. Comm.

8 Batn.

94

[1781. O. C. 18th Jan. No. 5.]

[List of French Prisoners taken by Capt. Charles Chatfield at Chandernagore.]

<i>Pilots.</i>	Duplessis.
Pavler.	Duplessis Jr.
Puget.	Guillard.
Chenneau.	G. Pere [?]
Le Roy.	
Jean Rodrigues.	
Cherbonneau.	
—Texeira.	
Compoint.	
L. Dumoulin.	
David.	
Lenniron.	
Lenniron Jr.	
Sacray.	
L'Étant.	
Jacques Floe.	
Sibev.	
Versailles.	
Verron.	
Promont.	
Morell.	
Jacob.	

55-

1786. O. C., 26th December, No. 18.

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
The 26th December 1786.TO MR. ARTHUR MOLONY,
Commissary &c., at Chandernagore.

SIR,

The Hon'ble Governor-General and Council having this day been pleased to resolve that the French Gentlemen whose names appear in the enclosed List should leave the Provinces in the Course of the ensuing month, you are directed to notify to them the expectation of the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council, that they accordingly leave the country by sea, that they are so to do on pain of being made prisoners and kept in close custody should they not attend to this requisition, or should they be found after that period in any part of these provinces.

You are ordered to inform them that the perfidious conduct of their countrymen at Pondicherry and at Mauritius has compelled the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council to this act, which at the same time they submit to as an act of painful necessity, and you are also to observe to them that the further time thus allowed should be considered by them as an instance of the Board's indulgence, since full warning was given to them so long ago as the beginning of last March requiring them to quit the provinces by the 1st Day of October. You are directed to require from Mon, de Bretel to deliver over charge to you of the office which he holds of Jemindar of the Cutcherry on the first of next month, and you are authorized to continue to him the salary which is paid put him on account of it for one month beyond that period.

I am etc.,
(Signed) E. HAY,
Acting Secretary.

92.

1786. O. C., 1st Feb. No. 7.

CHANDERNAGORE:
30th Dec. 1786.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

In compassion to the miserable situation of the Frenchmen who have been made prisoners by your orders of the 26th instant, I have taken the liberty to advance them a small sum of money to purchase the necessaries of life. I request to be informed whether it is your intention that they should be supported at the expence of the Company, and what sum each is to receive monthly during their captivity.

I remain etc.,
A. MOLONY,
Commissary.

P.S.—Accompanying I have done myself the honour to transmit you a petition from Monsr. Du Pare.

(Further Instalments to follow.)



THE OLD OR MISSION CHURCH BEFORE THE EARTHQUAKE OF 1897.
(Photo. by A. D. Long, Esq., 1894.)

The Career of John O'Donnell and the Cruise of the "Death or Glory," Private Ship of War.

(Continuation.)

5. MURDER ON THE HIGH SEAS.



OUR hero had arrived in the Hughli in a very triumphant mood; but his high spirits were destined soon to receive a check, and, instead of being promoted to honour, he was to find himself arrested under the charge of murder on the high seas. We have seen how on 18th February 1782 the *Death or Glory* had joined company with Captain John Maclary's *Dodaley*. Captain Maclary had but recently enjoyed some exciting adventures, including imprisonment, at Macao, but these must be reserved for narration in a future number of *Bengal: Past and Present*. O'Donnell and Maclary were now on their return to Calcutta to have many unpleasant quarters of an hour provided for them by Captain James Bracey, the skipper of the *Death or Glory*. It would seem that, in disputing the spoil, O'Donnell, in a moment of wrath, charged Bracey with cowardice, and the latter, by way of retort, laid a charge against his comrades of murder on the high seas. This apparently took place on 9th July 1782. The following is the charge as stated on oath by Captain Bracey in the presence of the Governor-General (Warren Hastings) and Edward Wheeler:—

1782 O.C. 9th July. No. 28.

James Bracey of Calcutta in the Kingdom of Bengal, late Commander of the *Death or Glory*, private ship of war, make oath and saith that on or about the 25th or 26th day of March he was at anchor in the entrance of the Strait of Banca, at the distance of about four miles from the island of Sumatra, that the ship *Dodaley* commanded by John McClary was the same time anchored at about a cable's length and a half from the *Death or Glory*, that four or five small vessels were likewise at anchor near the same place, they being the joint prizes and . . . ships the *Death or Glory*, the *Dodaley*. On the said twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth day of March, this Deponent went on board the said ship *Dodaley* in order to consult about a prize with the said John McClary and John O'Donnell,

who was Captain of the Marines on board the *Death or Glory* and had the joint management of that ship with the Deponent, but who after the junction of the said two ships had chiefly lived on board the *Dodalee*. That he this Deponent had not long been on board the *Dodalee* before he heard a great tumult in that ship, that on looking round he perceived a European had seized a Malayman, who had a bayonet in his hand, that the European called out that the Malay had murdered a man, in consequence of which the Malay was soon cut to pieces by the crew of the *Dodalee*. That the said John McClary immediately ordered a strong guard to be placed over the rest of the Malays who were prisoners on board that ship, and who, as this Deponent recollects to have been then informed, were about ten or eleven. That soon after this order a resolution was formed as he believed by the said Commander John McClary, John O'Donnell and others belonging to the *Dodalee* to throw the Malay prisoners overboard, and in order to prevent any disturbance from the execution of this resolution on board the other prizes, Mr. O'Brien, Chief Officer of the *Dodalee*, was sent to bring the Malays from the several other vessels on board the *Dodalee*. That the other Malays were accordingly brought from the other vessels and kept in two boats astern of the *Dodalee* till the several Malay prisoners on board were thrown into the water, after which they were permitted to go on shore in the said two boats. And this Deponent saith that he had no concern in forming the abovementioned resolution for the destruction of the said Malay prisoners, and in order to avoid being present at an act of so much cruelty he formed an excuse for going on board his own ship, but that Captain McClary importuned him to stay. That he, this Deponent, perceiving in the meantime that his officer on board the *Death or Glory* had hoisted a wiff with the ensign for a boat that was on board the *York*, imagined that there might be occasion for his presence in his own ship, and insisted on going on board of her. That he accordingly went on board of her and that it was not till after his arrival there that the Malay prisoners were thrown into the sea from the *Dodalee*. And this Deponent further saith that owing to the small space between the *Dodalee* and his ship he could perceive what passed on board the former; that he saw several of the Malays to the number of seven or eight thrown from the *Dodalee* on that side of her which lay opposite to him, that he believes that there were some thrown from the other side of her which lay and that he thinks he saw in the water altogether ten or eleven Malays. And he, this Deponent, saith that he likewise saw the said John O'Donnell and several other then on the quarter-deck of the *Dodalee* shoot with firearms at the said Malays when in the water, and that two of the said Malays having got to some distance from the *Dodalee*, several of them from that ship pursued them in the pinace and shot them. And this Deponent believes that all the Malays who were thrown into the sea as aforesaid was either drowned or killed by some of the crew of the *Dodalee*. And this Deponent further saith that while he was on board the *Dodalee* he did not observe that any of the Malays had weapons in their hands, except the Malay who was first killed, and who as this Deponent has before related, at that time held a bayonet in his hand.

And this Deponent upon his oath further saith that, on or about the second or third day of February last past, the *Death or Glory* privateer (not having then joined the *Dodalee*) was cruising on the east side of the Island of Sumatra near Poole Virella; that on the 2nd or 3rd day of February the *Death or Glory* brought three vessels, two being prows, and one being a sloop; that soon after the capture of the said three vessels the said John O'Donnell left the *Death or Glory* in order to visit the said three prizes, and to examine them; that he the said John O'Donnell first went on board one of the prows, and had not been there much more than half an hour when this Deponent heard the report of a pistol from the prow on which the said John O'Donnell was then on

board. That immediately on the discharge of the said pistol, a tumult arose on board the *Death or Glory*. That this Deponent was confined to his cabin with a very severe illness. That the uproar was very great; that many of the crew of the *Death or Glory* came running down stairs to provide themselves arms, exclaiming that the Malays had risen against them. And this Deponent upon his oath further saith that at the same time, *vizt*, upon the discharge of the first pistol in the prow on which the said Jno. O'Donnell was on board, a tumult also arose not only on that prow but on the other prow also. That this Deponent saw from the window of his cabin several Malays leap from on board both the prows, that he also saw the said John O'Donnell in the pinnace which had taken him from the *Death or Glory* pursue the Malays who were swimming in the sea, and that he the said John O'Donnell, together with the crew of the pinnace, killed several of the Malays whilst swimming; that this Deponent further saith that seeing the cruelty of the said John O'Donnell, and his Boat's crew towards the Malays, he was fearful that his own crew might be acting in the same way on board the *Death or Glory*, and therefore sent for Mr. Dobbins, a gentleman who served as a Volunteer in the Marines, and desired him to prevail on the officer of his ship to quell the disturbance as speedily as possible, and not unnecessarily destroy the Malays, this Deponent being at that time much disposed and cannot now perfectly recollect the words he made use of on that occasion, but knows that he made a request to the above effect. And this Deponent further saith that after the tumult has ceased on board all the ships, the said John O'Donnell returned to the *Death or Glory* bringing with him a seaman of that ship named, as he believes, Ephraim Clark (who officiated as linguist or interpreter) much wounded. That this Deponent inquired of the said Ephraim Clark the causes of the late disturbances. That the said Ephraim Clark then informed this Deponent that Mr. O'Donnell, not satisfied with the master of the prow in the account which he gave of her contents, ordered the said Ephraim Clark to beat him with a rattan, which he accordingly did. The said Ephraim Clark also informed this Deponent that the said Master, after having been beaten, went away, and soon returning with a weapon of some kind, cut him the said Ephraim Clark on the leg, upon which a man who attended John O'Donnell immediately discharged a pistol at the said Master; that the tumult then became general and was succeeded by the circumstances which this Deponent has above recalled. And this Deponent believes that the wound inflicted upon the said Ephraim Clark was the cause which exasperated the said John O'Donnell and the men who accompanied him against the Malays and of the cruelty with which the latter were treated.

JAMES BRACEY.

Fort William.

Sworn in Council this ninth day of July 1782 before us.

WARREN HASTINGS.

EDWARD WHEELER.

Having received this charge, and witnessed its being sworn to, Messrs. Hastings and Wheeler drew up the following warrant for the arrest of Captain John McClary and John O'Donnell:—

1782. O. C. 9th July No. 29.

(Copy).

To John Brigoe, Head Constable, and to Thomas Simpson, one of the Constables of the Town of Calcutta and Factory of Fort William, in Bengal, and to all other Constables and to peace officers within the district aforesaid.

Whereas James Bracey, late Commander of the ship *Death or Glory*, has this day made information upon Oath before us Warren Hastings and Edward Wheeler, Esq., Governor-General and Councillor of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and Justices of the Peace for the Town of Calcutta, that John McClary late Commander of the ship *Indelay* and John O'Donnell late Captain of Marines on board the ship *Death or Glory* did on or about the 25th or 26th of March last past feloniously murder and cause to be murdered on the high seas in the Streights of Malacca eleven men of the nation called Malays. These are therefore to command you forthwith to take and apprehend the said John McClary and John O'Donnell and to bring them before us, to answer to the said information and charges that they may be dealt with according to Law. Herein fail not.

Given under our hands and seals at Calcutta
this 9th day of July in the year of our Lord
one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.

L. S.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

L. S.

(Signed) EDWARD WHEELER.

As the trial would be one of great importance, the Governor-General thought it advisable to obtain the assistance of the Chief Justice.* He therefore wrote off to his old friend from school days at Westminster.

FORT WILLIAM,
JULY 10th 1782.

TO SIR ELIJAH IMPEY.

DEAR SIR,

The Board have caused Captain John McClary and Mr. John O'Donnell to be apprehended on Information delivered on Oath by Captain William Bracey, Commander of the armed ship *Death or Glory*, that they had been guilty of the murder of several Malays on the High Seas. These persons will be brought for examination before the Board this morning. You will perceive from this brief state of the Charge that the prosecution of it is liable to some legal difficulties, and for that reason I do in my own name and Mr. Wheeler's, the only Member of the Council now present with me, request that you will be so kind as to meet us in Council and assist us with your advice for our proceeding in this case.

Having required a prescriptive claim to apply to you in all embarrassments of this nature from the readiness which you have ever shewn to communicate the advantage of your knowledge for their removal, I make no apology for giving you this trouble.

I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

* Hastings and Wheeler probably heard this case in their capacity as Justices of the Peace.

1783. O. C. 10th July 2.

To which Sir Elijah Impey replied:—

TO THE HONBLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

COURT HOUSE

½ past 10 Wednesday (10th July).

DEAR SIR,

I will do myself the Honor of attending you and Mr. Wheeler as soon as you shall please to inform me that you are proceeding on the business you mention in your letter.

I am Dear Sir,

Your Affly.,

E. IMPEY.

(To be concluded.)

CORRECTION.

On p. 599, Vol. IV, I referred in the notes to the recent reprint of *Hartly House* for the history of Watson's ship the *Nonsuch*. I have since found that the dates given there in regard to Watson and his ship-building are incorrect. The dates would seem to be as follows.—

1765. Watson was Quartermaster-General—not as usually stated Chief Engineer.

1770-71. The Kidderpore Dockyard was commenced—not 1780 as Longe, Carey and others state.

1783. The *Success* was launched—not 1788 as often stated.



Burials in Calcutta (1759=1761).

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.



THE following, it should be explained, unlike our publication, of the Marriage Register, which is *in extenso*, are merely "Selections" from the old Burial Register. The majority of persons whose names appear in the Burial Register were by profession soldiers and sailors. The total number of interments recorded during the three years respectively was as follows:—1759, 114; 1760, 115; 1761, 146; and, as the South Park Street Cemetery was not opened until 1767, it is reasonable to suppose they all took place in what is now St. John's Churchyard. A great deal of the difficulty in tracing the identity of persons arises from the Christian names having not always been given in full, and in variations of spelling. Mrs. Finley (Finly, Fendly, Tinley,) etc., is a good instance. To the Rev. Canon T. E. R. Cole and Rev. S. S. Scott, past and present Chaplains of St. John's Church, the Editor's thanks are again due for permission kindly afforded to copy the old registers, as well as to Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford, I.M.S., for valuable information in regard to the old-time Surgeons.

1759. January 11.—Mrs. Margaret Warwick,¹ inhabitant.

1759. January 12.—Mr. Robert Saunders.²

1759. February 12.—Thomas Meadows,³ inhabitant.

1759. February 15.—John Pinnis, inhabitant.

1759. April 15.—Samuel Wilson, inhabitant.

1759. May 17.—Mr. Downing,⁴ Commander of a country vessel.

1759. May 30.—James Todd, inhabitant.

1759. June 24.—Master Williams, inhabitant.

1759. July 7.—Mr. James Barton,⁵ Master-Attendant.

¹ Mrs. Warwick was taken prisoner at Dacca in 1756. Hill: *Bengal in 1756-7*. Vol. III. Pp. 75, 105. Born a Miss Swallow, she married (1)—Mordecai, (2) Anthony Dipping, Surgeon (died 22nd June 1734), (3) Thomas Warwick, Mariner.

² Robert Saunders. Cf. Hill, *Op. Cit.*, p. 416.

³ Thomas Meadows. A survivor of the Black Hole.

⁴ George Downing. A pilot. Married Elizabeth Lewis, 13th August 1734.

⁵ James Barton. Had married Mrs. Ann Pierce, 6th January 1737. Appointed Master-Attendant, 1st March 1758. Succeeded by Alexander Scott. Some few weeks before his death, Barton had proposed to cut a canal, and turn the tank in what is now Dalhousie Square into a dock.

1759. July 29.—Mrs. Henrietta Edwards,⁶ wife of Mr. John Edwards.
1759. August 5.—Francis Baxter.
1759. August 16.—Mr. William Morley, Master of a sloop.
1759. August 16.—Elizabeth Valey.
1759. August 29.—John Stapleton.
1759. September 1.—Mr. William Holland,⁷ Commander of a vessel.
1759. September 4.—Mr. George Hilliard, Commander of a vessel.
1759. September 9.—Richard Blackford,⁸ Esq.
1759. September 14.—Roger Gray, son of Mr. Roger Gray,⁹ Surgeon.
1759. September 28.—Helena, daughter of Mr. Francis Tucker, Pilot.
1759. September 30.—Elizabeth, . . . daughter of Mr. John Taylor,¹⁰
Surgeon.
1759. October 8.—Master Perry, Volunteer.
1759. October 13.—Mr. March, Volunteer.
1759. October 14.—Mrs. Becher,¹¹ wife of Richard Becher, Esq.
1759. October 16.—Mr. Robinson, inhabitant.
1759. October 16.—Mr. Widrington,¹² Commander of a country vessel.
1759. November 25.—Mr. Robert Melican,¹³
1759. November 28.—Mr. William Rider.¹⁴
1759. November 28.—Fabit Fedler,¹⁵ Dutch prisoner.
1759. November 28.—John Amass,¹⁶ Dutch prisoner.
1759. November 28.—Hendrick Smith,¹⁷ Dutch prisoner.

* Mrs. Henrietta Edwards. One of the refugees at Falia. Possibly the wife of Sea-Captain John Edwards.

* William Holland. His wife (Mary) was one of the refugees at Faha.

A Peter Blackford, free merchant, can be traced.

* Roger Gray. Probably the father was Surgeon George Gray, Roger being written by mistake for George on the second occasion. See "Marriages in Bengal," Additional notes in present number.

"John Taylor. See "Marriages in Bengal," Additional notes in present number.

¹¹ Mrs. Charlotte Becher. See Sir W. W. Hunter's *The Thackerays in India*, pp. 160 et seq. Of Thackeray, the novelist, she was a connection by marriage, but not his great grandmother, as stated by C. R. Wilson in his *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in Bengal*. She had a son named John, but John Harman Becher, the novelist's grandfather, although "a kinsman," was, as Hunter tells us, quite another person. Charlotte Becher's tablet is one of those embedded at the foot of the Charneck Mausoleum. In January, 1759 Becher had asked for a passage home for himself and family, but in February, on the receipt of news from Madras, cancelled his application.

Widdrington (Witherington) Captain John, Scavenger of Calcutta. Not to be confused with Capt. Lawrence Witherington who commanded the artillery.

" Robert Melican. On the Pub. Proceedings, 1759 1st Jan., pages 46-7, a Robert Millagan complained that he has received inhuman treatment at the hands of Colonel Draper and the rest of the officers a board the ship *Pitt*. Appointed Lieutenant by the Court, 3rd March, 1758.

¹⁰ William Ryder. See notes "Marriages in Bengal" 31st March 1759 (note 6) in *Bengal: Past and Present*, July-December 1909.

¹¹ These Dutch prisoners had no doubt been taken captive at the battle of Biderra fought on 25th November 1759 and must have died of their wounds. For accounts of this battle, at which the

1759. November 29.—Micha Swiet,¹⁸ Dutch prisoner.
 1759. November 29.—Christian Baker,¹⁹ Dutch prisoner.
 1759. November 29.—Hendrick Conrad,²⁰ Dutch prisoner.
 1760. January 9.—Mr. William Beater, Volunteer.
 1760. January 10.—Mr. William Gill, inhabitant.
 1760. February 27.—Anna Andrews, inhabitant.
 1760. March 2.—Captain Barnard Forester.
 1760. April 11.—Mr. Alexander Maude, inhabitant.
 1760. April 24.—Captain William Fendley,²¹ Commander of a vessel.
 1760. May 1.—Mr. William Amyatt,²² inhabitant.
 1760. May 2.—Mr. Edward Ridge,²³ inhabitant.
 1760. June 17.—Robert Clive,²⁴ son of Robert Clive, Esq.
 1760. June 26.—Gilbert, son of John Deale.
 1760. July 6.—Mr. Thomas Marshall, inhabitant.
 1760. July 7.—Mr. John Stephens, inhabitant.
 1760. July 25.—Mr. William Ogilvy, inhabitant.
 1760. August 2.—Mr. John Kist, inhabitant, a writer.
 1760. August 27.—Mr. John Verelst,²⁵ inhabitant.
 1760. September 5.—Mrs. Sarah Chapman,²⁶ inhabitant.
 1760. September 7.—Mr. Adam Beard,²⁷ inhabitant.

Dutch were defeated by Colonel Ford, see Malletson's *Decisive Battles of India*, Broome's *History of the Bengal Army*, Crawford's *Brief History of the Hugli District*, etc.

¹⁸ Captain W. Fendley. See under Murringes, Additional note 12. The Captain there mentioned bears the Christian name of Richard and had commanded a vessel named the *Sally*. Richard Finley had home at Chandernagore in 1759.

¹⁹ William Amyatt. Two persons of the name "Amyatt" (Peter and Margaret, his first wife) are mentioned in Hill's *List*. See also "Marriages in Bengal," notes 29 and 30.

²⁰ Edward Ridge. An Attorney. One of the Fulta refugees. Registrar of the Mayor's Court, 1757, and Notary Public.

²¹ Robert Clive. Infant son of Lord Clive and Margaret, his wife. Baptised at Calcutta, 11th November 1759. His parents had been compelled to leave him behind in Calcutta on account of his extreme weakness under the charge of a Mr. Fullerton, who, however, was most probably not the Dr. Wm. Fullerton, who survived the Pains Massacre of 1763. See Gleig's *Life of Clive* (Popular Edition, 1907) pp. 153-6.

On the P.W. Proceedings, 1756, 4th Dec. there is a letter signed by J. Bacheracht and J. C. Kist on behalf of the Dutch at Chinsurah accepting terms of accommodation.

²² Mr. John Verelst. There is an Ensign of that name in the list of 28th February 1754. See Hill's *List*, p. 92.

²³ Mrs. Sarah Chapman. See Hill's *List*, p. 20.

²⁴ Mr. Adam Beard. The name Beard is a familiar one in Bengal. John Beard succeeded Hedges as agent in 1684 and died at Hugli on 28th August 1685, "crushed beneath the load of anxiety and responsibility which he had rashly taken upon him, but was quite unable to support." Then there was another John Beard who succeeded Sir Charles Eyre (Charnock's son-in-law) as President, and who laid down the main lines of old Fort William. The name of Mrs. Elizabeth Beard appears on

1760. September 11.—Mr. William O'Hara,²⁸ inhabitant.
 1760. September 12.—Mr. John Cooper, inhabitant.
 1760. September 15.—Mr. Peter Duncan,²⁹ Commander of a country vessel.
 1760. September 20.—Mrs. Sophia Duncan,³⁰ his wife.
 1760. October 2.—Mr. William Stewart, inhabitant.
 1760. October 2.—Lieutenant John Price.³¹
 1760. October 6.—Culling Smith, son of Mr. Thomas Smith.³²
 1760. October 10.—Mr. James Broadbrook,³³ inhabitant.
 1760. October 24.—Paul Peter Perkes, Esq.³⁴
 1760. October 27.—Mnsr.(?) Bonjeure, inhabitant.
 1760. November 19.—William Deabouck, son of Daniel Deabouck.
 1760. November 28.—Christiana Reynolds, daughter of John Reynolds.
 1760. December 2.—William Dean, son of Mr. Dean, Pilot.³⁵
 1761. January 9.—Mr. Thomas Stibert,³⁶ inhabitant.
 1761. January 18.—George, son of Mr. George Beamish.³⁷

the list of refugees at Fulta, but this lady may have been the widow of Charles Beard (son of the President) who was buried on 31st December 1747.

²⁸ Mr. William O'Hara. Identified by Mr. Hill with Charles O'Hara, Factor and Assistant Engineer, 1750. Flew to Fulta. See Hill's *List*, p. 69. See Wilson's *Old Fort William* for several interesting references.

²⁹ Peter Duncan. Commanded the Sloop *Gully* during the troubles. See Hill's *List*.

³⁰ Mrs. Sophia Duncan. One of the Fulta refugees. She was the widow of Major Holland.

³¹ Lieutenant John Price. Became Lieutenant, 30th April 1759.

³² Culling Smith. Thomas (Culling) Smith arrived 16th July 1749 and was assistant in the Store-keeper's Office in 1756, then being 23 years old. He was one of those who escaped with Drake in the ships from the siege. On 14th December of this year he with Geo. Williamson was appointed a Churchwarden for the settlement. In 1759 defends himself against the charge of illicit dealings in copper. Sheriff of Calcutta in that year. In 1763 he was appointed Provincial Grand-Master of Masons in Bengal. His house in Calcutta is shown in Willis' Map of 1753 at the southern end of what is now Council House Street. He "achieved a baronetcy in his seventieth year, lived until 1812, and was the maternal grandfather of Mr. H. C. E. Childers, Mr. Gladstone's colleague in so many Liberal Governments." Cotton: *Calcutta: Old and New*, p. 47. A sister of Lord Wellesley and the great Duke of Wellington was Lady Culling Smith.

³³ James Broadbrook. Married 5th August 1727 Mrs. Eleanor Willoughby, apparently a lady who took refuge at Fulta.

³⁴ Paul Peter Perkes (Peakes). Arrived 30th August 1740, 3th of Council and Accomptant in 1756. After Drake's flight he resigned his authority to Howell. See a most interesting note in Hill's *List* p. 71-72. Sent to reopen the Patna Factory 1759. Married Miss Adriana Cecilia Verelst on 14th December 1751.

³⁵ William Dean. See Hill: *Bengal in 1756*. Vol. III, p. 416. Son of Richard Dean, who, on 19th February 1753, had married a Miss Sheldrake. R. Dean, subsequently Deputy Master-Attendant, died in 1773; his widow on 20th July 1785. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 76. He had been promised the post of Master Attendant by the Court but in 1768 was passed over by Page Koble.

³⁶ Thos. Stibert. Possibly "Stibbert." We are familiar with Lieut. General Giles Stibbert who officiated as Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army in 1777 and 1783.

³⁷ George Beamish, Captain of the *Royal George* in 1759.

1761. January 28.—Miss Carolina Wright, inhabitant.
 1761. February 8.—Mr. Robert Boodie,³⁸ inhabitant.
 1761. February 26.—Henry, son of Lieutenant White.
 1761. March 12.—Elizabeth, daughter of Lieutenant White.
 1761. March 13.—Mrs. Mary Castele,³⁹ inhabitant.
 1761. March 17.—John Jackson, inhabitant.
 1761. March 20.—Mr. William Flack,⁴⁰ inhabitant.
 1761. March 23.—John, son of Lieutenant White.
 1761. March 25.—William, son of Mr. William Elliot.⁴¹
 1761. March 28.—John, son of John Angell.⁴²
 1761. March 30.—Mrs. Constantia Bradshaw, inhabitant.
 1761. March 30.—Elizabeth, daughter of William Thornell.
 1761. April 11.—Mr. Richard Smith, inhabitant.
 1761. April 20.—Gowen, son of Mr. Gowen Harrop.⁴³
 1761. April 27.—Mr. John Jones,⁴⁴ inhabitant.
 1761. May 8.—Mr. Thomas Blaney,⁴⁵ inhabitant.
 1761. May 10.—Mrs. Kiernander,⁴⁶ wife of the Rev. Mr. Kiernander.
 1761. May 25.—William, son of Mr. William Holland.⁴⁷
 1761. June 9.—Mr. Richard Tomlinson,⁴⁸ Free Merchant.
 1761. June 15.—Mr. Henry Torriano,⁴⁹ writer in the Honorable Company's Service.

³⁸ Robt. Boodie. Possibly "Bodile." A lady of this name, who was the widow of William Bodle, a Dutch nobleman, is buried at Chinsurah. Her hatchment is one of those to be seen in the Church there. Died 1774. William Bodle was an alderman in the Moyers Court.

³⁹ Mrs. Mary Castele. Probably "Castell." See "Marriages in Bengal," note 9.

⁴⁰ William Flack. A Thomas Flack appears in Hill's *List*, p. 38.

⁴¹ William, son of Mr. William Elliot. Probably Elliot (or Elliott). See Hill *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 251, 442. See also under "Marriages in Bengal," note 54. Elliott's daughter, Mrs. Diana Mullins, was buried May 23, 1781.

⁴² John Angell. Possibly the Corporal of that name who survived the Black Hole. See Hill's *List*, p. 3. John Angel, soldier, had married Mary, a country woman, on 28th March 1750.

⁴³ Gowen Harrop. A mariner, who had married Natalia Gammon, 8th September 1759.

⁴⁴ John Jones. Possibly the John Jones who survived the Black Hole.

⁴⁵ Thomas Blaney, a joiner or glass-grinder, who escaped to Fulta in 1756.

⁴⁶ Mrs. Kiernander. This was Wendela Fischer. She was the mother of Robert William Kiernander, at whose Baptism, Clive and his wife, Margaret, and William Watts and Mrs. Watts (afterwards Begum Johnson) stood sponsors, and who afterwards involved his father in bankruptcy. As *Asiatique* records, Kiernander "had the fortitude not to give himself up to vain lamentation" for "the remembrance of all his former sorrows was obliterated in the silken embraces of opulent beauty: the 10th day of February 1762 witnessed his union with Mrs. Anne Welby."

⁴⁷ William Holland, Captain of a ship.

⁴⁸ Richard Tomlinson. Resigned as Alderman of Mayor's Court, February 1760.

⁴⁹ Hillary Van Neck Torriano was appointed a writer by the Court on 11th November 1757, Assistant in the Import Warehouse. In July 1759 a Richard Torriano died in the Black Hole.

1761. June 19.—Mr. John Wellahby, inhabitant.
 1761. June 28.—John, son of Mr. John Savage.
 1761. July 4.—Captain Richard Dunstall.⁴⁰
 1761. July 4.—Ann, daughter of William Brightwell Summer, Esq.⁴¹
 1761. July 17.—Lieutenant William Mynatt.
 1761. July 21.—Mr. John Clark,⁴² inhabitant.
 1761. August 4.—Mr. John Jacob Pillear, inhabitant.
 1761. August 8.—Mrs. Catherine Samson,⁴³ inhabitant.
 1761. August 17.—Mr. Thomas Kerwood, inhabitant.
 1761. August 22.—Mr. John Shaw, inhabitant.
 1761. September 3.—Mr. James Kellier, Volunteer.
 1761. September 7.—John, son of John Marlow.
 1761. September 8.—Mr. William Shaws, inhabitant.
 1761. September 16.—Mr. Oliver Cromwell Webb,⁴⁴ Writer.
 1761. September 19.—Mr. William Contemple, inhabitant.
 1761. September 21.—Mr. John Marriot, inhabitant.
 1761. September 22.—Mr. James Kennedine, Commander of a vessel.
 1761. September 27.—Mr. William Spurret, Commander of a vessel.
 1761. September 29.—Mr. John Carvel, inhabitant.
 1761. October 11.—Mr. George Morte, inhabitant.
 1761. October 16.—Mr. Collins Luny, Commander of a vessel.
 1761. October 16.—Captain John Bradbridge.
 1761. October 16.—Mr. Thomas Ferrand, Writer.
 1761. October 18.—Mr. Peter Mayre, Purser of the *Plassey*.
 1761. October 21.—Mr. William Burton, inhabitant.
 1761. October 21.—Ensign Adamson.
 1761. October 28.—Mr. Jacob Stricker, inhabitant.
 1761. November 2.—Mr. John Bristow, inhabitant.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Captain R. Dunstall. See "Marriages in Bengal," note 15.

⁴¹ William Brightwell Summer. Arrived 25th November 1744. Second at Dacca in 1756, but was on leave at Calcutta just before of the siege and was appointed as Ensign in the Militia. Reached Fulta after the recapture of Calcutta, was appointed Sub Export-Warehouse-keeper. Returned to Bengal with Lord Clive in 1763 and was a member of his Secret Committee. Organised the Salt, Tobacco and Beelmut monopoly. See references to him in Gleig's *Life of Lord Clive*.

⁴² John Clark (Clarke). Perhaps the pilot to whom Hill refers, *ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴³ Mrs. Catherine Samson, *vide* Jones, had married Richard Samson, mariner, on 11th July 1733.

⁴⁴ Oliver Cromwell Webb. Appointed by the Court 11th November 1757 at the same time as Richard Barwell, Clerk of the Court of the Cutchery, December 1759.

⁴⁵ John Bristow, Col. Crawford has the following note about him in "Pro-service Surgeons," published in *Indian Medical Gazette*, January and February 1902. His name appears in the parish register of St. Anne's as married to Elizabeth Mackay on 18th August 1750. Appointed Surgeon in letter from Bengal, dated 20th August 1751, para. 115. (India Office MS. Records). In 1759 he

1877

1877

1877



LORD AND LADY CANNING AND LORD CLYDE.

(By kind permission of the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan.)



SCOTT THOMSON'S CORNER AT THE TIME OF THE PRESENT KING'S VISIT TO CALCUTTA.

Additional Notes to Marriages in Bengal, 1759=1779.

Note 1. *S. Fuller*. Made prisoner at Dacca, where he was 5th, in 1756 3rd at Dacca at end of 1757, when ordered down to Calcutta.

Note 3. *C. S. Playdell*. Line 5 for "1754" read 1759. On Jan. 29, 1759, succeeded Mackett at the Chittry Court. After his appointment to Dacca, Playdell seems to have remained in Calcutta, for in November he captures a Dutch Ship in the river. In 1768 Jan., he asked for a passage home on the *Earl of Elgin*.

Note 7. *Martin York*. Deserves to be remembered for his and White's victory near Buniwan in Nov. 1760. (See Broome, pp. 319-20.) In October 1760 was appointed Fort and Town Major at Fort William (first record of this appointment). Commanded detachment which accompanied Vansittart to Murshidabad to set up Mir Kasim: served there under Cailland. Became Major early in 1761 superseding Fenwick and Fischer in military attendance on Mir Kasim. Resigned the service in Sep. and went home. Is reported to have received a gratuity of 134,000 rupees on the occasion of Mir Kasim's enthroneement.

Note 12. *Mrs. Philadelphia Finley*. Mr. S. C. Hill (*List of Europeans, etc.* p. 37) writes with reference to a Mrs. Finley: "took refuge at Fulta. Possibly the wife of Captain Richard Finley. In the *General Journal* of September 1761, a Catherine Gallopine (wife of Captain Gallopine) is mentioned as executrix of Richard Findley, deceased. Probably she was his widow. This lady is also identical with the Mary Gallopine, who, on Nov. 17, 1766, married Alexander Jephson, and in the Jephson case (See Bolt's *Considerations*, Vol. II, p. 44 *et seq.*) the lady's Christian name is given as Philadelphia. The famous Capt. Findley (the name is spelt in many different ways) is recorded on April 14th 1760. Some references to his land in Calcutta will be found in Wilson's *Old Fort William*, Vol. II, pp. 155-5. See *Pub. Proceedings*, 1760. 24.

Note 14. *Mrs. Clayton*. From Mr. S. C. Hill's *List* we learn that this lady had at least five husbands, and possibly six husbands.

1. Capt. Thomas Garland married Mrs. Lucy Rigby, 14th July 1731.
2. Capt. Andrew Glen (died 3rd August, 1745) married Mrs. Lucy Garland, 31st December, 1733.
3. Capt. Robert Leonard (died 15th April 1748) married Mrs. Lucy Glen, widow, 16th September, 1747.
4. Capt. David Clayton (died 20th Jan. 1756) married Mrs. Lucy Leonard, widow, 31st July 1749.
5. Mr. Dorrus married Mrs. Lucy Clayton, 2nd September, 1760.

She began her record as a *Mrs.* Rigby; but "Mrs." in 18th century may imply a spinster of years as well as a married lady: it is not likely, however, that the lady who remarried so late as 1760 would have called herself "Mrs." in 1731, unless she had been married. Capt. Clayton's House in 1756 was on the site of the present Alliance Bank of Simla. Query: was she the mother of Lieut. William Glen, who was described by a foreign writer as "one of the bravest men ever produced in country so fertile in intrepid men" and was killed in Adams' victory at Gheria August 2, 1763?

New Note. P. 488.—Mary Bagley. A Fulta refugee.

Note 16. *Capt. C. Fischer*.—See correction on p. iv, Vol. IV of *Bengal: Past and Present*. Seems to have been made prisoner by the French at Ganjam in 1759. (See . 10:8-22). In 1760 did much service in the Burmese Perrence. In 1761 he was superseded in promotion by Yorks when

he was Brevet-Major on the ground that being a foreigner, he could not rise above the rank of Captain. Commanded at the Moti Hill (Masulabad.) He was Lt.-Col. in 1781.

Note 17. *P. M. Davies*.—Auditor of Accounts and member of the Court of Cashiers 9th December 1759. Line 8 of note for "1777" read "1779" and add "in succession to William Aldersey."

New Note. P. 488. *Mary Aston*.—Probably the daughter of John Aston (a pilot) and Mary, his wife. The latter had taken refuge at Falta with her three children, the eldest, Mary Aston, christened 9th April 1749.

Note 24. *J. Graham*. Came out in 1759 on the *Calcutta*. 3rd at Benares. See Bolts' *Considerations*, Vol. II. p. 23 et seq., also see Minutes of Consultations 19th May and 29th June, 1766. for censure. In second line of note for "1756" read "1765." Chief at Patna 1772. President of the Board of Customs 1773. See Price's *Notes on the List of Alderspersons*.

Note 25. *R. Leycester*.—In the irony of destiny it was Leycester, who was appointed to meet Lord Clive on his return to Calcutta in 1765. Most of the documents connected with Leycester's disputes with Lord Clive will be found in the Appendix to the 1775 Edition of Bolts' *Considerations*. See also the "Leaves from the Editor's Notebook" in this issue of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

28. *Hugh Watts*. On Feb. 16th 1767. requested passage home.

37. New note. *Elizabeth Coker*. On Barial Register, June 8. 1765. Possibly a daughter of William Coker. See Hill's *Lists*, p. 22.

39. *Gilbert Ironside*. In connection with his name we have the earliest mention of Barrackpore (Charnock) as a military station, in a letter to the Court, Oct. 11th 1569. G. F. Grand in his *Narrative* describes Ironside as "the celebrated martinet." In 1764 he raised the 14th Native battalion at Calcutta, which (the 5th in 1596) was known by a corruption of his name as the *Pansect-ki-pultam*. In 1800 he communicated to the *Asiatic Annual Register* an important account of the campaigns of 1760 and 1761.

New Note. P. 492, line 5. *Hugh Baillie, Esq.*—A pioneer of British Commerce in the Assam Valley. See Glazier's *Report of the Kamrup District*, and *Bengal: Past and Present* Vol. III, p. 331. He arrived at Calcutta about 1756 as the Captain of vessel, and, as a reward for his services as a Volunteer during the siege, was allowed to either enter the Company's service, or reside in India under the Company's protection. Alderman in the Mayor's Court 1757. He seems to have been chiefly at either Rangamati or Gualparah. The Society's volumes of Barwell letters contain many letters either addressed to him or concerning him and his affairs. Baillie seems to have gone about 1773 and returned in 1774. On Nov. 30th 1774, Barwell writes to his sister: "Mr. Baillie is returned and with him his very curious appointment. I conceive the whole to have sprung from his own bewildered imagination and the idea of duping the publick. I told him very plainly that my wish to oblige him on account of my sister Fanny would (as he might be assured) induce me to exert myself to obtain him a public nomination to Gualparah, and in any other way to assist his views there; but that I would, under no pretence, countenance any attempt he might make to possess himself of the Company's property to answer his own purposes. He is now nominated to Gualparah, and the prosecution of the trade left to his own discretion, with his own means, but I fear, as the publick do not entrust their property to his management and engage not in the commerce of Gualparah, that Mr. Baillie will find himself extremely mistaken, and that Gualparah is not such a Peru to him as he wished to make the Directors think that it might be made to the Company." A later appointment of Baillie to Gualparah in 1789 will be found in Seton-Karr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. I, p. 191. On p. 214, we read: "We hear also that Mr. Baillie, on his way to Gualparah, lost his hudgegow and boats in the Jellingy, to the amount of 10,000 sicca rupees, and very narrowly escaped with his life. Several of his dandies were drowned, and he himself exposed, without covering to the storm for the whole night; he lived on a little rice for several days, and suffered great inconvenience before he was able to procure any relief." This was in the cyclone of Oct. 31 1787.

Note 48. *Plowman*.—In all probability a free merchant.

Note 49. After *Consultations* add 1775 addition Vol. II. Appendix.

Note 51. Distinguished Service in Mysore 1768-69 under Brig-Genl. Joseph Smith. Grand has an amusing anecdote to tell about Ahmuty's refusal to make his wing even pretend to retreat in a sham-battle, when ordered to do so by "the Celebrated Martinez," Col. Ironside. "Arthur Ahmuty had never, nor would ever, turn his back and fly from the enemy. See Firminger: *Hist. Freemasonry in Bengal*, for an Athol Warrant brought out by Ahmuty. In 1765 he commanded the 1st Sipahi Bat. (in 1850 the 9th N. I.)

Note 52. In 1780 Draz was badly handled in *Hickey's Bengal Gazette*, and he applied for redress to the Supreme Council.

Note 56. A Mr. Stonehouse is found in Calcutta about 1782, and a Lieut. G. Stonehouse at Madras in 1772. Sir J. B. Stonehouse, Bart, was baptised at St. John's Church in 1796.

New Note. P. 493, line 12. *Captain John Fortnam*. Civil Architect, 1765. Major and Director of the Works, 1772. See Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 160-1, 172. In O. C. 1781, May 21, W. Hastings recommends the appointment of "Masters John and Thomas Fortnam, sons of the late Col. Fortnam as minor cadets." Won. Master of Lodge *Star in the East* in 1777.

Note 58. *Nicholas Gruber*, Zemindar of Calcutta, 1767. Chief of Cosimbars. Chief of Dacca 1772 (in succession to Lambert) Buscy, 1774. Board of Trade, 1783. The name is variously spelt—Gruber, Gneber, Grewber.

Note 59. *Captain William Tolly*. Possibly the ship was the *Talbot* and not the *Dutton*. He seems to have ended his career in a hopeless state of debt to the Company (see 1783. O. C., 24th Nov. Nos. 23-24 and 1784, O. C., 6 Jan. No. 1) The lady's first name, Anna, has been omitted in the Marriage Register. See Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. II, p. 509.

Note 60. *Henry Walter*. Resident at Colinda, 1782: Board of Trade, 1783.

Note 61. *Anthony Harth*. Went home in 1777. See 1782, O. C., 15th July. Nov. 19-21.

New Note. *Robert Meddison*. Persian Interpreter to Vezelst, Deputy Agent at the Darbar, 1768. See Bolin's *Considerations*, Vol. II. Pp. 85 et seq.

Note 64. *Wm. Lushington*. Persian Interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief, 1764. Supervisor of Haghl 1771. Tendered his resignation 31st October 1773. Entered Parliament. On Apr. 23, 1773, Stephen Lushington signed a paper as attorney to Mary French, deceased. Bolin's *Considerations*, Vol. III, p. 409.

Note 65. *Captain Edward Ellerker*. See 1781. O. C. 4th March, No. 39. See Ma O'Malley's volume on Chittagong in the *Eastern Bengal District Gazetteer*, p. 34, where the name is given as "Ellerker."

Note 66. *Robert Crawford*. Resigned as Alderman April 1771 in order to leave for Dacca.

Note 69. *Edward Curry*. In July 1782, Major E. Curry, proposed a fund for the support of orphans whose fathers had died in the war on the coast.

Note 72. *Lt.-Col. J. Cummings*. Appointed to command all the Company's troops in the Nawab Vicer's service 18th April 1781.

New Note. P. 72. *Mary Wedderburn*. A daughter of Captain Henry Wedderburn. See Hill's *List*. Christened 27th June 1748. She had lost a brother Ensign Charles Wedderburn in the Black Hole.

Note 74. *R. Pull*. Buscy 1773. Import Warehouse Keeper 1782. Resigned 1783.

New Note. P. 49. *Thomas Hutchinson*. Assistant Secretary 1768. Resident at Malda 1771. Retired January 1781.

Note 76. *R. Winwood*. Commanded the Artillery at the siege of Chunar 1764. See Broune's *History of the Bengal Army*.

Note 77. *Wm. Barton*. Clerk to the Committee of Accounts 1763. Resigned as Alderman of Mayor's Court 1766. Resident at Luckipore and Collector of Tipperah 1762. Resident at Bardwan 1773. Applied for passage on the *Grosvener* for his family 20th Nov. 1775. See Forrest's *Selections from State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 477.

New Note. P. 497. Line 11. *Mrs. Elizabeth Lindsay*. Perhaps the Miss Elizabeth Smart, who had married Captain Robert Lindsay. See Note 31.

New Note. P. 497. Line 11. *Jacob Rider*. See 1767. O.C. 16th February. No. 7. Supervisor at Kishanagar 1772. Acting Chief of Consulars 1774. Requested passage home on the *Sea Horse* for wife, child, and two servants, 21st Jan. 1774. Tendered resignation 25th April 1775, and went home by the *New Cumberland*. Member of the Board of Trade 1780. Chief at Luckipore. With Ed. Hay, proprietor of Bengal Bank Sept. 1785. See Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. I, p. 83. Hyde's *Purvichal Annals*, p. 186.

New Note. P. 447. Line 2 from bottom of text. *Mr. Thos. Henshman*. Resident at Malda 1777. Resigned 24th Jan. 1781.

New Note. P. 449. Line 5. *Henry Godwin*. Chief of Chittagong 1774. Luckipore 1775. Requested passage for wife and two female servants on the *Cumberland* 21st Feb. 1778. Retired 1778.

Note 94. *G. B. Eyre*. Commanded 2nd Rasmillah of Native Cavalry 1765.

New Note. P. 499. Line 16. *E. Smith*. Commercial Resident at Rungpore in 1777. In Calcutta June 1780. Applied for permission to return to Europe 1780.

Note 95. *H. Wedderburn*. For the year 1775 read 1771. For his first marriage see Hill's *List*. He was related to Capt. P. Carnarvon.

New Note. P. 500. *Charles Graeme*. Assistant at Patna 1772. Warehouse-keeper at Patna, 1774. Collector of Saran about 1781. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 180.

New Note. P. 500. *James Rait*. See 1778. O. C., 21st September, No. 4. Senior Assistant at Patna and in charge, after Maxwell's death, during Chyot Singh's revolt. See Hand's *Early English Administration of Bihar*. P. 5 and p. 26.

New Note. P. 500. *S. Weller*. A shipowner in Calcutta in 1775.

New Note. P. 500. *J. Lloyd*. For some years Agent for loading and unloading the Company's ships. Was Master of Lodge *Industry with Perseverance*, 1777.

New Note. P. 501. *Ed. Parry*. Export Warehousekeeper 1777.

Note 105. *Wm. Alderley*. Chief at Consulars 1771 and thence to Murshidabad. Proposed to return on a neutral ship 1774.

Note 107. *W. M. Thackeray*. In November 1776 he brought a suit in the Supreme Court against the Company. See Hyde's *Notes*.

Note 105. *W. Larkins*. First Sub-Accomptant and latterly Accomptant-General. A great friend of Hastings and witness at the Trial. See References in Hyde's *Purvichal Annals* and Sydney Grier's *Letters of W. Hastings to his Wife*; and see Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. II, p. 299. Grand Treasurer Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal, 1778 and 1779. J. W. of Lodge *Star in the East*, 1777.

Note 110. *W. Jackson*. Hyde's *Notes* record that Jackson was first a merchant, and then served in the Company's forces with the Nawab's Viceroy of Oadh.

New Note. P. 503. *James Stormont*. A great deal is to be found in the records of the Home Department concerning a James but not a John Stormont, a Surgeon of H. E. I. Company.

New Note. P. 503. *J. E. Keightley*. Apparently the Contractor of the Company's silk investment. In trouble about 1772 as he in Nov. applied to be restored to his former rank. Board of Trade 1783. Chief of Consulars 1784. Junior Warden, Lodge *Star in the East*, 1777.

New Note. P. 503. *S. Patel*. Clerk to Pulne Justice Hyde, and the central figure in the Dacca Case in 1777, when he was Deputy Sheriff. See article on "Sir Elijah Impey" in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. VII, June 1847, and also 1777. O. C., 14th July. Nos. 4-6. 1778 O. C. 3rd August No. 5.

Note 114. *James Irwin*. Sub-Secretary 1768.

Note 119. *L. Gull*. Sent in his Resignation 23rd Feb. 1784.

New Note. P. 504. *Miss Amy Helius*. Probably a daughter of John Helius, who contracted with the Company for chusam from "the Provinces of Bussa and Bataria," and died in 1771.

Note. P. 124. *N. Naylor*. Succeeded the famous Tibetan traveller G. Bogle, as Commissioner of Law Suits, Feb. 1779, and was succeeded in this office by S. Tollrey.

Note 127. *T. Motte*. In 1762 he is found at Murshidabad, where his men in the month of May had a free fight with those of Sranlake Batson. In July 1763 from Kewgaing he sent to Johnstone at Berdian the first tidings of Anyatt's murder. In 1769 G. F. Grand made Motte's acquaintance at Berhampore and describes him as "a man whose philanthropy, through acquaintance with India, diversity of historical anecdote, general knowledge and information, joined to a cheerful and sociable disposition, with the truest hospitality, rendered him one of the most pleasing companions within my experience." He adds "In Mr. Motte's chosen library I met a source of content, and assisted by his kind remarks in my studies, I improved considerably in continuing, by my own application, that system of education, which had been planned for me, and from which I felt conscious to have been too soon ejected." Grand was at the time an Ensign in the Company's Service.

Note 129. *E. R. Jackson*. On May 21, 1781 requested appointment for his son as a minor cadet.

New Note. P. 506. *J. Carnickial*. Judge Advocate General. 1772. Paymaster of the Garrison 1773. See 1780. O. C. 11 Sept. Nos. 13 and 14.

New Note. P. 506. *P. Green*. Adjutant of Invalids 1780.

New Note 507. *Captain Justly Hill*. See 1781. O. C. 29 Oct. Nos. 1 and 2.

Note 133. *Captain Deane*. See Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. II. pp. 275-78.

New Note. P. 507. *A. Higginson* Accountant to the Committee of the New Works, 1770, 4th. of Council at Murshidabad 1772. Secretary to the Khalsa, 1772. Import Warehouse-keeper, 1773, and at Bardwan 1773. See Firminger: *History of Freemasonry in Bengal*, pp. 11-36.

Note 134. *H. Ramur*. Collector of Ramghur. 1778. Commissioner of Grain. In April 1782 he sent sixty elephants down at once time to Ballasore.

New Note. P. 508. *J. Petrie*. Collector of Government Customs 1777. Owner of the *Britania* 1778. Acting Naval Store Keeper. 1780.

Note 136. *Captain Showers*. It is curious to note that in the September previous to their marriage had requested permission to resign the service and proceed to England for the benefit of his health (1779. O. C. 16 Sept. No. 4). On the O. C. of Nov. 26, 1781 we find a letter of Major Showers to Brig.-Gen. G. Stibbert, Provincial Commander-in-Chief, "requesting him to recommend his son (Charles Lionel Showers) to be appointed a minor cadet, and to alter the name of his second son now given in the cadet list as Nathaniel How Showers to Nathaniel Thornhill Showers." Again in 1784 he applies for a minor cadetship for a son. A number of his letters will be found among "the Chandernagore Papers" now in course of publication. A letter from Mrs. Showers is to be found on the O. C. of 29th March 1784.

New Note. P. 509. *Wm. Hamabans*. See 1781 O. C., 10 Dec., No. 17.

No. 137. *F. Gladwin*. The Society's Barwell papers show that he had the powerful Barwell influence to back him up in his career in Bengal. Assistant to the Supervisor of Rajshah, 1772. For a number of years he was Collector at Silberia, and in 1779 he was brought to book on the score of his accounts. (1779 O. C. 27th Dec., No. 21.) On April 3 1781 he forwarded from Silberia for transmission to England, 100 copies of his *Dictionary* subscribed for by the Court of Directors. In 1783 he laid before the Council his proposed extended translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

New Note. P. 510. *John Murray*. Perhaps the Secretary of the Board of Ordnance 1775. Commissary-General 1780.

Note 143. *Daniel Rausch*. See Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. II., p. 444, gives a quotation from a letter from Dinagapore, dated 29th February 1766:—"We have just heard of Mr. Rausch, of Gawalparah, having been cut off in the country of Assam, where he had lately gone on a mercantile concern. The respectable merchant, as well as good man, was formerly an officer under the Great Frederick of Prussia, and was wounded in the hand at the famous battle of Minden. He had resided above twenty-five years past at Gawalparah and Juggohol." See Genl. Sir J. Johnstone's *Captain Walke's Expedition to Assam*. The enormous tomb of the Rausch twins (Johann and Daniel, 1783) at Goalpara can be seen from the steamer as they pass.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

NOTES ON THE MEDICAL OFFICERS WHOSE NAMES APPEAR IN "MARRIAGES
IN BENGAL, 1759-1779," IN "BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT."

VOLUME IV., SERIAL No. 9.

P. 489. 22nd June 1762. *John Taylor.* His name first appears in a "List of Surgeons in India in 1749,"¹ which may be seen in the Record Department of the India Office, where it is numbered "India Office, Home Series, Miscellaneous, 1758." This list appears to have been originally compiled in 1749, notes being added up to 1759. John Taylor's name is shown in the list of medical officers at Fort St. George, with the further notes "Sent to Bengal 1753," and "To be employed as Surgeon as above" (above means after his seniors have been provided with appointments).

In Bengal Taylor took the place of Owen Jones as Surgeon's mate from 4th January 1754. He was present in Calcutta at the time of its capture in 1756. Hill's *List of Europeans in the English Factories in Bengal at the time of the Siege of Calcutta in 1756* gives Dr. John Taylor's name as being mentioned in the list of European sufferers, in the general journals, in the *Pulva Lists*, in Orme's *List of Inhabitants who bore Arms at the Siege of Calcutta*, and in Captain Mills' Pocket-book. He escaped the Black Hole, having either been released or escaped in the general confusion. Many of the European prisoners, apparently, simply walked out of the Fort after its capture without any attempt being made to detain them.

On 22nd March 1760 Taylor was appointed to succeed George Gray as Surgeon to the settlement of Calcutta, but to continue to act as Surgeon to the Army. He took up the appointment in Calcutta from 22nd June 1760. On 30th November Dr. John Taylor and Tyso Hancock requested the indulgence of the *dutch* (pass for free trade) as covenanted servants; this was granted. There are many references to him in the Calcutta Press-Lists during the next ten years, the last I have noted being a report on an examination of Assistant Surgeons on 28th November 1770. He resigned his appointment as Head Surgeon on 12th February 1771 [Bengal Letter of 12th February 1771, para 81, in India Office MS. Records].

There must have been two John Taylors in Calcutta about this time, for obviously the John Taylor who was buried on 15th March 1767 cannot have been the Surgeon John Taylor who retired in 1771. Whether the John Taylor, whose marriage is recorded was registered on 24th June 1762, was the Surgeon or not, appears doubtful.

P. 491. 15th March 1764. *Robert Hunter.* } There were, as stated, two Surgeons of the name

P. 510. 15th June 1776. *Robert Hunter.* } of Robert Hunter serving at the same time, possibly father and son.² The Calcutta Press-Lists from 1765 to 1775 contain many references to Surgeons Robert Hunter. I do not know enough about them to be able to distinguish which of the two these references indicate, and as a rule there is nothing in the notes themselves to show this. We may presume that most of those prior to the date of his death in 1769 refer to the elder.

The elder Robert Hunter must have served the Company for a considerable time, for a letter from Sir Robert Barker, dated—October 1766, certifies to the good services rendered by him while he acted as Chief Surgeon of the Third Brigade. This would imply that he was senior to, and presumably had served longer than, the other medical officers in this Brigade. On 2nd September 1765 he declines an appointment at Fort Marlborough and asks that he may be allowed to retain his present appointment. On 4th October 1766 he asks to be allowed time to settle his private affairs before his departure for Bencoolen (Fort Marlborough). On 12th January 1767 Senior Surgeons John Taylor, James Ellis, and Robert Hunter sign a certificate for Colonel Champion, recommending him sick leave to Europe. On 6th February 1767 he asks to be reinstated in the service. How he

¹ This list, with notes, was published in the *Indian Medical Gazette* of May 1902.

² These cases of two officers of the same name serving at the same time, cause much confusion. There were also two Surgeons of the name of John Knox, both of whom were in Calcutta at the time of the siege and capture in 1756. A little later there were two Surgeons named Robert Bruce. And much about the same time as the two Robert Hunters, there were two other Surgeons named Hunter, Andrew Hunter (1764—1797) and James Hunter (1772—1785).

lost his appointment does not appear, perhaps by not going to Fort Marlborough; but anyhow he seems to have got it back before long, for on 6th December 1767 Surgeons John Taylor, James Ellis, Robert Hunter senior and James Rutledge forward an indent on England for medicines. On 7th November 1768 he applies for the post of Surgeon at Patna, vacant by the death of Mr. Carnegie. Presumably it was Robert Hunter senior who was buried on 23rd September 1769.

Robert Hunter, junior, entered the service on 19th February 1765. The oldest list of the Bengal Medical Service extract, or at the least the oldest of which I have ever heard, is an MS. list, dated 1774, preserved in the Calcutta Record Office. This list shows 18 Surgeons, seven "Subordinate Surgeons" (a rank of which I have never seen any mention elsewhere), and 44 Assistant Surgeons, 69 Medical officers in all. Robert Hunter's name stands second among the Subordinate Surgeons, twentieth on the whole list, and next above that of Andrew Hunter. Another MS. list of a few years later compiled for the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, in 1777, shows Robert Hunter's name sixth on the whole list, gives 19th February 1765 as the date of his appointment as Surgeon, shows that he had been in Civil employment, and gives a note "dead" opposite his name.

The papers of 1767 in the Calcutta Record Office contain two undated petitions from Robert Hunter, late Surgeon of the *Hector*, the first asking for an appointment in the land service, the second requesting a passage to England. These papers, however, may have been preserved from a date several years earlier. When he applies to resign, and asks for a passage in the *Duke of Grafton*, on 6th February 1770, he is styled Surgeon Major Robert Hunter. On 2nd February 1770, Robert Hunter, contractor to the Army, requests a continuance of his contract for provisioning the Army. The handwriting shows that the Surgeon and the Contractor are the same man, though the two requests, dated at only four days interval, seem quite contradictory. Dr. Robert Hunter writes from Patna on 3rd February 1771, and again on 20th March 1772 from camp Niah Sarai (Naya Sarai, the new mansion, or new inn, a very common-place name. The best known place of this name is in Hughli District, where the Magrs *dehal*, or old Damodar, joins the Hughli, some two miles above Tribeni). On 10th March 1775 Robert Hunter gives a sick certificate to Captain John Grant at Calcutta. His marriage at Dakka on 15th June 1776 is recorded on page 510. He must have died within a year or so of his marriage.

P. 404. 3rd November 1768. Thomas Hamilton was born in 1738, entered the service as Assistant Surgeon on 28th November 1768, became Surgeon on December 1771, Superintending Surgeon on 15th March 1787, and died at Fatehgarh on 12th August 1788.

P. 501. 5th August 1774. Thomas Anderson was one of the Senior Officers of the Medical Service. The date of his first appointment is not given by Dodwell and Miles. Warren Hastings' list gives 1st November 1763 as the date of his appointment as Surgeon. This would probably be after several years' service as Assistant Surgeon. The same list shows that he was in military employment, and has a note "dead" opposite his name. He was appointed Surgeon General on 11th November 1769, and died at Bombay in March 1777.

P. 503. 8th April 1777. James Stornant served in the Civil department from 2nd April 1760 to 22nd January 1766, for the most part of the time as Assistant Surgeon to the Calcutta hospital. He resigned on account of ill-health, getting a sick certificate from J. Taylor and Robert Hunter, dated 30th January 1766. Returning to India, he was reappointed Assistant Surgeon on 25th November 1768. There is a long correspondence in the Calcutta Record Office, under the date 30th August 1770, in which he claims to be ranked from the date of his original appointment in 1760, a claim which apparently was not recognised. He became Surgeon on 17th June 1766 and Superintending Surgeon in 1787; resigned, with permission to return, from 16th January 1789, and, not having returned, was struck off the list in 1793. In this correspondence his name is given as John Stornant.

P. 504. 16th October 1777. George Harrison was appointed Assistant Surgeon on 17th October 1778, and died on 22nd December 1784.

P. 504. 27th October 1777. John Laird had served for six years as Surgeon to the Factory at Canton previous to his appointment as Surgeon in Bengal on 23rd February 1771. On the strength of this previous service, he was appointed direct as a Surgeon, not going through the grade of Assistant

Surgeon. (Bengal letter of 25th November 1791, pass 115, 116, in India Office MS. records.) He resigned, with permission to return, on 28th December 1788. On his return in 1791 he was appointed President of the Hospital Board in place of Andrew Hunter who was removed from that appointment. He went on furlough to Europe on 8th December 1800 and retired from 2nd June 1802.

P. 507. *Surgeon James Stark** was appointed Assistant Surgeon on 8th September 1773; became Surgeon on 5th September 1778; resigned, with permission to return, on 16th January 1789, and, not having returned, was struck off in 1793.

At the same time as James Stark another Assistant Surgeon named John Stark was in the service (His name is spelt Stark, erroneously, by Dodwell and Miles). He was appointed Assistant Surgeon in 1774; transferred to a cadetship in the Artillery in 1778; became Ensign on 18th September 1778 and first Lieutenant on 16th September 1779. His further career I do not know, Dodwell and Miles give the note "not to be traced."

P. 632. *George Gray*, who is mentioned as a Civilian serving at Cuttack, was the son of Dr. George Gray, of Calcutta. The father served as Surgeon at Fort St. David, Madras, from April 1732 to September 1733. (Madras Press-Lists.) He must have come to Bengal immediately after, for his name appears in the Parish Register of St. Anne's as having married Mrs. Isabella Grayham (Graham?) on 21st January 1734. On 1st September 1737 his son George was christened. He was then Surgeon to the Factory at Kasimbazar. He is mentioned as Hospital Surgeon at Calcutta in a letter from Bengal of 1st September 1752, para. 100, and as Senior Surgeon in a letter of 7th December 1754, para. 146 (India Office M. S. Records). A despatch to Court, dated 7th December 1755, states that he had asked for an appointment as writer for his son George. This appointment was granted by the Court. George Gray junior was one of three writers who were granted two years' extra rank and service for good service in the defence of Calcutta in 1756. Both father and son were taken prisoner, but neither was in the Black Hole, both having escaped to Falia, where Dr. George Gray's wife and infant son Charles were also among the refugees. The doctor sent in his resignation in a letter dated 3rd March 1760 (Calcutta Press-Lists), and died at Huntington, in Scotland, on 26th March 1781. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1781.)

Hill's *List of Europeans in Bengal* in 1756 gives a good deal of information about the Grays. Dr. Gray had one child older than George junior, a daughter named Isabella, christened on 18th December 1734, who, he states, may have been in England in 1756. The Mrs. Gray at Falia was his second wife; for the marriage of Dr. George Gray to Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson is recorded on 20th April 1747.

George Gray, junior, appears to have been in England where he was appointed a writer, for his arrival on 14th August 1755 is noted. He wrote an account of the siege and capture of Calcutta.

D. G. CRAWFORD, M.B.,
Lieutenant-Colonel, I.M.S.



* Several references to James Stark will be found in Fergusson's *History of Freemasonry in Bengal* published by Messrs. Thacker Spink and Company.

Review.



MR. JULIAN JAMES COTTON, member of the Madras Civil Service and some time scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, has recently favoured the literary world with a collection of collegiate and other rhymes of a high order. Most of these pleasant verses, all scholarly in form now gathered under one cover, appeared in the College magazine, the *Pelican Record*; they are preceded by a frontispiece by Mr. E. H. New, a notable example of that poet-artist's style at best, showing the *façade* of Corpus fronted by the Pelican of wider than local fame.

It is customary when writing of books of light verse to associate them with those of Calverley or "J. K. S." Lyall or Ashby-Sterry. Mr. Cotton has much in common with each, but his pen also possesses a charm of its own quite irresistible. His touch is a light one, but here and there depths of feeling are sounded evidencing poetic power in reserve which it may be hoped will hereafter be further utilized.

"On Ancient Dons," the "Epistles to Publius," "Proconsular Corpus," and other productions of a personal kind must have afforded as keen a pleasure to his friends in the reading as they evidently did to the poet himself in the writing, and Corpus—the "happiest college in the universe"—should remain grateful to the magnetic muse of her versatile son.

The apostrophe "Vita Nuova" (1896) to the "Mystical Indies" strikes one or more serious chords; and this is the Swinburnian summing up thereof:—

Hindustan ? many tongued, many handed,
 Why camest thou to dazzle our eyes ?
 To lend all thy lures when we landed—
 Thy sun and thy smell and thy skies ?
 In egregious exile enfolden
 Shall our envied existence escape
 To emerge on a pension that's golden
 Crushed out of all shape ?
 Surely England on plain bread and butter,
 Its fads and its fashions complete,
 Is worth all thy glories, Calcutta,
 Even Simla's umbrageous retreat.

O How O ties that we sever !
O curse of the Covenant's chain !
You have bought us for ever and ever !
Is it right to complain ?

* *A Book of "Corpus" Verses* by Julian James Cotton,—Oxford.—B. H. Blackwell, 1950.

The following verses (1897) here fully quoted (with their closing extension) should properly be accompanied both in "Corpus" verses and in these pages by the well-known portraits by Gérard and Le Brun of the beautiful Noël Catherine Werlée. Zoffany, Madame Grand, and Serampore, however, have proved to be impossible associations.

MADAME GRAND.

(After Dr. Busted's *Echoes from Old Calcutta*.)

You a woman! Yes, and more,
Woman with *le diable au corps*,
Naive and ingenuous.
Ere you met with Julius
Then your lovers came and went
Till the prince of Benevent
Made what once was Madame Grand
Wife of mighty Talleyrand.

Was it the half Danish air
Of your birthplace made you fair
Surely some auspicious star
Shone that night at Tranquebar,
And a more than human hope
Cast the childish horoscope,
How you were reserved to reign,
Queen of Ganges, Queen of Seine.

Does your spirit haunt the floor
Of that house in Alipore,
Vis à vis to Francis set
Is the spectral mirror?
All Calcutta came to you
Fit obeisance to do,
What a story could you tell,
Girlish ghost, *judic et bella*.

Once I wandered many miles
Through the paintings at Versailles
Till I lighted upon one
By Gérard's own finger done,
Portrait of a fairy form
Which took continents by storm,
In whose eyes we still may see
Wondrous Indian witchery.

Let them mist you as they please
With repented gaucheries,
You who learnt in fortune's school
Minds of ministers to rule.
'Twas one answer from the heart
Fit for tal to Bonaparte,
That set servitor and spy
To concoct their Cruise lie.

Overgrown with nettle grass
Lies your grave at Mont Parnasse,
Now without a date or name
Head abased as if in shame,
But in regions of the blest
Venus of the East and West,
Still you hold your court above
For sad souls who die of love.

Lady, take my obolus
'Twixt your lips imperious
Sail the subterranean stream
Cutting daylight off from dream.
Come as you appeared before
Zoffany at Serampore,
Or as Perigord's princess
In the latest Empire dress.

Come as we have seen you look,
In the page of Busted's book,
Madame Grand! and something more,
Madame with *le diable au corps*!

But perhaps Mr. Cotton's best thing in the book is left out. It appeared in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1898. The verses to Eliza Draper—

Sterne's *Eliza*—find no place in the "Corpus" selection, an omission to be regretted. It is now to some extent remedied.

ANJENGO.

Yours the secret, Anjunga !
Yours the passed-away renown !
Serenade without a singer,
Let me take the music down
Harpstrings, answer to my finger,
Through the time-stain'd town !

Fortune was a strange assortress
In the lives she chose to pair :
Orme was born within your fortress,
Forbes was Chief-in-Council there,
With *Eliza*, pretty portress,
Radiant everywhere.

Classic shade of Sterne's *Eliza* !
Folk once fed upon your looks :
Now, a generation wiser
Pries not into bye-gone books,
We who linger may surprise her
In these empty nooks.

Old Bombay her praises chanted,
Old Bombay and Masagon ;
Now, elsewhere her flag is flaunted,
Lethe-wharf and Acheron ;
But 'twas here her beauties vaunted
Budded one by one.

Still across the blue backwater
Comes the pink approach of day
As of old the factor's daughter
Saw them, still the sunbeams play
We have miss'd her, for we sought her
Only yesterday.

In those curly craft she coasted
Past Cochin and Alleppee,
Up to Bunder, which once boasted
To possess "*Eliza's tree*,"
(Happy tree ! by lovers toasted,
Wreck'd in '63).

Now forgotten, Mistress Draper
Sleeps within her Bristol tomb,
Past the reach of pens and paper,
Shovel'd into utter gloom,
None to light a votive taper
In the darken'd room.

Otherwhere is this world's wonder,
Gone the past and out of view :
Who will reck of last year's thunder,
Craving after what is new ?
Abbé, Sterne, *Eliza*, Bunder,
They've forgotten you !

All Mr. Cotton's fellow members of the Calcutta Historical Society should add this fascinating book to their library.

DAK.



General Note Book.

THE following verses appeared in the *Journal* in November 1909. "Dak" in the association of "Girl Verlée" with the present "Chapel at the Bay" obviously avails himself of the poet's license; for, setting aside the fact that Mrs. Grand was a Roman Catholic, she left Bengal in December 1780, and the foundation-stone of the St. John's that we know was not laid till April 1784. Of course the "Chapel at the Bay" of her day as also that of "palankeened Sophia" was the chapel fashioned in 1760 out of one of the buildings of Old Fort William.

THE "CHAPEL AT THE BAY."

Still call the *mynas*, nest to nest,
To wake the wing-mates of the morn,
Where lie the living dead at rest
Along the old Cathedral lawn.

Forgot the storm of sack and shame,
The smoke that veiled HIS wrath to man,
When, clamorous loud, from shroud of flame
Clanged the wild bell-cote of St. Anne.

Great Clive had crimsoned Plassey's sod,
Dead Watson laid his cutlass down,
E'er man had heed of thought to God
By the smote fortress in the town.

A fair white Chapel at the Bay
Green girdled flings its chimes aloft
To anthem HIM, as in the day
Of Bellamy and Mapletoft.

While round the steeple shadows roam,
Noon in, noon out, come grey, come glare,
To kiss Speke's urn or Charnock's dome,
And tell the drift of times that were.

The creeping shadows' pointing fall,
The bells that woke the tropic bough,
The glare that stabbed the good white wall
Are calling, calling, calling, now.

They bid the town to watch and pray,
They din the day when all must pass
The wan momentous, valley way
Of spluttering torch and sandless glass.

But as the birds, melodious, raise
A livelier chant in jangled strain,
We catch the laughter of the days
When Warren wrought in Marian's reign—

When *palankeened* Sophia went
'Neath *kittysan* to church to pray,
Or whiff the soft Assyrian scent
Kerchiefed of turban-trimming Fay.

Meet Tulloh, mad at painted lies,
Hooped Verlée in her cloud of hair,—
Girl Verlée with the violet eyes,—
And Zoffany and blonde Blaquiére.

And praise the tossing plumes that grace
The Sanderson's be-powdered curls ;
Greet Weston, coifed, of clerkly face ;
Mark Moira's massed masonic pearls.

We watch the Begam's ample spread
Of yellowing charm at porch alight ;
Scan dainty Pringle's tripping tread,
Or winsome Aylmer's flounces white.

Then with Cornwallis stride the aisle,
While of King George the chancel peals ;
Or note the sun a halo smile
For marble Heber where he kneels.

The leaded slabs in silence call
To fort and mart, to mart and fort,
The chiselled glories of the wall,
The cool verandah's pillared court

All eloquent, who runs may read,—
" The dead live on—the quick decay—" *"*
The *Páthár Girjâ's* altar creed
Cried from the Chapel at the Bay.

Still pipes the bird of silken breast,
 Still crawls the night from dusk to dawn,
 Where waits the white Cathedral dressed
 In verdure by the levelled lawn,

DĀK.

THE portrait of Commodore Sir John Hayes is a photograph taken from an oil painting by John Opie, R.A., in the possession of Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford, L.M.S. John Opie was born in 1761, became R.A. in 1788, and died in 1807. As Sir John Hayes went home on furlough either late in 1806 or early in 1807, his picture must have been one of the last which Opie painted. The photograph was taken for Mrs. Marriott of Tasmania, who has recently been working in the Record Department of the India Office, with a view to compiling a life of Sir John Hayes, especially in connection with his exploration of Tasmania as well as of part of the Malaysian Archipelago in 1794-96. It would be interesting to know whether Hayes' journals of this voyage of discovery are still in existence. They have never been published. They may still exist in the Marine Records at Bombay, or they may have been in the possession of his son, Major Fletcher Hayes, Military Secretary to Sir Henry Lawrence, who was killed in the Mutiny. In the latter case they must long since have perished.*

J. D. C.

Some Seventeenth Century Tombs at Agra.—Probably most visitors to Agra who care for the things of the past find their way to the old Roman Catholic graveyard, where lie the remains of redoubtable warriors like Hessing and Reinhart and of peaceful Jesuit missionaries who laboured hard and vainly for the conversion of Northern India to the Christian faith; but few, I fancy, take the trouble to examine the old Protestant cemetery, though it is of peculiar interest as containing the earliest dated English tombs in all India.

The cemetery is not hard to find. It is situated at the angle formed by two roads, the one coming from the north past St. Paul's Church, while the other runs from the Central Jail westwards to the District Jail. Its chief feature is a large sandstone platform, on which are placed, in two lines of five each, ten old Dutch and English tombs. As will be seen from the accompanying illustrations, which were kindly taken for the magazine by Mr. A. de Cosson of the East Indian Railway, these are symmetrically arranged and are all of the same pattern, bearing a striking resemblance to the ordinary Mahamadan tomb. From particulars furnished by Mr. de Cosson it appears that three of the inscriptions are English, four are Dutch and the

* See BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT, Vol. III., p. 372.



GRAVES OF ANCIENT FACTORS AT AGRA.

(Photos. by A. de Casson, Eng.)

remaining three are blank, the surface in these cases having been chipped or worn away. A marble tablet has recently been let into the tomb of Justinian Offley (presumably by the local authorities) giving what is supposed to be the full text of the original inscription, parts of which have perished from age.

What is the history of this cemetery and how is it that we find English and Dutch merchants—bitter commercial rivals in life—sleeping peacefully side by side? The explanation is furnished by a document in the India Office records (O.C. 1592), which shows that John Drake (one of the Englishmen lying here) was buried by the Dutch at Agra "in their garden." It was a not unusual practice of the Europeans at the chief settlements in India to rent or purchase a piece of ground outside the city for purposes of recreation, and in these gardens made beautiful by trees and flowers they also interred their dead. Now at Agra, so far as we know, there was no English garden; and, moreover, when two at least of the three Englishmen died—and probably this was the case with the third also—there was no compatriot left in Agra to render the last rites, and the duty would fall naturally to the only other Protestant community. Hence the presence on doubly alien soil of these involuntary guests.

The inscriptions are quoted at length in the *Official List of Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces*. Here we are concerned chiefly with the three Englishmen, whose epitaphs run as follows:—

(i) [Here lieth the body] of Justinian Offli [ey, who] was Chief Merchant in Agra fo [r the English.] He deceased [the 18th] April, 1627.

(ii) Here lyeth the body of John Drake, slaine [] Anno Domini 1637. E.K.¹ fecit A [nno] Domini 1647.

(iii) Here lyeth the body of George Purches, who deceased in Agra the 14th July, 1651, ætatis suæ 24. Mem[ento mori.]

The first of the three came of a well-known family of London merchants. He arrived at Surat in 1620, and for some years was employed at various factories in Gujarat. In 1625 we hear of his being at Agra in charge of the English factory there. His proceedings did not give satisfaction, and the President and Council decided to replace him by another factor; but before this could be effected, Offley "departed this life, after a lingring sicknes, the 18th of April last [1627], and, no other English being then there, was buried by the Dutch" (O.C. 1264).

The tragic circumstances of John Drake's death are set forth in another India Office document (O.C. 1592). It appears that towards the end of February 1631 he quitted Agra for Surat with a caravan of indigo. He had no English companion; but the Company's broker at Agra, named

¹ I imagine this must have been Edward Knipe, whose name occurs in lists of the Agra factory in 1647 and 1648.

Dhanji, undertook to go part of the way with him. They had got their goods safely over the Chambal and had reached the little village of Pachokra, when a dispute arose regarding the payment of a toll. This being refused, an attempt was made to detain part of the caravan, and the result was a conflict between the villagers and the peons composing the guards, in which "Master Drake was shott with an arrowe, which entring at his backe perced into and through his belly." This unhappy outcome quieted the tumult, and Dhanji was allowed to pick up the wounded Englishman and carry him to a neighbouring village. A surgeon, sent from Agra by the Jesuit Rector, 'applied many medicines but to littell purpose'; and after being taken, at his own request, as far as Dholpur on the way back to the capital, Drake expired early on the morning of March 6. "So (wrote Dhanji) wee carried his body to Agra in a palankene which the Padree had sent; and advising the Hollonders, they buried him in theire garden about nine of the clock the same night." By the irony of fate, within a day or two of the funeral, Drake's employers in distant London decided to raise his salary from 20*l.* to 60*l.* per annum in recognition of eight years of good and faithful service.

Of the death of George Purches no account has been found, though something may yet come to light when all the India Office records of that period are examined. Mr. de Cosson reads the date on the tomb as "My," instead of July and the age as twenty-nine. As regards the latter point, the figure already given seems more probable, inasmuch as a letter from Surat of the same year speaks of Purches as "a very civill and industerous youth." At the time of his death he had been less than two years in India.

It is probable that all the remaining tombs are Dutch and that the three of which the inscriptions have disappeared are the oldest. Those still legible commemorate (i) Jan de Boeck of Amsterdam, Assistant at Agra, who died September 19, 1629, aged 35 years; (ii) Jan Tack of Amboyna, Chief Merchant, who died January 11, 1663, aged 56 years; (iii) Elizabeth, his wife, who died October 19, 1649, aged 30 years; and (iv) Pieter de Lien of Randerhuysen, Accountant, who died March 29, 1679, aged 35 years.

One of Mr. de Cosson's photographs shows very clearly the platform itself and the steps leading to it. Counting from the spectator's left, the second tomb in the front row half hidden by a shrub is that of Offley and the fourth that of De Boeck. The other three are nameless. In the back row, the tomb at the edge of the picture is that of John Drake; next to him lies George Purches, then comes Elizabeth Tack and the remaining two indistinctly seen are the tombs of Jan Tack and Pieter de Lien. The other photograph is taken from a nearer position in front of the platform but rather to the lefthand side. The middle tomb of the three in the foreground is that of Justinian Offley. It is interesting to note that, with the exception





HAJI MUHAMMAD MUBSIN.
The Founder of the Hugly Imambara
From Portrait at the India Office, Whitehall.

of Elizabeth Tack, who is placed next to her husband, the monuments are arranged exactly in order of date.

WILLIAM FOSTER

IN *Bengal: Past and Present* for January 1908 we gave a likeness of Haji Muhammad Mohsin, the founder of the Hughli Mohsin Fund. An oil-painting, the same as the likeness we published, hangs in the Hughli College. The likeness we now give is from a picture which hangs in the India Office in London. It was painted for Shamsud-daula, Nawab of Dacca, whose son gave it to Dr. T. A. Wise, who subsequently presented it to the India Office in 1875. The name of the painter is not known. The photograph was taken for Colonel J. Lewin, J.P., with whose permission it was sent to the Editor by Mr. W. Foster, B.A., of the India Office. The picture in the India Office is painted on a somewhat larger scale than the one in Hughli College. The face is turned somewhat to the right, instead of being full face and the clothing and arrangement of the hands are different. But the face is the same; both pictures show a mole on each cheek.

J. D. C.

IN the most valuable article entitled "Marriages in Bengal" by Messrs. Firminger and Madge appearing in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present* I find fresh light thrown on a certain matter which had hitherto, to my mind at least, remained in obscurity. The point is this: What relation was Sir R. J. Holwell Birch (who, during the mutinies, held the office of Military Secretary) to old Governor Holwell? Mr. Buckland in his *Dictionary of Indian Biography* states that he was his "grandson" and this statement appears also in Mr. Cotton's *Calcutta: Old and New*. But Messrs. Firminger and Madge have now proved to us from St. John's records that Birch was Holwell's "great-grandson." Thus: Birch's father, R. C. Birch, B.C.S., married, in 1789, Miss Frances Jane Rider. The latter was the daughter of William Rider who had, in 1759, married Holwell's daughter Anna. It is interesting to think that Birch held a responsible position in the public eye during the most troublous period of the Mutiny, just as his great-grandfather had done a century before him.

K. N. D.

IN the *Memoirs of the Duchesse de Dino* (Heinemann, October 1909) we find some account of the last days of Madame Grand, the Princess de Talleyrand. This Duchesse de Dino was the niece of the Prince de Talleyrand and lived with him during the period he was ambassador in London. She is referred to in the latest edition of Dr. Busteed's *Echoes* as

"the intellectual and fascinating wife" of Talleyrand's nephew and she afterwards became Duchesse de Talleyrand. The *Memoirs* give a very interesting, if gossipy, account of London and Paris in 1831-35, and are edited by the Princess Radziwill, a grand-daughter of the writer.

Under the date October 16th, 1835, the Duchesse makes her first mention of the Princess de Talleyrand, and in the useful biographical index to the book a slight sketch of her is given and, by a not unusual mistake in this connection, her previous name is given as Mrs. P. Grant. The Duchesse de Dino writes that she is confronted with a new anxiety as she has heard of the serious illness of the Princesse de Talleyrand, and fears to tell Talleyrand about it, for fear of the shock to the aged man in poor health. Talleyrand was then 81 years of age, the former Madame Grand being then 73 years.

Talleyrand received the news of the serious illness of his long-forsaken wife in silence, and soon after began to talk of the relief it would be to save her annuity and the nuisance it would be to have to go into mourning, etc. In fact the old man took the news so serenely that the Duchesse could not help playfully asking him if it was "the fact that he would soon be a widower that put him in such good humour," to which the aged diplomatist replied by "making a face like a mischievous child." The Duchesse comments upon the relief it would give him to see "a bond snapped which was the greatest scandal of his life, because it was irremediable." The Princess, however, made a temporary recovery and on October 23rd we find the Duchesse writing that the Princess is so "little concerned over her recent illness that all she thinks of is how to secure further advantage to herself at her husband's death."

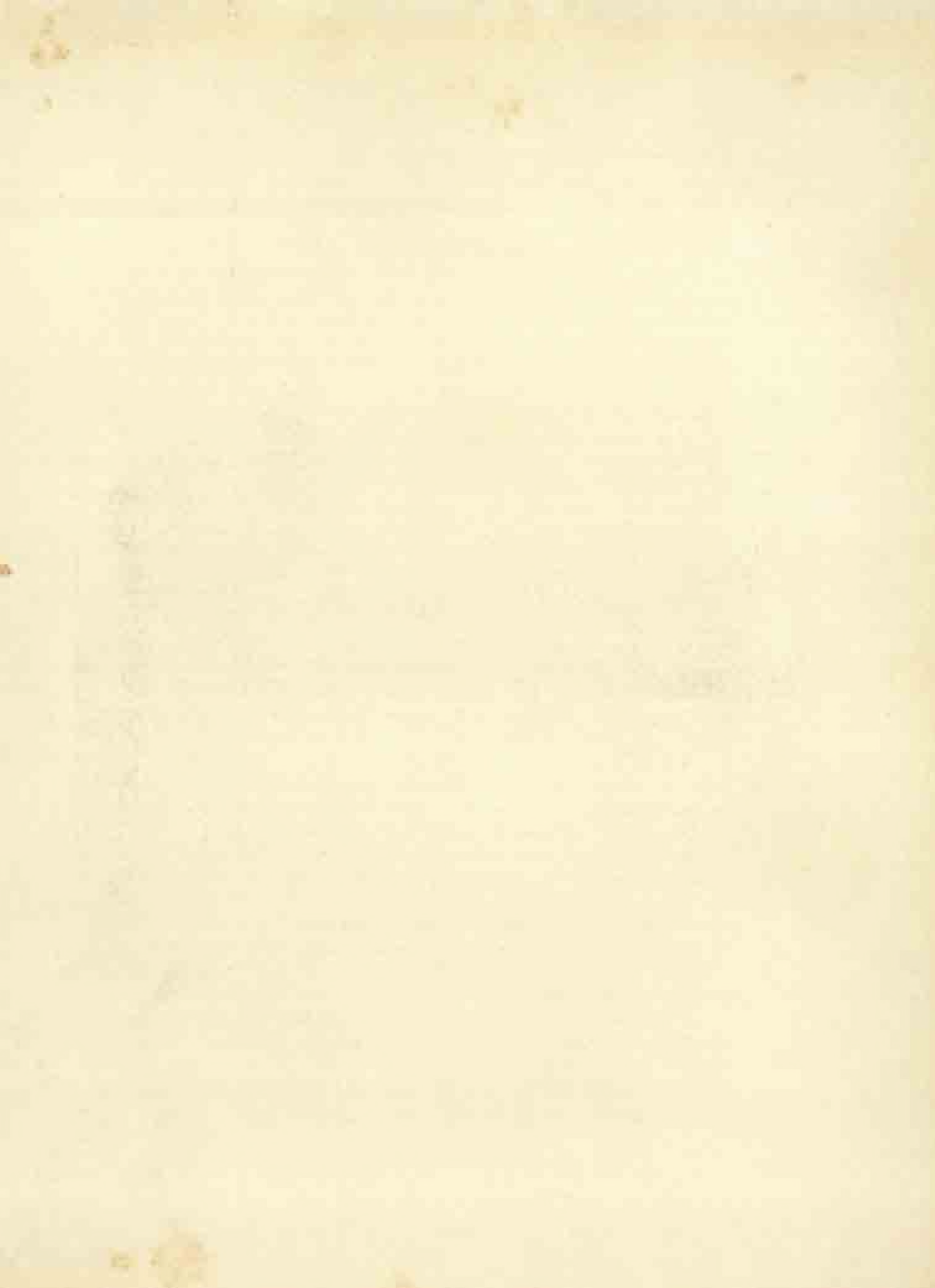
The recovery, however, was not for long, and on 9th December 1835 (not 10th December as given in *Echoes*) the Duchesse writes that "Madame la Princesse died an hour ago" and that she dreaded to tell Talleyrand "as the word 'death' has a sinister sound to an aged man."

Some days later, December 15th, the Duchesse writes that the Duchesse d'Esclignac (1801-1868, a daughter of Baron Jacques de Talleyrand-Perigord, the third brother of the Prince de Talleyrand) is behaving very badly over the money affairs of the deceased Princess, but Madame d'Esclignac cared not; as she said "I fear no scandal, and as far as my uncle is concerned I desire it. I have the Faubourg Saint-Germain on my side, for I had the Archbishop of Paris to administer the last sacraments to Madame de Talleyrand."

This refers to the "dramatic incident" related from contemporary documents in Dr. Basteed's *Echoes* (p. 314, etc.).*

W. J. B.

* Some interesting references to Talleyrand's relations with his wife may be found in LaGrand's *Life of Mr. Dupaulan*.—EDITOR, BENGAL: P. & P.





BALLARD'S BUILDINGS, CALCUTTA.

(Photo by C. F. Hooper, Esq.)

E. M. D. writes: "Can any of your readers supply me with information concerning a Mr. and Mrs. Bateman who went out to India about 1794 to claim some property? In March of that year the Chevalière D'Eon besought from Warren Hastings a letter of introduction to Mr. Peter Speke of the Supreme Council at Calcutta for her friends, the Batemans. Mrs. Bateman was at one time an actress of repute and drew large audiences to the old Haymarket Theatre. I understand that Bateman died in India and that his widow subsequently married a Mr. Ester, and died in Calcutta in 1801. Was Mr. Bateman the Nathaniel Bateman who was a Company's Servant in the days of Warren Hastings?"

In the obituary notice of M. Tardivel, it is stated, on page 610, that "he saved Chandernagore from the plague." This is hardly correct. Chandernagore suffered from a severe epidemic of plague in 1905. In fact, Chandernagore and the neighbouring Municipality of Hughli-Chinsura, are the only places in Bengal proper, outside Calcutta, which have suffered from plague in an epidemic form. Plague broke out in Chandernagore, imported from Calcutta, in the early part of January 1905, in Hughli and Chinsura at the end of the same month, dying out at the beginning of June. In Chandernagore, the first case died on 11th January, the last on 3rd June; and during this period there were 223 cases with 174 deaths and 49 recoveries in the French territory, which has a population of about 26,000. In Hughli-Chinsura, with a population of 29,000, there were 254 cases and 204 deaths. The figures for Chandernagore were supplied to me by M. Tardivel, who was then Mayor.

J. D. C.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CRAWFORD sends us the following additional notes to "Letters from Calcutta and Jessore in 1829-30" (BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT, No. 9, page 461).

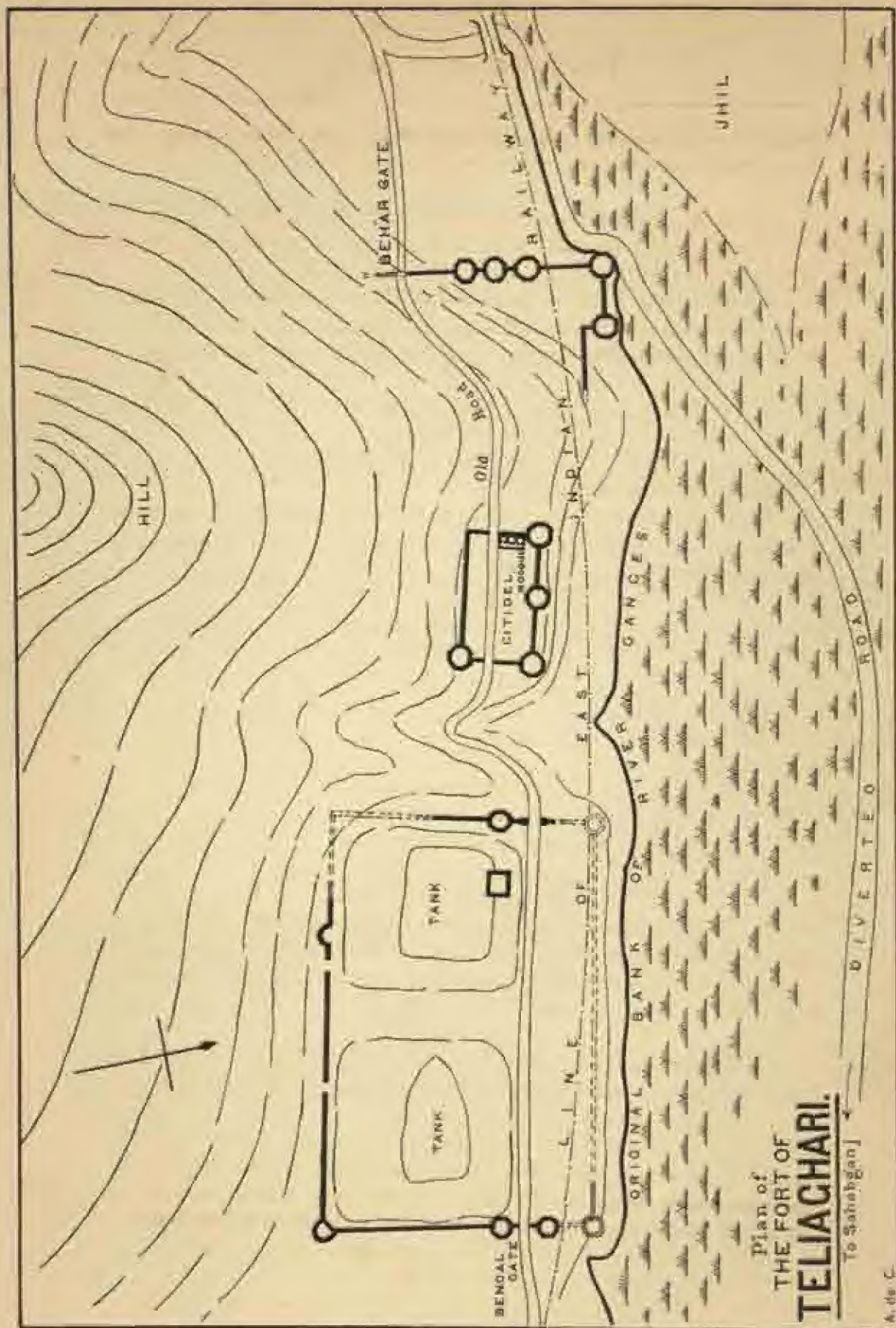
General Doran's sister Sophia was the wife of Captain George Duff, R.N., of H.M.S. *Mars*, a line of battleship which he commanded at Trafalgar, where he was killed.

John Pringle was the author of a small book of poems, privately published in 1841, after his death, under the title "Select Remains of J. A. Pringle," by Harrison & Co., London. Edited by Sir Andrew Halliday.

David Pringle, John's younger brother, on his first voyage to India, to join the Bengal Civil Service, was a passenger on board the *Kent*, East Indianman, when she was burned in the Bay of Biscay on 1st March 1885.

IN past numbers of BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT we have re-printed two tracts by Dalrymple on the loss of the *Grosvener* East Indianman. Mr.

P. R. Cadell, C.S., a member of our Society, who is at present travelling in South Africa, recently purchased at a bookseller's in Durban a pamphlet entitled *The Wreck of the Grosvenor on the Pando Coast, 1782*. The compilation of this pamphlet was undertaken in view of the acquisition by the Durban Light Infantry of a nine-pounder gun which had been recovered from the wreck in 1905 and had on its way to Natal been detained by the Custom authorities at Bizana (Middle Drift) until 1909, when, thanks to the action of the officers of the D.L.I., it was brought in safety, and mounted on a new carriage at the old fort of Durban. The compiler seems to have made a complete investigation of the South African records concerning the subject, but, after all done and said, we are left very much where we were: "Doubt must for ever remain as to the fate of the passengers, and the reader must accept the theory which appears to him most probable." The site of the wreck the writer places "on the coast of Pandoland, a little south of St. John's." The writer of the Durban Pamphlet gives an account of the expedition despatched by the Dutch Government in search of survivors which throws some additional light on what has been recounted in these pages. "By order of Van Plettenburg and the Council of Policy, 100 Europeans, with 300 natives, under Captain Hildegard Mulder, were at once ordered to investigate, and two of the sailors accompanied this relief expedition to the Transkei. The Temlus proved hostile, however, and Captain Mulder was forced to turn back, though he tried to get through with a party on horseback leaving his convoy laagered at the Transkei river. It seems all but certain that in any case he would have arrived too late, for in the Kaffir country he reached six lascars and two black women, servants to the lady passengers, these stated 'that to the best of their belief, all the other shipwrecked people had either been killed by the Kaffirs or had perished from want and fatigue.' A second expedition was organized in August 1790, which included Captain Mulder and his two brothers. At the Umgazi River they found "three old white women who could not give any account of themselves, nor speak any European tongue, and did not know whence they came," and one of these, one of whom bore the name of "Bessie," was the wife of the chief. These three women our author takes to have been survivors from the wreck of an East Indiaman some time before 1730. Of this wreck he tells us the survivors "intermarried with the Amapando, and their descendants are numerous at the present day, and are commonly incorrectly described as survivors of the *Grosvenor*." It would perhaps be hardly fair to quote a recently published pamphlet at greater length. It bears on the title page "printed for private circulation only" but also "price 6d." We suppose that it may be purchased of the printers, Robinson & Co., Ltd., Mercury Lane, Dublin, and the purchaser will assist a work of piety in the true sense of the term, for we read "any profit from the sale of this



pamphlet will be devoted to the upkeep of the old Fort, Durban." The writer does not seem to have heard of the tradition about Mrs. Logie.

MR. A. F. DE COSSON sends us the three following notes :—

I send you with this two notes on (1) The Fort of Teliaghari and (2) The Battles of Gheria and Udwanala, with rough plans.

You may find room for them in the "Secretary's Pages" if you think them worth printing. With reference to Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford's article in the April number, p. 195, the graves at Lakhisera I.F. are of—

- (1) Mr. Read.
- (2) Mr. Blewett.
- (3) Mrs. Gowen.
- (4) Child of Mr. Gowen.

Dates said to be obliterated.

As an example of the graves to be found in the older Indigo Factories I send you two epitaphs in the garden of Chitwarrah I.F. near Mahuwa in Mozafferpur—

M. S.
ED. EPHA POTE.
Nat. 9th Feby.
Obt. 15th Aug.
1812.

Sacred
To the Memory of
ROBERT LEVERETT
who departed this life
on the 20th May 1832
in the 44th year of his age.

Mr. George Blake of this Factory, who kindly sent them, says there is another grave, nameless. Nothing is known of the child Pote, but the records of the factory show that Mr. Leverett was Manager and part owner for some time.

The Fort of Teliaghari.—After leaving Sahebganj Station on the East Indian Railway in the direction of Bhagalpur, passengers from Calcutta may notice the ruins of a very fine old Mahomedan fort on the left side. I have often visited this fort but can find out nothing about its history. It was evidently a place of some importance, and from its architecture appears to be of the first Mahomedan period (Circa 1,200). I have made a rough plan of the place and found from examination the walls to be 18 to 20 feet thick and

constructed with alternate courses of hard green stones (3 feet \times 1 foot \times inches) and thin bricks (6½ inches \times 5½ inches \times 1¼ inches). There is no stone like it in the neighbourhood and I assume it was boated up or down the river Ganges which used to flow at the foot of the Fort. From its position it guarded the river and the main, and for many years the only road from Behar to Bengal—the old "River Road" as it was called. Behind it rise the Santal Hills, and they go back, hill and dale, for miles and miles.

This Fort has been called the "Key of Bengal." It is referred to by Orme as the "awful pass" of Teliaghari.* William Hodges, R.A., in his collection of drawings produces an aqua-tint of it, and says in his letterpress that it was quartered with East India Company's troops in 1757 and that the Government deeming it not worth keeping in repair allowed it to fall into decay.

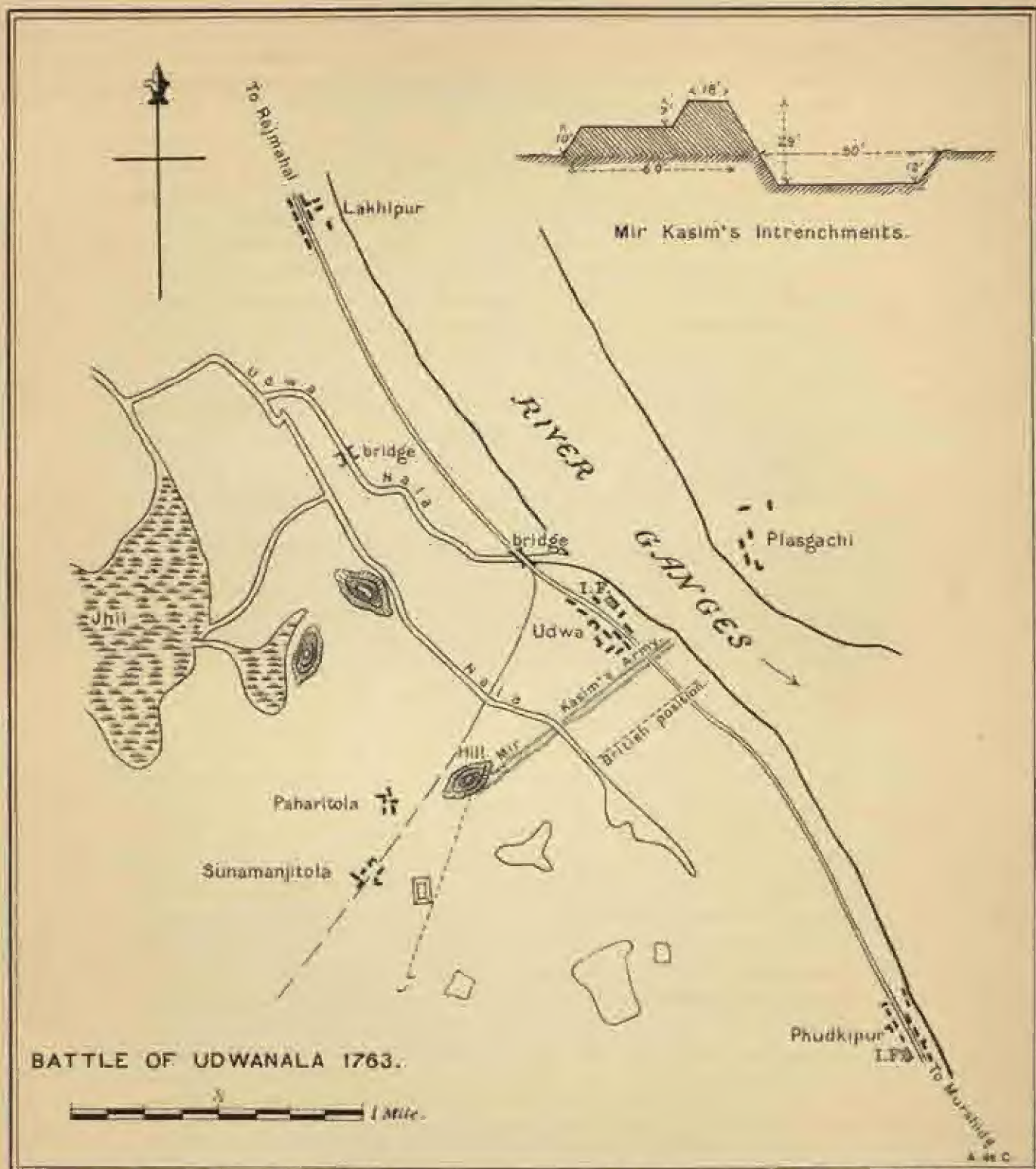
The East Indian Railway passes under the citadel and within the walls, which are gradually falling down. The once important road, too, is in places obliterated in rice fields. Many armies have passed along it, one of the last was Coote's little army in 1757 when he was chasing Monsieur Law.

Note on the Battles of Gheria (1740 and 1763) and Uduvanala (1763).

In 1740, when Ali Verdi was seeking to usurp the control of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, he met and overthrew the Nawab of Bengal (Safaraz Khan) on what were known as the "Plains of Gheria." Gheria lies north of Murshidabad on the east bank of the Bhagarathi, and on the old Calcutta-Darjiling road. Near by is Suti, once a dāk changing station. In this battle of Gheria we have a typical incident of Eastern treachery; before the battle Ali Verdi had managed to bribe the officer in charge of the Nawab's ordnance to carry bricks in the place of ball and sand and mustard-seed instead of powder! The result was of course disastrous. However, the Nawab Safaraz Khan himself behaved valiantly and told his *mahout* to drive his elephant into the thick of the battle saying he scorned to retreat before "rebels and traitors." But the battle was already lost and he was shot through the heart by a musket ball. Like the plain of Panipat, the plains of Gheria were the site of more than one battle. Major Adams in his advance after the battle of Katwa in August 1763 defeated part of Mir Kasim's army on the same field. Against an army of 28,000 directed by Mir Kasim himself, Major Adams had a mixed force consisting of about 400 men of the 84th Regiment, 350 men of the Bengal European Regiment †

* Also spelt Teliagully (*gulli* or *gali* signifies pass). It is quite possible that, with the River taking another course it lost its importance.

† Now the Royal Munster Fusiliers.



(including the French Company), 150 European Cavalry and 120 European artillerymen. The rest of the force (about 4,000) were sepoys.

This battle of Gheria was an extremely hard fought one, and the enemy were compelled to fall back on the trenches at Udwanala. The British loss included a very distinguished officer, Lieutenant William Glenn. With this I give a rough plan of the battle-field of Udwanala. Some time ago a very interesting account of this battle appeared in the *Englishman* under the title of "A Forgotten Historical Site," by "A.B.B." It is indeed a forgotten site although an important and glorious one. The strength of the position, and the enormous extent of Mir Kasim's army, are worth pointing out here. The country is one intersected with *nalas*, and at the time of the siege, for it was more of a siege than a battle, the country must have been flooded and treacherous. The Ganges flows on the right of the position and the left was protected by *nalas* and flooded fields. The intrenchments consisted of a ditch 60 feet broad and a breast-work 29 feet high, and when one takes into consideration that the intrenchments extended over a mile, it can be understood what a mighty work Mir Kasim had prepared to block the only road of advance. Behind these fortifications Mir Kasim had from 40,000 to 60,000 men of which 12,000 were cavalry. There were 100 guns mounted on the breast-works, and among his commanders he had Sombre, and the Armenians Marker and Aratoon. Details of the siege show that had it not been for Adams all would have been given up in despair, and that in the ultimate assault by night on the 5th of September, after nearly a month of waiting and fighting, the British force was guided by a renegade Irishman. The result was the loss of 15,000 men and 100 guns on the part of the enemy,* the British loss being small. Malleson describes this battle as "one of the most glorious, one of the most daring and most successful feats of arms ever achieved." These three battles took place within 200 miles of Calcutta and some day the fields should be visited. There are no monuments on any, and they deserve to be marked in some way as historical sites if not as battle-fields.

A. F. C. DE C.

THE "missing Mercury" which formerly stood on the Calcutta maidan opposite the old United Service Club about which enquiries were made in an early number of *Bengal : Past & Present* is now in the grounds at Belvedere.

W. C.

* One other result of the battle of Udwanala was the Patna massacre. After the battle of Gheria, Mir Kasim had similarly vented his rage by tying sandbags round the necks of his Hindu captives of Monghyr and dropping them into the Ganges.

The Tragedy of the *Anglia*.

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE CAUSE OF THE DISASTER.

IN the last issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* appeared an article descriptive of the tragic loss of the Anchor Line steamer *Anglia* which capsized on Jellingham Sands within sight of Kedgerree on 24th August 1892. The story presented with striking vividness the terrible fate of the unfortunate victims who were imprisoned in the fore-castle, and the letter of a survivor describing the wreck, depicted in graphic language a disaster which is without parallel on the Hughly.

The writer, however, confined his narrative principally to the events immediately following the capsizing of the *Anglia*, and beyond a passing reference to the force of the current when the stream is in full flood, left us without information as to the actual cause of the disaster. In justice to Mr. Elson, the pilot on the ill-fated vessel, it should be stated that the subsequent enquiry elicited the fact that the disaster was due to structural defects in the ship and to faulty ballasting, as the following extracts from contemporary newspapers conclusively prove—

To the Editor of the "*Bombay Gazette*."

Sir,—Pilot Elson, in his memorial to the Government of Bengal, states with great clearness the cause or causes which led to the loss of the *Anglia*. He says he "stated in his evidence that she seemed as stiff as the generality of vessels going down the Hughly, but as a matter of fact there had been no very strong test of her stiffness, as the turning in Garden Reach being in six to eight fathoms of water, she could not show, in the same way as in shallow water, any indication or otherwise of crankiness, but that her carrying a great quantity of dead weight for Colombo in her 'tween decks, the cargo in her lower hold being comparatively light, and the empty ballast tanks at the bottom of the ship may have considerably effected her stability." Such a system of loading would, of course, tend to make her top-heavy, *i.e.*, raise the centre of gravity of the mass of hull and cargo dangerously near to the centre of flotation or displacement. He says "he had ascertained that as her bottom was almost flat without a keel, and her bilges a near approach to square she would actually draw nearly a foot more of water at the bilge for every five or six

degrees of heel-over, or inclination and that it was in the evidence of the chief officer, and the wheelman, that the *Anglia* was unsteady, and gave a lurch or slight roll to port immediately before finally rolling over," and he submitted that what actually occurred was "that as soon as the vessel got across the ebb-tide and over-fall, she felt the natural difference between the velocity of the surface and bottom flow of the current, took a roll which made her starboard bilge touch the ground, and the surface current then forced her over and she sank."

Here undoubtedly we have correctly described the causes which immediately contributed to the disaster. The manner in which she was loaded and the empty ballast tanks at the bottom being 1-7th of the ship's internal capacity made her cranky and unstable in the semi-salt seawater in a strong cross current, and in turning a curve in the slight sea swell of August, her bottom being probably within one foot of the river bed (where the current is almost *nil*) and her hull being square in section the slight roll which she then gave made the lower edge of her hull touch the ground, it was impossible for her to recover, and she went over bodily.

The square section of hull has, I suppose, been gradually developed from the necessity of carrying maximum cargo through the Suez Canal at a minimum charge. This shape is quite suitable for canal requirements where there is but a slight current always fore and aft and no likelihood of the current heeling a vessel over to the least degree. But such a cross-section is in the highest respect unsafe in such a river as the Hughly, which is subject to strong ebb-tide, troubled by shoals, and with many bends and turns in the direction of the current. These difficulties are aggravated by the necessity of emptying the ballast tanks for the purpose of keeping the hull as high above the ground as possible (and for saving pilotage charges). These tanks while, of course, properly placed for ballasting an empty ship, are altogether unsuitable for lightening the draught of a fully-laden vessel, because they are in the wrong position for such a purpose, and directly tend to make the vessel cranky. They are top-heavy by unduly raising the centre of gravity with such a form of cross-section. When steering round a curve in avoiding a shoal causes her to roll over slightly and touch the bottom, every degree of heel over will make her bilge or lower corner sink deeper into the ground. Suppose the section of hull is square, her beam 40 feet wide and her bottom one foot clear of the ground, by the time she has heeled over half a right

angle or 45 degrees, her bilge will be no less than seven feet deep in the sand. . . .

Knowledge is power. The phenomenon of the heeling out of the perpendicular is well enough understood in the case of steamers turning a sharp curve. . . . but to Pilot Elson is due the credit of being the first to give the correct explanation (the square shape of the hull) of the awful facility with which ships in the Hughly turn turtle and are lost when a slight heel-over in turning a bend in a strong tide in shoal-water causes the bilge to touch bottom in the slightest degree.

Yours, etc.,

D. GOSTLING, F.S.A.

*** The writer is a civil engineer and architect of reputation in Bombay, and we commend, etc., etc.—ED., *B. G.*

The Editor of the *Englishman* writes under date, 28th September 1892, as follows:—*** The facts of the occurrence as set forth at the enquiry were so clear that there is no excuse for such blundering, and although it may be premature to speak of the cause of the calamity the evidence can leave little doubt in the minds of those who have carefully considered it. The *Anglia* was a vessel of a comparatively new type, the safety of which is a matter of grave doubt among experts. One authority in a professional magazine, describing these vessels, says:—"There are many ships built for cargo purposes having moulded depth of eight-tenths of the beam, with wall sides and flat floors, making a square section, as unfitted for the section of a ship as it is possible to imagine." Such vessels are also spoken of as "boxes" and "parallelograms," and with greater hostility as "mantraps." A model of the *Anglia's* section shows that with her flat floor, destitute of keel, a roll of five degrees gave her a draught of twenty-six feet and a further heel of five degrees a draught of no less than twenty-seven feet. When the vessel is put over to twenty-five it is drawing a maximum of twenty-nine feet. Now, it was shown indisputably at the enquiry that at the moment when the *Anglia* capsized she was in $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet of good water, over and above her draught of twenty-four feet. Another important feature of the case is the state of the ballast tanks. In April last, Captain H. L. Holt, Assoc. I. N. A., President of the London Shipmasters' Society, in a lecture to the Mercantile Marine Service Association, said:—"The emptying of the ballast tanks, when loading a homogeneous cargo, raised the centre of gravity unduly, so that in some cases the stability of the vessel was

totally destroyed, and the only remedy in such cases was either to fill the tanks to the exclusion of an equal weight of cargo, or to carry a fixed and permanent quantity of stone or other ballast." Now, the *Anglia* had a ballast space of 780 tons, of which only 200 tons were filled, so that she was practically carrying a balloon of 580 tons air-space at her bottom. When a flat-bottomed vessel in this condition was brought broadside on to a tide running at seven knots it is not very surprising that she capsized, to say nothing of the fact that she was carrying a deck load of coal. . . . The cause of the disaster is so obvious indeed, that the Court of Enquiry must have been convinced of the futility of further investigation."

From the *Statesman*, 14th September 1892.

"A SEAMAN writes to a Bombay paper:—From my point of view, I do not think a second enquiry at all is necessary; the evidence already before the public is in itself complete and conclusive to show that the vessel capsized in accordance with perfectly well-known laws in physics; and without taking up too much of your valuable space, I will endeavour to prove this as briefly as possible. I shall premise by stating that the vessel struck no bank, but turned over in mid-channel. In the Captain's evidence he states that the steamer left Calcutta drawing twenty-four feet, laden with a general cargo, weighing 4,100 tons, and that there were 60 tons of coal on deck. Luckily she does not appear to have had any passengers, and we may assume the room generally allotted to them and all other available space to have been filled with selected cargo, which is the rule, not the exception. This in connection with the coal carried on deck would raise the centre of gravity very much above the centre of buoyancy. Again, there was an empty space right in the bottom of vessel capable of containing 580 tons of water, which would have a still further tendency to destroy stability.

The Captain states again, that the vessel in "turning round" in Garden Reach heeled over 5 degrees by the action of the helm, which goes to show that the centre of gravity and meta centre had met, or, in other words, it would not take very much to turn her bottom upwards.

Mr. Horace Montague Cox, Master Pilot, stated "he considered the *Anglia* in the proper position," he also stated further on that at the time of the accident "there should have been $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the channel," just $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet more water than the steamer was actually

drawing. The *Anglia*, like the majority of cargo steamers, was flat-floored, so in the midship section of the vessel at the turn of the bilge she would be as deeply immersed in the water as at the keel.

Now, what are the facts immediately preceding the accident? It is admitted that the ebb was running down at the rate of from five to seven knots, that there were $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water in the channel when the helm was put hard astarboard. Then John Macrae, the man who was at the wheel, stated that as soon as the helm went over, the vessel began to lurch a little, and as she got more across the tide, seemed to touch something about the fore-rigging, and then went clean over.

From this it would appear that as the vessel lurched athwart the tide, the current pressed against the port-side. This forced the starboard bilge deeper in the water until the vessel's draft was that recorded in the channel, *viz.*, $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At this moment, or perhaps in a second of time, the bottom of the vessel presented an inclined plane to the onward rush of the stream. Therefore, no sooner had the starboard bilge touched the ground by reason of instability, than the powerful impact of the dynamical force of the moving stream instantly tilted the vessel over on her starboard side. The great force of water pressing against the port bilge in conjunction with the superincumbent weight of coals on deck converted the vessel into a kind of balance-wheel, and this explains the awful suddenness of the calamity.

Here then is the true explanation of this disaster. Vessels of similar build to the *Anglia* may be fairly safe at sea under ordinary sea-going conditions, but subjected to the cross currents and shallows of the Hughly, with their marginal stability sacrificed to the necessity of light ballasting, such craft will always be exposed to the dreadful possibility of being placed in a parallel position to that which overwhelmed the *Anglia*, in which circumstances no pilot's skill could save them from a similar fate.

C.





13. DRAUPADI'S RATH AT MAHABALIPURAM, MADRAS.

Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.



WE should be deeply indebted to any of our readers who would be so kind as to supply us with a complete historical account of the Calcutta Salt Lakes from the times of Job Charnock to our own day. The following extract from *The Press List of Ancient Documents Preserved at the Imperial Record Department* shows how little was known about "the lake" in the year 1757. The extract concerns a letter from Robert Clive and the Members of the Council at "Muxadavad,"* dated July 27th, "informing that the Connago's† man has been sent on behalf of the Nabob to take an account of the lands, villages, districts, revenues and other particulars of the territory from the Great Lake eastward of Calcutta as far as Culpee on the south; recommending that although these men may not be able to trace a proper boundary, it may be well for us to send capable persons to survey the lake, because, as is supposed, the lake extends as far as Culpee, then the Company's territory will be almost surrounded by water and a communication from Baag Bazar to Kishnapore on the borders of the Lake, will effectually secure Calcutta from any country enemy, and stating that if the boundary can be exactly determined, they are inclined to believe that the Nabob will not only assent thereto but put us in possession thereof, and confirm the same by ample grants." The map prefixed to the 1775 edition of Bolts' *Considerations* shows the "Baliagut Lake" and indicates "the Baliagut Passage through the woods." This map is an exceedingly interesting one as it probably shows us the route by which in the olden time our predecessors in Bengal proceeded from Calcutta to their factories at Luckipore, Chittagong, or Dacca.‡ Bolts' map is, in fact, one of the most interesting maps of Bengal ever published.

* *Id.* Murchidabad.

† *Id.* a Kānāgo. The registrar of a *darul* or revenue subdivision to whom the *paradrisi*, or village registrars, accounted. In August 1757 Captain Rob Barker was appointed "to accompany the Connago's (sic) man in the survey of the territory to be granted to the Company, taking with him Captain William Swallow, an artist and a seaman, and to prepare a plan of the course of the Great Lake, sound its depth of water, etc." (Pub. Proc., 4th Aug.) The Public Proceedings of September 26th announce the submission of the Report; query can the Report be traced?

‡ *Vide Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, p. 38. "Sir Elijah Impey was absent from Court to-day, because he is preparing to set out to-morrow to Bulleegant, only about two miles from Calcutta, on the Salt Water Lake, where his budgro now is, with the intention to proceed on the Salt Water Lake into the river, and so on to Luckipoor by water in his budgro, once to finish his journey to

SINCE writing the above note, I have come across the following in an old volume of the *Asiatic Journal* :—

NOVEMBER.

New Canal.—A canal of large dimensions is now in rapid progress, promising great and immediate advantage to the inland navigation of the Delta, and its connexion with the Capital, a branch in which there appears to be great room of improvement, notwithstanding the great natural advantages of which the locality of Calcutta has to boast. The work has been for some time under contemplation, but commenced only in February last. The line, we understand, commences from the Hughli river, into which it will open with tide-gates, immediately north of the Chitpore bridge, over the Maharatta ditch. After crossing the Barrackpore and Dum Dum Roads, it passes a course parallel to the circular road at the average distance of something less than a half-a-mile to the Eastward or Lake Canal, the route by which a considerable proportion of the craft navigating the Soonderban approaches Calcutta. The scheme of the canal allows a constant breadth of water exceeding eighty feet and a depth of water never less than six feet. The part between the tide-gates near the mouth and the first bridge across the Barrackpore Road is to be excavated to an additional breadth, in order to serve the purpose for craft that otherwise lie exposed before the different gales.

The work is at present entitled the *Circular Canal* and is connected with a series of works, which have been in progress for some time, for the improvement of what is called the Upper Soonderban passage, in which there exists many inconveniences and delays, if not real perils. Indeed, we understand, that the idea of Circular Canal, as one of communication with the river, originated entirely during certain discussions before a special committee of officers, appointed by Government to consider the feasibility and advantages of a scheme for providing and shortening that route, at a time when much attention was directed to the possibility, by the felling of the Jellingee and Baghirattee, this circuitous route remaining the only practicable approach to Calcutta for the trade of the Gangetic provinces.

It is known to most eastern readers, that the lower Delta, called the Soondurbans, is so intersected in its surface as to form a perfect network of tide-creeks, most of which are navigable for boats of considerable burden, and have been so used from time immemorial by natives of the country. Before the year 1775, the only available communication between these creeks and the river Hooghly emerged into the Channel Creek, while the rest of the trade, then insignificant, which did not require to pass into the Hooghly, landed at Balyaghat situated two miles east of Calcutta, on the margin of the great salt water lake or marsh. The passage excavated by Major Tolley, now bearing his name, at first a private adventure under a grant for so many years, and excavated with very insignificant dimensions, soon

Chittagong by land." Hyde's Note Books, March 1, 1780. See also *Lives of the Lindays*, Vol. II. "In the autumn of this year (1776), I left Calcutta on my way to Dacca by water; we embarked at Balaghat on the salt-water lake three miles to the eastward, and in a few hours found ourselves in the Sunderlands, completely secluded from the world in a wilderness of wood and water. This navigation is part of the Delta of the Ganges, extending more than two hundred miles along the coast, through forests, inhabited only by tigers, alligators, and wild animals peculiar to a tropical climate; the human population is very scanty, the country being overflowed every spring-tide by salt water. It is a desart waste of great extent, but beautiful in the extreme, the lofty trees growing down to the water's edge with little or no bush or underwood. The innumerable rivers and creeks, which intersect this country in every direction, form a passage so intricate as to require the assistance of a pilot, its windings are like mazes of a labyrinth, in which a stranger would find himself immediately bewildered."

became both a much frequented passage and source of considerable revenue. The dimensions have been increased at several successive periods, with the increase of its importance to their present standard. The depth and other local circumstances are still much against this canal being, in its present constitution, rendered a perfect navigable communication, or in any way sufficient for the magnitude of the trade which enters into it. The bed is not sufficiently low to prevent a great portion being left dry during the ebbsides of November to May; and the whole canal is besides left exposed to the great variations of surface daily,* and yearly† which take place in the Hooghly river.

The creeks of the Soondurbuns are subject to but little periodical influence, while the surface of the Hooghly is raised considerably by the influx of the fresh water. The daily rise and fall of the tide in the creeks which approach Calcutta by the lake, partly from the great length of the course in a straitened channel by which the tide has to travel, and partly from the influence of a vast marsh at the termination of its course in dissipating the force of the tide, is also very small, when compared with the daily variation in the Hooghly. The application of some kind of tide gate at the junction of the waters, which are so widely different in their phenomenon, appears to be the most economical or judicious plan that could have been devised. The canal will be kept, by its ebb-gates, from falling to the great depression of the river in the dry months, and will also be protected by its oter or flood-gates from the violent influx of river water, which would otherwise obtain when the river is at its highest or eleven feet above the waters of the lake. A constant passage will be available for purposes of navigation of several hours during each tide throughout the year, and sufficient influx of water from the river will be allowed to prevent the new canal from stagnating and presenting an appearance so disgusting and insalubrious as the present eastern canal. The Circular Canal is not immediately connected with any new system of drainage in contemplation, but the subject appears not to have been left unconsidered, and much facility in such respects may be confidently expected from the position and proposed management of its water level.

About 3,000 labourers are now employed daily on the excavations, and the depth already reached is in many places eighteen feet. The final completion of this work may be looked for in 1831.—*Gleanings in Science*, April, 1829.

A FRIEND at the India Office sends me the following information concerning the Barwell family, which will be of use in the preparation of the Barwell Papers for the press.

As to William Barwell's (the father of Richard Barwell) dismissal, I find that this was ordered in a short letter from the Directors, dated 18th Jan. 1749, which gave no reason; but a later letter from them to Bengal (27th Jan. 1749) said that it was due to "his violent behaviour at Patna to Mr. Jackson, his not setting his seal to a paper which the Council thought was necessary for carrying into execution their contract with Omichand Deepchand, and his return from thence without leave from his superiors at Calcutta." After his return to England, he was a Director of the Company in 1753-57, 1758-65, 1766-67. Our

* Seven to fifteen feet, daily tide.

† Twenty-five and one-third extreme variation.

copies* of ecclesiastical returns from Bengal show that William Barwell was twice married there, viz.—

(1) On 15th February 1738 to Mrs. Eliz. Eyre.

(2) On 27th February 1739 to Mrs. Eliz. Peirce.

The offspring of the second marriage were :

(1) William, baptised 13th Oct. 1740.

(2) Richard, born 8th Oct. and baptised 31st Oct. 1741.

(3) John, baptised July 1743.

(4) Roger, baptised 22nd Dec. 1747.

Presumably the second wife and all four children survived to go home, for I have not found any mention of their burial at Calcutta.

THE reader will remember that there is a monument to the first Mrs. William Barwell in St. John's Churchyard.

Hic jacent mortales exuvie Elizabethæ Barwell, sed, parvis invitis, Deo, cui omnia vivunt, virtutibus et meritis aucta, vivit illa Willelmi Barwell dilectissima conjux, ipsum maxime, cognatos, amicosque omnes inenodabili dolore affectos relinquebat, extremum vitam spiritum edidit, die 25th Septembris, 1731, Aetatis suae 22.

Dr. C. R. Wilson has told us that William Barwell was a factor from March 1722 and President and Governor from April 1748 to 17th July 1749. We wonder whether the Miss Elizabeth Eyre, who married W. Barwell, can have been a daughter of Lady Elizabeth Eyre (died 1736), the second wife of Sir Charles Eyre, who had first married Mary, the first born child of Job Charnock. To determine this question a search into the records of the parish church of Kew would be necessary. The second Mrs. Barwell certainly returned to England, and gave birth to other children, for in our Barwell papers we find much about a Miss Mary Barwell (evidently a lady of very great *savoir faire*), a Miss Frances Barwell, two other brothers, James and Daniel, and I believe there was a third—Edward. My friend gives me the following list of appointments held by Richard and Roger Barwell :—

Richard Barwell.

1758. Arrived in Bengal.

1759. Writer and Assistant in Secretary's Office.

1761. Assistant in the Accountants' Office.

1762. Also Sub Military Storekeeper.

1764. Factor, Sub-Accountant and Keeper of the Accounts Deposits.

1765. Resident at Maldah.

1767. Junior Merchant without employ.

1768. Second in Council at Cossimbazar.

1770. Twelfth Member of Council of the Governor of Fort William in Bengal, Military Paymaster-General and Mint Master.

1771. Ninth Member of Council and Chief at Patna.

1773. Ninth Member of Council and Chief at Dacca, also Collector at Luckypore, Sylhet, etc.

1774. Appointed Member of the Supreme Council of the Governor-General.
 1782. Resigned the service and returned to Europe.

Roger Barwell.

- 26th Aug. 1764. Arrived as Writer.
 1765. Assistant under the Assay Master.
 1766. Assistant at Cossimbazar.
 (No trace after 1767.)

THE preparation for publication of the Society's Barwell Papers have been entrusted to me, and I have made considerable advance with those which relate to Richard Barwell's career in the time of Lord Clive's second period of Governorship at Fort William. The following extract from a letter to his sister, Mary Barwell, shows in a lurid light the way in which promotion was sometimes worked in those days. The letter is dated January 20th, 1769.

"I now beg permission to return to myself: in your letter of the 15th April, you have requested, with the pleasing earnestness of friendship, some account of my affairs, and what I should like to have, and in what method you should proceed, supposing you had power to forward my interest. How can I point out the mode, which must depend entirely on circumstances: and the disposition of those it might be necessary to address? I can only say that I would spend five thousand pounds to secure to myself the chiefship of Dacca and to supervise the collection of the revenues of that province and which at present is not annexed to the chiefship. I would spend the same to secure to myself the Patna chiefship and collection of the revenues. These stations might be procured me without the exertion of that influence which is absolutely requisite to lift me above those gentlemen who superseded me from Madras; but, if the latter could be done, I should prefer it, as my rank in Council, I do suppose, might with greater propriety countenance my being advanced to either of these stations I have just noticed. For such a promotion and a proper support in England, would not scruple to lay out ten thousand pounds, and if it can be effected, you may trust to Mr. Beaumont,* who by this letter request to engage himself to draw upon me for this sum, for I have not money in England, otherwise this expedient would not be necessary."

A suggestion of bribery and corruption of this kind surprises us at the present day: but bribery and corruption were the two great twin-gods worshipped at Westminster during the eighteenth century.

IN my "Leaves" in No. 1 of Vol. III I gave some notes on Barwell's house property in Calcutta. Our recently secured Barwell papers enable us to learn a little more about the past both of Belvedere and Kidderpore House. From Dacca, on September 9th, 1773, Barwell writes to Samuel Middleton.†

* Anselm Beaumont. He had been appointed a factor in reward for his behaviour during the Siege of Calcutta. He retired and returned to England about 1769. He and Barwell seem to have engaged in a kind of partnership.

† In 1771 Barwell had been second and Middleton Chief at Moorshedabad.

DEAR MIDDLETON,

I need not tell you I was much surprised at the purport of your letter of the 3rd. The enclosed, which is a copy of that which I received from Goodwin, gave me reason to suppose the subject Aldersey* and I had controverted was passing off his mind, and I replied to Goodwin that he was very welcome to remain in the house, but that I would not sell it, as I held Belvedere, which I had lent to Mrs. Thompson, by no other right than my right in the Garden House late Alexander's, that with respect to alterations, I begged he would not make any, for I proposed additions, a plan of which was with Mr. Tiretta; and, if not convenient to him, I would carry them into execution. To the same purport I wrote Price and Bensley (my attorneys), and begged they would send to Tiretta† and ask him if he would execute the work upon the terms of his first proposal. You see how I am circumstanced. You see how Goodwin is circumstanced with Aldersey, and that it can never be Aldersey's intention to turn Goodwin out, and repossess himself of the House after he has placed Goodwin in it. In short, I cannot imagine that, by the mode proposed, Aldersey's ridiculous displeasure will be appeased; it may, I think, give some satisfaction to the Governor, but as it was contended for merely on Aldersey's account, and he is not to benefit by it, I conceive the Governor will be proportionately indifferent as Aldersey becomes less interested. I confess I could wish to retain this house for this reason, that I have lent Belvedere to Mrs. Thompson, and, therefore, ^{was I} _{was able} to be deprived of that Garden by Mr. Rumbold's taking it, or any other person of weight and influence in the Council ^{I should} _{she would} have Mr. Alexander's (now my) Garden House to ^{offer} _{go into} I mention every circumstance as it really is for your's and the Governor's information, and you may be assured as well as Mr. Hastings that I will conform to what you determine for me.

I am, etc.,

R. B.

As to Kidderpore House before it became Barwell's property, there is some further information in a letter dated Dacca, 22nd September 1773.

DEAR GOODWIN,

I have received your favour of the 14th. You very justly observe in it that I act against my own interest. The truth of that position is incontestable, for your proposal to purchase the house is very genteel in all respects, and all that I could expect a hope for. This being the case, you will, I flatter myself, be assured that did I think myself in the least respect at liberty to dispose of it, the opportunity of benefitting myself by obliging you at the same time must have influenced me to have closed at once with your offer. My reason for not wishing you to make alterations was that I apprehended you intended some additions. The putting of a door into the arches of the veranda to separate off the back stairs for privacy, and the conveniency of closets to the bed chambers I can have no objection to. Can you favour me with a list of furniture belonging to the house? It was sold in *statu quo* by Mr.

* Aldersey acted as Governor when Hastings was absent from the Presidency.

† Can the Tiretta so well known to fame in Calcutta be identified with the Tiretta who built the old Roman Catholic Church at Patna?

Alexander to the Nabob, and purchased by me in the same manner of his Excellency. My respects I beg leave to pay to Mrs. Goodwin. With wishes for your mutual felicity.

I am, etc.,

R. B.

Two letters dated Dacca, February 8th, 1774, throw further light on the subject.

TO HENRY GOODWIN, ESQ.

DEAR GOODWIN,

I have this instant received your letter of the third: had it been despatched the day it is dated, I ought to have received it by the 7th. I am very much concerned, and much hurt at what has passed on the subject of that letter. Belvedere, you must know, does not belong to me, and that I have held it only during the pleasure of Mr. Aldersey, and consonant to that idea I can do no otherwise than relinquish it, whenever he is pleased to request it of me. Agreeably to this, I addressed you yesterday, and forwarded my letter thro' Mr. Aldersey. Could I have conceived that my desiring Mr. Aldersey to mention to you his intention of going into Belvedere, which rendered it necessary for Mrs. Thompson to remove into my house would have been attended with so disagreeable . . . as has resulted from it, I should doubtless have mentioned to you myself the intimation I received from Mr. Aldersey of his intention to go into Belvedere; but, as it never occurred to me that you would suppose I inhabited Belvedere independent of a reciprocal obligation to Mr. Aldersey for it, I did not conceive it possible that the circumstance would have escaped you, and that Mr. Aldersey's requiring Belvedere of me which induced me to request my own Garden House for Mrs. Thompson's accomodation should not have struck you, when Mr. Aldersey, at my request, informed you that he proposed going into Belvedere. I heartily wish'd and flatter'd myself that the occasion I had given the Governor to take exception at the part I acted would have been buried in oblivion, and nothing further have arisen to give me fresh uneasiness on that account. And in this I entered with a full explanation of my motive, and candidly related the dilemma I was in, leaving it to him to resolve for me, after considering the peculiar circumstance which rendered me anxious to retain my purchase. As I flatter myself Mr. Hastings is satisfied with the deference I shall always be happy to pay to his wishes, so I shall always be ready to acknowledge any obligation I owe to the attention he is pleased to show to mine, and had he insisted on my yielding up the point, after what I had said to him upon it, he well knows (that however averse I might be to it), I submitted it entirely and wholly to himself. I have now only to expect—and I think that I have some right to expect it—that you will not be offended at my accomodating Mrs. Thompson, to whom I can offer no other habitation than the Gardens you now occupy. My town house is engaged to Mr. Barton and his family, and, was it not, a residence in town is not agreeable to Mrs. Thompson.

I am, dear Goodwin,

Your most obed. and Honble Servt.

R. B.

TO WILLIAM ALDERSEY, ESQ.

DACCA:

8th February 1774.

DEAR SIR,

Since my letter to you of yesterday, I have received one from Mr. Goodwin. I have too much reason, after what has past, to lament the request I made to you to speak to that

gentleman. You must be sensible that I could not have an idea of the result; and I therefore hope you will excuse a circumstance so little thought of and so little expected by me. Mr. Goodwin's former letters and my replies I have sent copies of for your satisfaction. I likewise sent you my answer to his letter now before me to be closed and forwarded by you, after perusal.

I am, etc.,

R. B.

THESE letters suggest that Barwell's* action in this matter was unpleasantly inconsistent. But, in what appears to be a continuation of a letter to Miss Mary Barwell of date September 10, there occurs a passage which makes us inclined to further question Barwell's candour:

The list of papers, marked C, contains a number of curious letters about a subject render'd interesting by the extraordinary interposition that took place. Nothing of the subject appears upon the public records, and the letters are sent merely to convey the idea of an influence of a despot, who thinks or pretends to think that the mother and guardian of the Nabob treats him with a greater degree of indignity by presuming to dispose of his own property without asking his permission so to. The anger express'd on this occasion, the Governor's threats of not visiting the Begum, and the apprehension of her suffering from his resentment, made me act the conciliating part I did; otherwise I would no more have considered Mr. Aldersey or the Governor than their folly and absurdity merited. Much is urged in the Governor's letters of the ungenerous treatment of Mr. Aldersey, and the Begum's great impoliteness in selling the house over his head: but when it is known that the house was never lent to Mr. Aldersey, that he never so much as paid the Nabob the compliment of requesting the loan of it, but, upon Mr. Alexander's departure for Europe, took possession of it, without so much as asking a single question, little attention will be thought to have been due to him; and indeed when I first applied to the Nabob's mother to purchase the Garden House, she was entirely ignorant of its being inhabited by Mr. Aldersey. Nothing can speak stronger of the insolence of station and the extreme ill-breeding of the man; yet, like a woman in distress who flies to another for support, he hangs upon the Governor, and urges him to an exertion of his power and influence to give him (Aldersey) his wishes."

To appreciate the full significance of Barwell's coolness in finding house accommodation for Mrs. Thompson, to the extreme inconvenience of members of the Government, it is necessary to know who this Mrs. Thompson was. The reader who desires to read the whole story about the so-called "Mrs. Thompson" must turn to appendix No. VI of the latest edition of Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, where he will find in *résumé* the contents of a book entitled *The Intrigues of a Nabob*. In the last mentioned work the lady, Miss Sarah Bonner, who commenced her shameful career at the age of sixteen, is introduced to us as one "whose charms were of the bewitching

* It might be expected that Aldersey, being one of the few civilians who had been brought from Madras by Lord Clive, in 1766, to supersede the Bengal Juniors, would be disliked by Barwell.

kind; they infused a soporiferous poison into the mind, benumbed and stupefied the reasoning powers, and left her sole mistress of the head and heart of her lovers." Mr. H. F. Thompson, the wronged-husband of after years, never married Mrs. Thompson, and she remained in grim legal reality Miss Sarah Bonner to the end of the chapter. But I will not attempt to retell an already twice-told tale. To be brief, let it be said that Thompson was a sea-going man, and in his absence, it is alleged in Thompson's book (*The Intrigues of a Nabob*), Barwell stole away from him the object of his devotion. I must confess that I have tried very hard, by research at the records, to enable myself to tear to pieces the whole story so far as it concerns Barwell, but I have only been able to discover how well the scandal fits in with known facts. In 1775 when Barwell, a Member of Council, was seeking for respectability, and courting first and in vain General Clavering's daughter, and later on with unmerited success the beautiful short-lived Jane Sanderson, Mrs. Thompson early in the year was granted "a passage for herself, with two children, and two slave girls and two slave men on the *Anson*"* (1775, O.C. 20th March No. 5), but, according to Thompson, not before Barwell had transferred the affections of his mistress to his would-be father-in-law, R. Sanderson! This is Thompson's version of the facts: but there is a letter in the Barwell Letter Books which seems to bring in a true bill against Barwell. In a letter dated 30th March 1776, Barwell authorises his sea-going brother, Captain James Barwell, to arrange at Madras for an annuity to be paid to Thompson, but he apprehends that if "Thompson may demur, the papers which he possesses will enable him to give me trouble." To get these papers back at once was the great object with Richard Barwell. I myself have never seen the book which Dr. Busteed deals with, but I learn that it contains Barwell's love letters to the "soporiferous poisoner" whom Barwell installed first at Belvedere and afterwards at Kidderpore House, and in one of these he writes: "I will write to Mr. Imhoff about the picture." The Imhoffs and the so-called Mrs. Thompson, Dr. Busteed tells us, had been fellow-voyagers to India in the *Duke of Grafton* in 1769, which ship, it may be remembered, also carried, on the same voyage, "Warren Hastings and his fortunes." If the charges brought by Thompson, in 1780, are true ones, well can we understand the indignation of Warren Hastings, when Aldersey, his next of Council, seemed likely to be put away from the official hearth and home, for the convenience of a so-called "Mrs." Thompson. But what could Hastings have *publicly* urged against Barwell? Was there not, a Baroness Imhoff established in the Governor's own town house?

*The *Anson* was the ship which in 1774 had brought out the first Judges of the Supreme Court.

FROM these letters we learn that Kidderpore House was sold by Alexander to the Nawab of Murshidabad and purchased by Barwell from the Begum. The possession of Kidderpore House seems to have given Barwell a sort of claim to make use of Belvedere—a claim which he thought it prudent not to assert. In one of our volumes of the Barwell letters there are some loose sheets of MS which record Barwell's instructions to his agents drawn up prior to his departure from Calcutta. Here I find a letter which throws some further light on the subject of Barwell's house property.*

TO SIR ELIJAH IMPEY, JOSEPH CATOR,† NORTH NAYLOR,‡ CHARLES CROFTES, ETC.,

CALCUTTA, 3rd March 1780.

GENTLEMEN.

Any claims Mr. Cator may think I ought to discharge I authorize you to pay. As I have taken upon myself to pay Mr. Robert Sanderson§ his annuity of £. *sig.* 1,000 *per ann.* in England, and he has entitled me by a power of attorney to receive the same from the Trustees to the settlement I have made on my children in India, you will, of course, claim it from the Trustees by the powers I have delegated to you, and, as it is paid, give them acquittances for the same.

As I am entitled in my own rights to receive (after certain appropriations of the rents are made from the estate settled on my children) any surplus rent, you will from time to time claim such surplus from the Trustees, and pass receipts for the amount.

Whatever moneys may be received on my account I desire may be lodged in the Company's Treasury. The household furniture, plate, and such effects as I wish to be sold off, I have thought it necessary to commit specially to the charge of Mr. Cator. I do not, therefore, trouble you with any list. The small mansion belonging to me in Calcutta, and now inhabited by Mr. Joseph Cator, I give to him to inhabit rent free while he continues in Calcutta; when he quits Calcutta and returns to Europe, you will resume to me the possession, and lease it for my account in whatever manner you shall judge most advantageous.

The house now occupied by Mr. Robert Sanderson in Calcutta, fronting the Esplanade, with the fixt furniture, beds, chairs, and tables I appropriate for the space of two years to

* These present notes should be read in conjunction with what I have already written on this subject in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III., p. 139-142.

† Cator was *in primis* Barwell's private secretary.

‡ North Naylor, the victim of the Supreme Court's indignation in the Kasfura case. To what I have written on that subject in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III., p. 38, I should like to add the following extract from Sir John Kaye's article on Sir Elijah Impey which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* of June 1847: "It was in March 1780 that North Naylor was committed. Sir Elijah Impey presided in court, and personally ordered the attachment. It was the Chief Justice who refused to accept bail. It was the Chief Justice who said: 'The court must vindicate its authority. If we accepted bail it could be no punishment. We mean to inflict an exemplary one.' And it is added in the Minutes of the Supreme Court, lest the Sheriff should not understand the mode of confinement on attachment, 'it is necessary he should understand that he must confine his prisoner within the walls of the gaol.' These proceedings are dated 4th March 1780. All the three Judges were present: Impey, Chambers, and Hyde." LeMaitre had died two years earlier.

§ Barwell's father-in-law.

the use of Miss Diana Birtie, that is from the 1st May 1780 to 1st May 1782: this small testimony of my gratitude and esteem flowing from a sense of her attentions to my wife and infant children I request her acceptance of, and I beg that on the instant the house is vacated by Mr. Sanderson, the keys be sent to her with my compliments.

The house rented by Guthrie and Wordie in Calcutta you will continue to let out to the best advantage. You will pay to Joseph Cator and North Naylor, Esqrs, the sum of two hundred and twenty-five sicca rupees per month to enable them to defray certain monthly stipends, which, at my request, they have undertaken to disburse.

My small house on the western side of the road leading from Surman's Bridge* near my large Garden House, is already disposed of by me, and is not to be altered by me without my special authority. My house and ground at Baraset is to be at the disposal of Mr. Laver Oliver, who will account with you for the same.

When Mr. Cator returns to Europe, I desire he will bring all my account books and such papers with him as he may think necessary.

I, am Gentlemen, etc.,

(Sd.) RICHARD BARWELL

It may be conjectured that it was in the house fronting the Esplanade that the Sandersons housed the young Grands for ten months after their marriage. A letter of Cator's shows that Miss Birtie, presumably the sister of the Ann Birtie who married North Naylor and died during the time of her husband's imprisonment, had no need for the furniture, which consequently was sold. In 1782 this house was being repaired by Mr. Lyon (of Lyon's Range memory), and it was rented by Samuel Tolfrey† (the Under Sheriff of Calcutta at the time of Nanda Kumar's execution) at Sicca Rs. 400 *per* mensem. An inquiry at the office of the Collector of Calcutta might lead to the discovery of the pottahs for the ground on which these houses stood, and this would enable us to identify the sites and the houses themselves (if still standing).

To complete what I have had to say (Vol. III, p. 140) about Lyon and Lyon's Range, I print here a portion of a list of properties devoted by Barwell to a trust for the benefit of his children. The list has some other points of interest upon which I shall touch in footnotes.

No. 45. A Paper Parcell containing Papers respecting the original Purchases of Land made by Mr. Barwell at Kidderpore.

No. 46. Pottah for the Ground, etc., on which the 19 houses are erected at near the Court House.‡ Rent to the Company Sa Rs. 32 „—, 5 *per* ann, which is paid to October 1780.

* Represented by the present inadequate and perhaps dangerous Kidderpore Bridge.

† Tolfrey at a later date, as we have seen, inhabited the old Post Office—Mrs. Fay's house at the south-east corner of Church Lane.

‡ The nineteen houses are still standing enclosed in Walters Buildings on the north side of Dalhousie Square.

No. 47. Pottah for the Ground, etc., on which the House stands at Kidderpore. Rent to the Company, Sa Rs. 225 9-12 *per ann.*, which is paid to April 1780.

No. 48. Pottah for Ground bought in addition, and adjoining to the Ground, No. 47. Rent to the Company Sa Rs. 135-13-4 *per ann.*, which is paid to April 1780.

No. 49. Pottah for Ground leading to the large tank* between the Garden House and Belvidere Bridge. Rent to the Company Sa Rs. 35 *per ann.*, which is paid to April 1780.

No. 50. Pottah for the Old Road leading from the Nullah close to the Garden to Belvidere and Allipore†. Rent to the Company Sa Rs. 10-1-0, which is paid to April 1780.

No. 51. Pottah for the Old Road leading from Surman's Bridge to the Old Road,‡. No. 50. Rent to the Company Sa Rs. 9-11-0, which is paid to April 1780.

No. 52. Thomas Lyon to the East India Company. Lease of the 19 houses near the Court House at Rs. 3,800 *per month*.

No. 53. Thomas Lyon to Richard Barwell. Lease for a year of *do*.

No. 54. Thomas Lyon to Richard Barwell. Release for *do*, the rent whereof is Rs. 3,800 *per month*, which is paid monthly, and I have received it to the end of October 1780.

No. 55. T. Lyon's Agreement with the East India Company not to erect a Second Range of Buildings South of the 19 houses during the lease No. 52, to which Mr. Barwell is bound.

No. 56. Copy of my Letter to the Governor-General and Council offering the Garden House and Grounds to the Company on lease.

No. 57. Copy of T. Lyon's note to S. Touchet,§ Buxy, acquainting him of the 19 houses being sold to Mr. Barwell and authorising the Rent thereof to be paid to Mr. Barwell.

No. 58. Richard Barwell to Sir Elijah Impey and Joseph Cator. Deed of Trust.

No. 59. The United Company to Thomas Lyon, Building Contractor.

No. 60. Copy of my Letter to S. Touchet acquainting him of the Garden House being vacant.

No. 61. Sir Elijah Impey and Joseph Cator to the East India Company: Lease of the Garden House and Grounds for 5 years at Sa Rs. 2,300 *per month*, payable monthly, dated 29th February 1780.

No. 62. S. Touchet's Letter to me offering to take possession of the Garden House, etc.

No. 63. S. Touchet's note to me mentioning his having received orders from the Governor-General to take possession of the Garden House.

No. 64. Copy of my Letter to the Governor-General-Council requesting them to order payment of Rent for the Garden, and also copy of my letter to the Governor-General on the same score.

* Clearly the tank in the Zoological Gardens.

† This is a most interesting item as it probably throws light upon the vexed question of the site of the duel between Warren Hastings and Francis. See Buxend: *Echoes* (last edition) p. 111, "An old road that separated his ground from Belvidere."

‡ I take it that the house to the west of the Road from Surman's Bridge is the present Kidderpore Vicarage. The present Diamond Harbour Road is on the west side of the Vicarage, but the old Road may have been on the east.

§ Much has been written recently about S. Touchet, and I will not here indulge in repetitions, but this passage explains for the first time the following extract from Hicky's audacious *Bengal Gazette*, 12 March, 1785. Public Notice: Lost on the Course, last Monday evening, Buxey Clumsey's heart, whilst he stood slumbering at the foot of Hooka Turban's carriage; as it is supposed to be in her possession, she is desired to return it immediately, or to deliver up her own as a proper acknowledgment."

No. 65. Copy of my letter to the Governor-General praying an answer to my address No. 64.

No. 66. J. Auriol, Secy. to the Board; answer to my Address No. 64.

No. 67. J. Auriol, Secy. to North Naylor, Company's attorney, directing him to draw a Lease of Mr. Barwell's Garden House for 5 years to the Company.

In consequence of the Secretary's letter No. 66, an action was commenced against the Company for Rent of the Garden House, but was afterwards withdrawn. There will be a Bill of Law Charges delivered in by Mr. Uvedale,* the Attorney-at-Law in that action, as also for copy of evidence given in the action, which last I shall carry with me, if got ready in time. I should have paid these charges, but Mr. Uvedale is not well enough to make out his Bill of Costs. You will be pleased to pay it and charge it to the Trust Account, and Mr. Lyon's Bills for repairs to the Garden House, and the 19 houses, in part of which I have paid him, 2nd November, 1780, Sa. Rs. 4,000.

Mr. Barwell, in a Letter he wrote me in March last, the day before the Pilot left the *Swallow*, acquainted me he had spoke to Mr. Lyon about building a Range of Boutiques on the back of the 19 Houses, and if I could get the whole done for 40,000, I accordingly agreed with Mr. Lyon, and have paid him Sa. Rs. 40,000. The Boutiques are building which, when finished, must be let in the best manner possible, and the Rents and Profits carried to the Credit of the Trust Account.

I was lately applyd to by Mr. Wheeler to lay before the Board the assignment of the 19 Houses, No. 52, to shew by what authority I received the Rent of them. I acquainted him of the authority given by Mr. Lyon to the Buxy, in his note No. 57, which Mr. Wheeler said was not sufficient, and desired that the Assignment might be laid before the Board, which I promised to do, but in my hurry it has been omitted to be done. Should you be applyd to for it, it is necessary to observe that the Sale of the Property from Mr. Lyon to Mr. Barwell was not affected till the 9th of February, 1779, altho' the Deeds of Conveyance bear even date with the lease from Mr. Lyon to the Company, which I mention to obviate any undue insinuation that Mr. Barwell voted for a lease of his own Property under the Name of Mr. Lyon, for the Fact is as I above represented it.

"No. 68. A letter from Mr. Barwell to me written about 8 March last, before the Pilot left the *Swallow*, which I beg to commit to your care as a voucher for paying Mr. Lyon Sa. Rs. 40,000 for building the Boutiques at the back of the 19 Houses before mentioned.

JOSEPH CATOR.

CALCUTTA,

13th November, 1780.

IN various works dealing with the history of districts now forming part of the recently constituted Province of East Bengal and Assam we find mentioned an expedition against the Raja of Jaintia in 1774, and the Officer who conducted this expedition is invariably called *Henniker†*. At Sylhet, where one would have expected to find records relating to the expedition, one, alas will find nothing at all, for on October 1, 1778, the Hon. R. Lindsay writes "intimating that there are no accounts or vouchers in this office. All Public

* See *Bengal Obituary* p. 189.

† The mistake was first made by Femberton in his *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India* (1835).

Records were carried along with Mr. Thackeray on his leaving Sylhet and supposed to be deposited with the Dewan of Dacca." The publication of the following papers, therefore, assists to fill up a gap in our knowledge. The W. M. Thackeray of these letters is the grandfather of the Novelist. The name of the officer in charge of the expedition was not Henniker but Ellerker. The Barwell MS. has the name in various shapes.

DACCA:

8th February 1774.

TO ENSIGN LEAKE.

SIR,

The occasion which induced me to apply to you to take the command of the troops in Sylhet calling for your immediate presence in that district, you will be pleased to repair thither with all expedition, and upon your arrival you will follow such instructions and orders as may from time to time be given you by Mr. Thackeray. I have in consequence of letters received from Mr. Thackeray directed a re-inforcement of 50 men with their proper officers to be drafted from 5 independent companies of Militia of Dacca to march directly for Sylhet, this detachment you will be pleased to take charge of, and conduct with all expedition possible. You are to observe, as a positive rule, to report regularly to me the state of the forces at Sylhet, to make returns of all the troops in the District to Mr. Thackeray, and to transmit monthly to Lieut. Russell Arden a return of the militia, which compose a portion of the force under your command.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

RICHARD BARWELL.

2.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

DACCA:

{10th February 1774.

DEAR SIR,

You will perceive by the public letters, dispatched hence to-night, that I have been led into an irregularity from the emergency of the occasion that call'd for an Officer to lead the force now in Sylhet for the defence of the Province; and as it will be necessary either to appoint an Officer to relieve Mr. Lenke immediately, and perform the occasional service on which he is sent, or to appoint that Gentleman under my orders, if you choose he should execute that duty, I request the favour of you to issue the necessary directions. The conduct of the Gentiah* Rajah I make no doubt you will think merits chastisement, but as the entire reduction of his country may prove a task more difficult, more expensive, and more uncertain than Mr. Rennell's representation gives reason to apprehend, you will possibly judge it to be more for the public interest that he should experience its resentment, and give satisfaction for the depredations he has committed by reimbursing the expence of the troops and paying an equivalent for the damage that he has done. The force already in Sylhet is, I imagine, able to repel any he may possibly oppose to it in the flat country, and capable of subjugating the district he holds between the foot of the Hills and the Rivers, and as it is the most valueable part of his dominions, your taking possession of it,

* Jalutla.

which may be easily be affected, will necessarily induce him to come to the terms I have mentioned in order to re-obtain it.

I am, dear Sir,
Your very obedient Servant,
RICHARD BARWELL.

3

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

DACCA :
22nd February 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I am obliged by your letters of the 19th whether the intelligence is true or false, I am equally indebted to you for your kind congratulations.

You may depend upon my keeping to the line you prescribe for any operations against the Gentia Rajah. He has really, I believe, been the aggressor, and invited by some of the Sylhet people. I acquit Thackeray of any intention to inflame, as it is his particular interest to be on good terms with the Rajah; and he has, and may, suffer still more from the incursions of the Hill people, and can have no prospect of advantage in continuing the quarrell. I hope the troops will not have a month's work to bring the Rajah to reason. The navigation of the Soonah as it was thro' all the Sylhet Province is certainly an object, and if it can without much trouble be rendered free should be negotiated.

I am, dear Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
RICHARD BARWELL.

4

TO WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY, ESQ.

DACCA :
27th February 1774.*

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 28th, and am glad to find from the contents there appears a disposition in the Rajah of Gentia to make due concession for the injury and insult he has committed against the Government. But before I open myself on this subject, it is absolutely necessary to enjoin you to [yielding?] with respect to the views of the Government, for unless these are pursued with caution, it is possible they may be disappointed, and as such disappointment may probably be imputed to your management, it behoves you to be particularly careful in transacting what it is expected the Rajah will submit to—to satisfy the Company. The President and Council have given me full power to retaliate the injury committed by the Gentia Raja, but at the same time intimate that it is not their object to attempt an entire consequence [*sic*, † conquest]. Their end is to make him sensible of his error, to oblige him to reimburse the Publick in expence that is incurred by the march of the Troops, to obtain from him a compensation for any loss of Revenue occasioned by his depredations, and, lastly, to render free the navigation of the River Soonah.† In order

* The letter bears this date in our MS, but I think there must be a clerical error, and the date of this letter must be April 27th.

† The Sorma.

to effect this, a reinforcement of Troops are in order to meet and join the Troops in Sylhet. They are to enter the dominions of the Gentia Raja, and subdue all the flat country lying between the Hills and the River Soonah; and, in effecting this purpose there is but one consideration which you must allow to influence you to stop the progress of the troops—which is the Raja's implicit compliance with the demands of our Government, *Vis'*:

The payment of 25,000 Rs. for the expence incurred by the Expedition. A sum equivalent to any loss the publick revenue is likely to sustain from the Rajah's late invasion of the Company's territory;

and the free navigation of the River Soonah.

If these points are obtained, and the Rajah makes due submission for his conduct, you are to leave him the full and peaceable possession of his country, and to order back the troops as soon as possible, as the insult afforded by the Raja is of that public nature as to require the most publick reparation, you will direct him to send vakiels to make his submission to the Governor in Calcutta, and to me as Chief of Dacca entrusted with the care of the Company's interests in Sylhet. And in accepting any terms from the Raja or in giving him any assurances on behalf of the Publick you will invariably insert this clause "provided the Hon'ble the President and Council approve, otherwise this is not to be in force."

I am, dear Sir,
Your most obdt. and humble Servant,
RICHARD BARWELL.

5.

DACCA:
April 1774.

TO CAPT. T. ELLIKER.

SIR,

I enclose you the Board's sentiments as to the conduct you are to pursue, should the Tannadar be able to keep possession of the country you have subdued without any assistance from the English forces, the District is to be immediately placed in his hands, but if his power is not equal to its defence, you are, in such case, to evacuate the Gentiah Dominions, and remove as many of the inhabitants into the District of Sylhet as may be, publishing in your retreat that the insults offered to it shall not go unpunished; that should any of neighbouring Hill Rajas, or the Gentiah Raja enter the Company's districts in a hostile manner, the insults will be avenged by a similar invasion of their country and by the destruction of all their towns.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
RICHARD BARWELL.

P. S.—As soon as possible you will return with your detachment to Chittagong having a Company of your men stationed at Sylhet for the defence of the Province. You will likewise direct Mr. Leake to march the Militia Seapoys to Dacca, excepting one half company, which is to remain with the Company of the Chittagong seapoys under the orders of Mr. Thackeray at Sylhet.—R. B.

Abstract of the Council of Revenue, Fort William.

The Board are of opinion that, although the treacherous conduct of the Gentiah Rajah merits an additional punishment still the prosecution of hostilities against him for the conquest of his country is not an object worth our consideration, especially as it would contradict the declared purpose for which we are engaged in the undertaking, and of which we have advised the Hon'ble Company,—that, if therefore, the Pundua Zemindar cannot retain nor engage to retain the possession, which we may grant him of the country without the continued aid of our forces, the expedient recommended by Mr. Barwell cannot be admitted, as it will have an increase of expence, and a prolongation of the expedition and a division of our force. But if the Tannadar will be satisfied with our putting him in possession, and will not require our seapoys to protect him in it, that Mr. Barwell be authorized to settle it with him on such terms as he can; otherwise to order Capt. Elliker to lay waste the country, and do the Rajah all the mischief in his power, and to return, declaring that the same retaliation shall be made for the first instance which he shall repeat of encroachment on our Government.

Agreed the President be requested to give orders to this effect to Mr. Barwell.

A true abstract

Signed. S. DROZ.

Secy.

TO MR. WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY,
SYLHET.

DACCA:

8th February 1774

SIR,

At your repeated and particular instance for an officer to lead the detachment of troops stationed at Sylhet and oppose the incursion of Cossahs, I have requested Ensign Leake (who opportunely was on a visit to Dacca) to place himself at their head, the charge being readily accepted by that Gentleman, I have in consequence put him under your orders, and he is to follow such instructions from you as you shall think it necessary to issue to him. A farther re-inforcement of 50 men of the Dacca Militia will be conducted by him to your assistance.

I am, Sir, etc.

R. B.

TO CAPTAIN E. ELLIKER

DACCA:

17th March 1774.

SIR,

I have reced. your letter with a return of your Detachment, and am this instant favor'd with another of the 12th desiring a supply of 50 Barrels of Ball Cartridge. I do not believe there is in store above 2,000 Ball Cartridges. Whatever there is shall be immediately despatched, and a further quantity, as soon as prepared, shall be forwarded to you, but as that further supply must be made up with country powder in the Garrison, you will possibly be able to supply yourself full as well at Sylhet. However, lest you might not, the supply shall be sent to you.

I have mentioned to Mr. Thackeray, the Collector of Sylhet, the objects the Publick have in view by the expedition against the Gentiah Raja, and to that Gentleman I must

refer you for such instructions as are necessary to regulate your conduct upon entering the Gentiah Province. Upon your arrival at Sylhet, you will take upon you the command of the forces in that Province, and to your judgment and discretion is entirely left the mode of conducting the war in the manner you shall determine as most expeditious and decisive.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
RICHARD BARWELL.

TO CAPTAIN E. ELLIKER.

DEAR SIR,

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Mr. Thackeray. I hope the footing on which you will act under that Gentleman is such as may be agreeable to you; and, considering your acquaintance with Mr. Thackeray, and your own disposition, I flatter myself nothing will arise in the course of the service which may prove disgusting to either, as a cordiality between men, who should have the same object in view, is so necessary to insure success to every Publick measure that I am pleased at the prospect, which the intimacy that subsists between you and Mr. Thackeray gives me of a mutual consideration swaying each, and obviating the possibility of a misunderstanding.

I shall be obliged to you for your private sentiments on any points you touch upon in your public addresses.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
RICHARD BARWELL.

TO MR. WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY.

DACCA :
17th March 1774.

SIR,

The Hon'ble the President and Council having been pleased to appoint Captain E. Elliker of the 7 Battalion of Sepoys to the command of the Expedition against the Gentiah Raja, he is now on his march to Sylhet with a detachment of his Battalion consisting of 3 companys. Upon his arrival in Sylhet, you are to place under his command all the Forces with you in the Province, and Mr. Leake, who commands them, is in future to act under the orders of Captain Elliker. By the extract of my letter to Captain Elliker, you will perceive that the operations in the field are wholly submitted to his judgment and discretion, and that he is merely to receive from you information of the Service to be performed: but in the manner of the service he is to be the sole and only judge. Your advice may be given to him on any points you think essential, but to his brain I leave to judge and determine on the means proper to execute the Service he is sent upon.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant.
RICHARD BARWELL.

8.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

DACCA :
9th April 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose you news which arrived from Sylhet late last night. As the Pandua Tanadar, who is tributary to the Company, is the only Power capable of opposing the

incursions of the Gentiah, should he attempt to return to his country, you will probably be of opinion, as the Districts are contiguous, that the new acquisition had better be delivered over to the Pandua Tanadar. I imagine that it will prove the most short and expeditious mode of settling the country, of withdrawing your Forces, and obtaining a re-imbursement of the charges already incurred.

I am, dear Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
RICHARD BARWELL.

P. S.—I request the favour of your permission to repair to Calcutta as soon as my business will permit.

9.

TO CAPT. E. ELLIKER AT GENTIAH.

DACCA :
14th April 1774.

SIR,

Your letter of the 31st from the Gentiah Raja's Capital, communicating intelligence of the entire reduction of the flat country and the flight of the Raja beyond the Hills, I received the other day. The alacrity with which the forces have been conducted, and the facility of the conquest of an extensive and wild country are facts so fully approving the abilities by which they have been brought about that any other approbation proves superfluous. I must thank you, Sir, however, in the name of the Hon'ble Company for the important services you have rendered to the Publick in the speedy and effectual performance of your commission, with a body of troops so unequal to the numbers opposed to you, and through every obstruction to be surmounted in marching troops through a country unexplored, and at a season of the year that must have greatly retarded your operations.

The little room you give me to expect from the Gentiah Raja any compensation for the expense incurred by the Company, and the averse disposition he has shown even to the last extremity (his exclusion from his dominions) has determined me if possible to secure the peace of the country without deviating from the end the Publick have in view. A military fixed establishment for the protection of Sylhet beyond that formerly allowed is to be avoided, and if the Raja continues disinclined to our Government, and obstinately refuses the clemency offered to him on the most just conditions, in order to baffle his views and to answer the purposes of the Government, such parts of his dominions as we are possessed of must be added to the Zemindary contiguous to it, and as that belongs to Achmet Riza, the Tanadar of Pandua, I have written to him on the subject, and directed him to send a Vakil to Dacca to settle the terms on which he is inclined to hold the country and protect it. This measure is taken, however, with this reserve, that I deem it only necessary in case the Gentiah Raja continues hostile, for I would much rather he acquiesce to the propositions offered, as he may undoubtedly prove himself a natural and strong barrier to the incursions of his Hill neighbours. I therefore wish you may be able to induce him to come in to you, and inspire him with a confidence of the equitable intentions of the Publick, that the Company never had any views on his country, that they expected from him only what his interest and good policy should have dictated to him, that is to engage to oppose the incursions of the Cossyals, not encroach on the Company's lands,

let River Somah be the boundary, within 5 coss of the banks of which he shall not have a tannah or buster, and lastly to pay the sum of money demanded on account of the charges of the Expedition.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
RICHARD BARWELL.

10.

TO WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY, ESQ.

DACCA:
2nd May 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose to you to forward to Capt. Elliker my letter to him of this date. If the Gentiah Rajah will come into any terms, I would recommend you to restore him to his country instead of giving possession of it to Amut Riza, the Pundua Tannahdar. He must have the ratification of any terms you make with him from me and the Governor, and will, in consequence, send his Vakiels to Dacca and Calcutta.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
RICHARD BARWELL.

11.

TO WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY.

12th May 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I am favoured with your letter of the 1st of May. You will find both by publick and private advices from the Board and myself, that it is not our intension to impose Amut Riza upon you against your inclination. The only consideration that first influenced the attention he received has proceeded from my knowledge of his being the only person who could possibly maintain the conquest of the Gentiah country without rendering a constant aid from our troops necessary to support him in it. Yet, I have been all along of opinion that the restoration of the country to the expelled Raja would be most eligible, if he received it under a just impression of the lenity of our Government, and the fear of offending it on any future occasion. As you seem to think he is fully sensible of his error, and that there is no danger of his acting again in such manner as to incur the resentment of the Government, you will make the best terms you can with him, and take from him what you can get towards reimbursing the charges that have been incur'd.

The losses which the farmers have suffered from the disturbances occasioned by the incursions of the Gentiah Raja, properly represented by them and authenticated by you, will doubtless be considered by the publick in as favourable light as circumstances require. The publick engagements certainly imply the former is to be protected from invasion, and consequently that he is entitled to a remission in proportion to the detriment he may have suffered from the calamities of war.

I read your letter to the Board, and it was judged better not to record it, as everything was left to you to settle with in the manner most advantageous to the Company and most

agreeable to yourself. The proposition for depriving of Amut Riza of his jagghire, we likewise [thought] might be deferred untill you could personally explain the grounds on which such a resumption was to take place, for as every jaggiridar holds by military tenure, and none in the Provinces maintain troops agreeable to their jagghires, Amut Riza appears in no respect more reprehensible on that account than others in the same situation.

I shall be glad to see you as soon as it suits your convenience to come down, but untill you can make some compromise with the Gentiah, I think your leaving the publick interests at this critical period, may be attended with consequences that may reflect on your attention; and, as I was sensible it would not be agreeable to depute a member of the Council to adjust matters with the Gentiah Raja in your absence, you will judge for yourself on the propriety of leaving Sylhet before you settle with the Raja.

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours,
RICHARD BARWELL.

12.

TO CAPTAIN E. ELLERKER.

DACCA,

26th May 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I write you publickly in answer to your publick address of the 11th, to which I have only to subjoin my wish for a speedy adjustment with the Raja and the return of your Detachment. The economy of the times render the administration impatient and uneasy under every extra expence, and as a delay in withdrawing the troops from Gentiah may be attended by strictures from below I should be sorry to incur, I beg you will evacuate the country as soon as possible. The same system of parsimony I apprehend will render the request I make, at your instance, for batta to the troops ineffectual; the obvious remark of establishing a precedent to be pleaded in all future occasions will, I no doubt, be started in opposition to it.

The cause you assign for the Raja's diffidence is so just a one that it entirely acquits him, in my opinion of the least degree of insincerity.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
RICHARD BARWELL.

DACCA:

26th May 1774.

TO WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose you my letter to Captain Ellerker on the subject of the publick interests, which I recommend to you to settle to the best manner possible. Mr. Leake (if it is absolutely necessary) you may continue at Sylhet, but there must be no necessary expence on account of that Gentleman incurred. As I shall set out for Calcutta in twelve days, and not return before August or September, for the purpose probably of delivering over the charge of the chiefship to a successor, I could rather wish to meet you there than to have you at Dacca, when I am debarr'd that pleasure! besides, no sooner do you take your seat at our Board, but your separate charge in Sylhet ceases. The vote of the Hon'ble the President and Council of Fort William debarring me from my seat at the Calcutta Board expressly says that no person holding a District appointment can be admitted occasionall

to a seat in Council. The reasons, as assigned by the Governor, you will see on perusing the copy of his minute enclosed.

Should you determine on resigning your station, I shall be much obliged by your giving me timely information. In the meantime, I have thought it eligible to appoint Mr. Daniel Barwell your assistant, and to proceed to Sylhet as soon as he receives an invitation from you. Another reason for my desiring to know your intentions in this particular is the necessity there will be to establish the authority of the Dewan of this Province, who, from my consideration to you, holds but a nominal office as Rogoo Mullick Circall officiates.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

RICHARD BARWELL.

TO CAPTAIN ELLIKER,

Commdg. at Gentiab.

DACCA:

26th May 1774.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 20th enclosing a return of the Troops under your command, and likewise your letter of the 11th intimating the terms to which the Gentiab Raja appears ready to acquiesce. As all the natives of Bengall are on the same footing with English merchants by the late regulations of the Government, the subjects of the State, whether English or native, must be admitted to the same privileges in all points of commerce. The navigation of the river Surmah must, if possible, be rendered free, and an exclusive privilege to the Company to the stone for making chunam that is to be procured in the Gentiab country. Tho' it is recommended to obtain a free navigation of the river Surma, you are not to infer from this that a restriction is proposed of the Raja's rights in the point of levying duties on any articles of merchandize to be bought or sold at the Ganges or markets which are under his Government. The rates of duties, however, on all merchandize bought and sold in the Gentiab's country should, if practicable, be fixt in a just and equitable degree. These interests will claim the attention of Mr. Thackeray, and the preliminaries of peace being settled with due regard to these, you are immediately to withdraw the Forces in Gentiab, leaving at Sylhet the number of troops appointed for the defence of the Province, and return with the remainder to Chittagong. There appearing to be no further service for the detachment you command at Gentiab, by the instructions I have recd., I am under the necessity of repeating my injunction to you to repair as soon as possible with the Detachment to Chittagong; and the request for batta to the seapoys while on service shall be duly intimated to the President and Council, and their order communicated to you.

I am,

Your most obedient humble servant,

RICHARD BARWELL.

12

CALCUTTA:

8th May 1775.

TO WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY.

DEAR SIR,

As you were some time ago expected in Calcutta in consequence of the leave of absence from Dacca you applied for through Mr. Barwell, he concluded you would bring his

accounts with you; in order that it might be settled. But as it seems likely that you have for the present laid aside the thoughts of paying a visit to Calcutta, I am desired by Mr. Barwell to beg the favour of you to furnish him with your account, as he is anxious to have all his concerns settled and brought into a narrow compass as fast as possible.

I am, Dear Sir,

etc.

J. [CATOR].

DACCA:

29th November 1773.

TO WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,

I am favor'd by your letter of the 20th and preceding it, by another letter, the date of which has pass'd my memory: the subject the same. You must be sensible my Inclination leads me in all points to consider your wishes as far as may be consistent with the indispensable duties of my public office; those I must perform and allow a superior claim to my consideration. A reference in all my complaints is my intention, and my intention remains the same; but when it is represented that an obvious interest thwarts or obstructs a repeated application for justice in a cause of *meum* and *teum*, you are sensible I cannot deny my interposition or refuse to hear it before me. This is the necessity, under which I issued the summons on Tulram and Mussood Bux, and it is the only necessity under which I shall ever interfere; and could I preclude all applications that bring it upon me, it would give me a double pleasure, first by avoiding the trouble occasioned to myself: secondly by answering in the fullest manner your desire that the whole concern, whether publick or private, relating to the Province of Sylhet, or individuals who reside there, submitted to you.

Circumstanced as I am, it is at present only in my power to protract the time of Fulram's and Mussood Bux's summons, which I do by a perwanah intimating the cause and directing their attendance within two months from the 1st of Poos. In this period I flatter myself you will be able to adjust your transactions with Fulram and Mussood Bux, as they must at that time absolutely attend me, unless the former settles with his creditors, and the latter can compromise with the party who pretends to have been injured by him. The Luskarrahs guilty of the attempt of exacting money shall be punished: the usual allowance is to be made to them by the Assamees, and the hirkarrahs, as officers of the Cutchery, must remain upon them until the officers at Dacca, as the withdrawing the order and people who proceeded with it, would show in the light of the orders from the cutcherry being trifling and reversible, whereas nothing ought to be more fix'd and determinate to confirm the natives in opinion of a steady and uniform administration.

You may be perfectly easy with respect to any change further than the abolition of al charges. If the cutcherys are necessary, the farmers must petition for them, and they will be supported at their sole charge.

I am, Sir, etc.

R. B.

P. S.—I have written repeatedly for the Bengal accounts, and without effect which forces me to note it in my publick letters. Be so kind as to acquiesce in that particular, and furnish me with the Bengal papers. R. B.

P. S.—The complaint against Mussood Bux being for talooks, and as his rights may well be pleaded by a vakiel, I have alter'd his perwanah and directed that he should send

a vakiel immediately with all his papers, and your examination of the matter mentioned in your letter.—R. B.

IN order to understand our invaluable Barwell papers it is most requisite that the reader should have some knowledge as to Lord Clive's action in bringing to Bengal four Madras civilians to supersede Bengal Civilians, whom the great autocrat held to be either too corrupt or else too youthful to be entrusted with posts of consequence.

No. 1.

FORT WILLIAM:
The 8th November 1765.

AT A SELECT COMMITTEE, *Present*.
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD CLIVE, *President*.
WILLIAM B. SUMNER, ESQ.
BRIGADIER-GENERAL CARNAC, AND
HARRY VERELST, ESQ.

THE Proceedings of the 29th ult. being wrote fair, were now read and approved. The Right Honourable the President opens the business of the Committee with observing that our late acquisition of influence and revenue has so widely extended the system of politicks hitherto adopted by the Company, as to render it indispensably necessary that the administration should be placed in the hands of men of the greatest integrity and ability we can select from the whole list of covenanted servants.

That, from a just sense of the great importance of the Company's concerns in Bengal, the Committee had, by the *Admiral Stevens*, earnestly exhorted the Court of Directors to admit no claim in composing the Council of the Presidency, but what was founded upon approved merit, and at the same time signified their sentiment of the unfitness for that exalted station of those gentlemen who stood next in succession. That although his lordship considered it would be highly imprudent, in the present delicate conjuncture of affairs, to admit to suffrages at the board, a number of young gentlemen, deeply tinctured with those principles which so universally prevailed in this settlement, yet as time and proper examples may probably effect a reformation in their manners, he should be very sorry to exclude them utterly from the prospect of rising in the service, as must necessarily happen if their juniors should be promoted in preference to them.

That the Board being now reduced to a number insufficient to conduct the public business, he apprehends that it becomes absolutely necessary to fill up the vacancies in Council; for as to calling down the chiefs of the subordinates to assist at the Presidency, it might be productive of the worst consequences; since then the whole weight of the investment and great part of the collections, must devolve upon younger servants, who have neither the necessary experience or influence.

That the only expedient he can propose, that is in any way adequate to the exigency of our situation, and promises fair for promoting the great scheme of reformation which the Committee have so much at heart, appears to him to consist in calling in the assistance of the most capable servants on the Madras establishment, below the rank of Council, who, being yet untainted with the corruption and licentiousness of this settlement, will cordially co-operate in every measure for establishing that spirit of frugality, industry, and

subordination among the classes of junior servants, which the Committee have always considered as essential to the prosperity, and even to the security of the Company's affairs in Bengal. But his lordship by no means intends those gentlemen should be looked upon as fixed on this establishment, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors shall be known; and that having minutely weighed and examined the characters of the covenanted servants next to the Council at Fort St. George, his lordship is of opinion, that justice to their merit, and regard to our own situation, require we should give the preference to Messrs. Russell, Aldersey, Kelsall, and Ffloyer, all men of reputed ability and unblemished honour, as well as of longer standing in the service than any upon our list of junior servants.

In consideration of all these circumstances, his lordship moved, that the Committee should immediately apply to the Presidency of Fort St. George for the assistance of the above-named gentlemen:—And General Carnac and Mr. Verelst approving:—

Resolved, that we write to Madrass requesting that Messrs. Russell, Aldersey, Kelsall, and Ffloyer may be sent down, with all possible dispatch, for the purposes specified in the motion. To this resolution Mr. Sumner entered the following dissent:—

"I am sorry to be obliged for the first time to enter a dissent to a resolution of this board, but the present is a case of a nature in which every member will necessarily be expected to judge for himself, and to satisfy his employers for the reasons which induced him to approve or disapprove of the measure proposed. My reasons for disapproving of it are first, that I do not think we have authority to transfer the servants of another Presidency to this. And, secondly, as we have already presented to the Court of Directors, by the *Admiral Stevens*, what was then esteemed necessary on the point of succession to Councils, that we ought to wait for their orders, and not anticipate, or take measures which perhaps clash with their resolutions and intentions. That the service may not in the meantime suffer, from the deficiency of members at the board, I would propose, that either those gentlemen who are deemed unexceptionable in our own list of servants be appointed to fill the vacancies, or that the chiefs of some of the subordinates, whose presence on such emergency might be spared from the business of the investment, should be called down, to act at the Presidency until the pleasure of our employers is known; which we may very reasonably expect by the latter ships of next season."

Ordered, that the letter to Fort St. George be entered after these proceedings.

To the Honourable Robert Palk, Esq., President and Governor, etc., Council, at Fort St. George.

FORT WILLIAM:
The 5th Nov. 1767.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

The measures we are pursuing in order to accomplish the ends proposed by the Court of Directors, and secure to the Company the great revenues they now possess in Bengal are so contrary to the expectations, the views, and interests of many of their servants placed in the highest stations, and intrusted with the most weighty employments of this Presidency, that they have thought proper to resign service. The opulent fortunes they have acquired, and the steps we are taking to prevent so sudden a growth of wealth, at the expence of the Company and the national character, will sufficiently declare the nature of their conduct and

ours. Notwithstanding we have found it expedient to reduce the number of the board from sixteen to twelve members, yet three seats are already vacant, and Mr. Senior has expressed his full intention of returning home this season. It is with regret we observe, that these

vacancies cannot be filled by the junior servants next in succession; the corruption that prevailed in the Government has descended to the lower classes, and a Council composed of these would frustrate every attempt to effect that general reformation so essential to the success and permanency of the measures proposed by our constituents.

We therefore earnestly request that, in consideration of the pressing exigency of our affairs, we may be favoured with the immediate assistance of Messrs. Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall* and Charles Ffloyer. These gentlemen are senior to any on the list of our covenanted servants below the rank of Council, and we cannot entertain a doubt but their removal will be approved by the Court of Directors, when we have represented the reasons upon which this request is founded.

You, Gentlemen, are equally sensible with us of the importance of this settlement to the Company, and no less solicitous for its prosperity, which depends so much upon the judicious selection of a board. It is, therefore, our further desire that Messrs. Russell and the other Gentlemen, may proceed with all possible dispatch overland, as the season of the year would render a passage by sea tedious; and we are now forming plans for the collection of the revenues, which will oblige several members of the board to be absent from the Presidency.

We are,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servants,

CLIVE,

W. B. SUMNER.

JOHN CARNAC.

H. VERELST.

2.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 20th January 1766.

At a Select Committee, present

The RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD CLIVE, President,

WILLIAM BRIGHTWELL SUMNER, ESQ.,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL CARNAC, and

HARRY VERELST, } ESQRS.
FRANCIS SYKES, }

The Right Honourable the President opens the Business of the Committee with the following Minute:—

GENTLEMEN,

At our last meeting we had the satisfaction of reading the assent of the President and Council of Madras, to our request for the assistance of Messrs. Russell, Aldersey, Kelsall,

* For some inferences to Kelsall see N. N. Ghose's *Memoirs of Maharaja Nubhitten Bahadur*, p. 27. Kelsall accompanied Lord Clive on a tour in Italy very shortly before Clive's death in 1774, and a sister of his married Strachey, Clive's Private Secretary. Claud Russell in the end incurred the censure of the Court, and Ffloyer (the husband of a lady from Chandernagore) was superseded by B. Middleton.

and Ffloyer, till the pleasure of the Court of Directors should be known. The arrival of these gentlemen is an event ardently to be wished by every man who regards the welfare of the Company, and more particularly by us, who are the guardians of their inestimable possessions in Bengal. At the time of our appointment the affairs at this presidency were known to be in such a state as required the exertion of extraordinary powers to amend. For that reason were such powers given to us, and for that reason I was solicited, by a General Court of Proprietors, to accept this Government. Perhaps had they been more minutely acquainted with the corruption and licentiousness which prevail, we should have been invested with powers still more extensive. I do not despair, however, to find that those we have will prove in a great measure sufficient to lay a solid foundation for the future prosperity of these provinces, and to establish that order, subordination, and economy, without which no government can long exist. For my own part, I am determined to continue with perseverance, as I began with resolution and disinterestedness, to effect a thorough reformation. The negligences, the abuses, I must add the frauds, which have too apparently crept into almost every department; the absolute necessity of correcting these; the incapacity, either from understanding and principle, of some who rank near to the Council, and the unfitness, from youth and inexperience, of others who are endued with abilities and integrities, to assist us in our labours; the impossibility of completing the business ourselves, since our absence at times from the presidency, or our attendance to other matters of great importance, must frequently divide our attention; Mr. Verelst employed in supervising the Bardwan and Midnapore provinces; Mr. Sykes ascertaining the whole collection of the government-revenues; and myself obliged to be often up the country: for these, among other substantial reasons, we earnestly requested the assistance of the Gentlemen from Madras. If we are desirous of saving the settlement from destruction, we must have a supply of disinterestedness, resolution, and abilities, from our neighbours. Such a government as this is not to be trifled with. The commerce and immense revenues of the three provinces shall not be sacrificed in order to gratify the rapacity or vanity of individuals. Enough has been said, enough has been seen, of the general depravity of this place; nor should I have now set before you the too familiar description, were it not that occasion seems particularly to require a review of the civil servants.

In consequence of our requesting the assistance of the Madras Gentlemen, a memorial has been drawn up by some Gentlemen here, addressed to the Court of Directors, representing the injury and disgrace they suffer by such a proceeding of the Select Committee.

The original I have not seen; but a copy of it has been sent me, which I beg leave to lay before you for your further information. You will, I doubt not, be surprised to hear of certain names subscribed to a memorial, expressing a sense of disgrace, and asserting the cause of integrity, innocence, and abilities. I have authentic information, however, that at the head of the subscription are names of two Counsellors: the one under a severe censure of the Committee and whose whole management of the Company's investment is under scrutiny and the other ordered down from his chiefship, that his conduct may be inquired into. Whether those Gentlemen have set themselves up as leaders of this association from any sense of reflection as mentioned in the memorial, or whether they have been unwisely inveigled by the ingenious young Gentlemen, who, at the age of eighteen or twenty, find themselves qualified to fill the station of Counsellors, I presume not to determine; but I am sure the Court of Directors will be struck with amazement at the sight of their names, and be utterly at a loss how to account for such a proceeding. I am far from thinking that the Gentlemen when they think themselves aggrieved are not entitled to lay

their case before their Employers; but as they cannot be competent Judges of the proceedings of the Select Committee, which have not been laid before the Council, their arraignment of our conduct seems rather premature; however, as the measure complained of has been already recommended to the Court of Directors in my letter to them by the *Admiral Stevens*, we shall soon know whether it be approved or not. If the reasons urged for it did not appear satisfactory at the time they received my letter, I make not the least doubt that the conduct of their servants upon this occasion will convince them that there is actually no other way of preserving this settlement. The memorial itself cannot give much offence; for though puerile, it is modest, and though plaintive, it is not clamorous. But what will their Honourable Employers think of the mode in which it has been executed, unless they suppose it to have been instigated by some who are independent in fortune, or have no character to lose? For your information upon this matter, I shall trouble you with an extract from a letter I received on Saturday the 11th instant from a young gentleman of undoubted authority, who, however, has desired me to conceal his name that he may not be subjected to the resentment of his associates. The purport of his letter is hereto annexed, together with extracts of two letters from the same gentleman to Mr. Strachey, my Secretary.

The Council room and public offices have, we find, been places of association for this opposition to our measures. Two Gentlemen of Council, whose duty it was to have discouraged such a mode of combination, appear to have been the ringleaders in the business, although the arrival of the Madrass Gentlemen could no more affect those already at the Board than it can those who landed a few weeks ago in the character of writers just qualified, by the age of fifteen, for that station. The Secretary's office at the time of a great hurry of business on the despatch of the ships has been employed in summoning the civil servants residing in Calcutta, to sign this memorial, and in writing circular letters to the absentees for permission to add their names, though the particulars of the proceedings of the Committee to which the memorial relates are yet unknown. These Gentlemen, have it seems gone further; they have agreed to add insult to faction, by declaring the Gentlemen who are coming from Madrass shall be treated with contempt, and the members of the Committee not visited, nor any of their invitations accepted.

For my own part, Gentlemen, every day's experience convinces me of the expediency of the power granted to the Select Committee. Without such power, several of us had at this time been on our passage home; and extravagance, luxury, and corruption, had perhaps arrived at the end of their endeavours, the ruin of the Company in Bengal. The supporters and abettors of the present association deserve our most serious attention, and I desire that we may immediately take their conduct into consideration. Their remonstrance, as I have already observed, is too puerile to merit our notice; but the factious manner of making it will, if uncensured, be a lasting reproach upon my government, and a tacit approbation of that licentious spirit which it is our duty to suppress.

(Signed) CLIVE.

His Lordship also desires that the following extracts from letters of intelligence to himself and his Secretary, Mr. Strachey, may be read:—

Purport of a Letter to Lord Clive, dated Calcutta, the 11th January 1766.

That a meeting was held on the 10th instant at Mr. Vansittart's country house,* wherein it was resolved, that a memorial should be forthwith drawn up against the

* The house at Bataset now converted into a jail for native convicts was the property of Vansittart; but the house here referred to was more probably the present Loreto Convent Middleton Row.

unprecedented and injurious step of sending for Counsellors to this presidency from Madras : that those Gentlemen should on their arrival be treated with insolence and contempt ; and that any person belonging to this settlement who should presume to show them the least civility or countenance, should be branded with ignominy and banished society. That the most active in this affair were, Mr. French, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Majendie, the Traders and Senior Writers ; but that the memorial was to be signed by the whole body of servants, in the order they rank, to be laid before the Court of Directors, and there backed by the united interest of their respective friends, that Mr. Sumner had been sounded, but that he had refused to sign his name ; and that Mr. Campbell was not to be made acquainted with the affair till the last moment, as they feared he would give his Lordship information thereof.

Extract of a Letter to Lord Clive's Secretary, dated the 11th January 1766.

I must now request you will inform him (Lord Clive) in addition, that Mr. Marriott and Mr. Senior are principals in the affair : the former remained in a room a long time this morning, with several of the gentlemen mentioned in my letter to Lord Clive, to influence the writers, who were invited thither for that purpose, to sign their names to the famous memorial, all of whom did accordingly sign it, though some much against their inclinations.

Extract of a Letter to Lord Clive's Secretary, dated the 12th January 1766.

Please to inform my Lord, that I learned last night Mr. Watts had, after repeated solicitations, consented to sign the memorial : but his accession is kept a greater secret than that of any of the others. Mr. Sumner has also at last, I am told, promised to sign it when it returns from Dacca, wither it was sent last night to be signed by the Gentlemen there. There was no such thing as getting into the Council House yesterday, except for one who went to sign the memorial, as the officers were taken upon writing circular letters, and nobody admitted that was not previously examined. A resolution is taken by the servants invited to dine with his Lordship to-morrow, not to wait on him nor to accept any invitation for the future.

Lord Clive likewise desires that the following copy of a memorial from the servants of this presidency to the Honourable Court of Directors may be read :—

No. 3.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF THE HONOURABLE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOURS,

When your servants in any instance think themselves aggrieved, you have been pleased to favour them with the indulgence of an application for redress immediately to yourselves, through the channel of your President and Council. No occasion could more urgently call for the disagreeable necessity of claiming this privilege, than the situation wherein we find ourselves by a circumstance from which we think we have received a most unmerrited and mortifying injury and disgrace.

Various letters from Madras inform us, that the Select Committee here have invited Messrs. Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall and Charles Ffloyer of that place, to succeed to seats in Council upon this establishment, and that these gentlemen are accordingly on their way hither. Were we conscious of having neglected our duty, or behaved unfaithfully in the trust reposed on us, we should submit with patience and

look upon such severity to be justly inflicted; but satisfied as we are of our innocence, we are struck with amazement, and utterly at a loss how to account for such a proceeding.

As to the abilities of those Gentlemen, we cannot but flatter ourselves, that many may be found on this establishment in no respect inferior to them; and as to the Company's business and interests in Bengal, we must in that point be superior to them.

If our integrity be called in question, it is certainly a most cruel act, thus to stigmatise a whole settlement unheard: such a procedure could not fail to damp our zeal for your service and made our duty a burthen for us, had we not an entire conviction of obtaining redress from your impartiality and justice.

In the seventeenth paragraph of your commands of the 19th February 1762, you were pleased to give us reason to hope, that your servants here should rise in regular succession, and not have the mortification of being superseded, but when cases of an absolute necessity should force you to a deviation. These flattering hopes, from you our masters, must undoubtedly add weight to the sense we entertain of the injury done us upon this occasion by our fellow-servants, whom we never understood to be appointed judges of such a necessity or invested with authority to make any appointments upon your civil list; and this step from the present Committee, is the more affectingly striking, as Lord Clive in his letter of 27th April 1764, has the following sentence:—

"The heart-burning disputes which seem to have spread and over-run your settlement at Calcutta, arose, I much fear, from your appointment of Mr. Vansittart to the Government of Bengal from another settlement, altho' his promotion was the effect of my recommendation. The appointment thereof of Mr. Spencer from Bombay can only tend to inflame these dissensions, and to destroy all those advantages which the Company can only expect to reap from harmony and unanimity among their servants abroad."

We wish ever to preserve that respect which is due to our superiors in the service; and we hope it will appear to you, that we are absolutely forced into this representation, and that we should be men unworthy of your service, if we did not express our deep sense of the injustice which we have suffered. To you we submit our cause, not doubting but you will redress our grievances. This will be adding to the obligations already received from you; and we beg leave to assure you, we shall ever retain a grateful sense of it, and ever serve you with zeal and fidelity.

The Gentlemen of Council who have set their hands to this address, altho' not immediately affected by the measure that has been taken, have done it as a testimony of their sense of the unjust reflection cast upon your servants in general, on this establishment; and the Gentlemen to whose names an asterisk is prefixed being absent from the settlement, and at too great a distance to have the original circulated to them before the dispatch of the ships, could not sign it themselves, but having received copies thereof, have approved it, and desired their names to be subscribed.

We are, with the utmost respect,

Your most faithful, obedient, and
Most devoted humble Servants,

(Signed.)

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 1. C. S. Playdell.* | 5. Tho French. | 9. W. Bolts. |
| 2. Randolph Marriott. | 6. Tho Rumbold.* | 10. Charles Rogers. |
| 3. A. W. Senior. | 7. John Reed.* | 11. W. Shewen. |
| 4. F. Charlton. | 8. J. Jekyll. | 12. Geo. Williamson. |

- | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 13. P. M. Dacres.* | 39. Fran. Law.* | 65. J. J. Keighley. |
| 14. Tho. Lane.** | 40. W. Weston. | 66. H. Walter. |
| 15. Richard Barwell. | 41. John Grose. | 67. Ewan Law. |
| 16. Tho. Woodward. | 42. Rich. Witts. | 68. E. Golding. |
| 17. James Harris.* | 43. G. G. Draycott. | 69. Roger Barwell. |
| 18. Russell Skinner. | 44. Alex. Higginson. | 70. W. Rooke. |
| 19. James Lawrell. | 45. J. Rider.* | 71. Tho. Legh. |
| 20. Henry Goodwin. | 46. Alex. Van Recten. | 72. E. Fenwick. |
| 21. Walter Wilkins* | 47. C. Lloyd. | 73. W. Marriott.* |
| 22. Tho. Forbes.* | 48. W. Lushington. | 74. John Savage. |
| 23. John Graham. | 49. J. Ridley. | 75. H. Harris. |
| 24. Tho. Hewitt.* | 50. W. Maxwell. | 76. W. Young. |
| 25. W. Lambert. | 51. Cha. W. Boughton. | 77. Robert Burford. |
| 26. James Ashburner. | 52. Cha. Ingram. | 78. G. G. Ducarell.† |
| 27. Geo. Vansittart. | 53. C. Hawkins. | 79. Rivers Gindall. |
| 28. W. Majondie. | 54. B. G. Wright. | 80. J. Fage. |
| 29. Nicholas Grueber.* | 55. E. Baber. | 81. W. B. Martin. |
| 30. Geo. Hurst.* | 56. H. Palmer. | 82. W. Pye. |
| 31. Charles Stuart. | 57. T. Sheeles. | 83. J. Rosewell. |
| 32. Rob. Palk. | 58. J. L. Whyte. | 84. J. Hinckman. |
| 33. William Barton.* | 59. Charles Goring.* | 85. John Pearce.] |
| 34. Nath. Bateman.* | 60. J. Holme. | 86. W. Mitchell. |
| 35. Henry Cottrell. | 61. P. Hatley. | 87. G. Johnstone. |
| 36. Edw. Stephenson. | 62. W. Harwood. | 88. J. Marjoribanks. |
| 37. John Baihoe. | 63. John Sumner. | 89. J. Irwin. |
| 38. Isaac Sage.* | 64. Rob. Wilmot.* | 90. Sam. Lewis. |
| | 91. Isaac Eynard. | |

FORT WILLIAM.
19th January 1766.

(Signed)
E. STEPHENSON.
Pres. Sec.

No. 4.

MIRZAPORE;
19th January 1766.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD CLIVE, ETC.,
AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

I think it my duty to inform you, that on Saturday, the 11th instant, January, I was sent for to the Council House, where many of the Company's servants were assembled in

** Lane himself had been brought from Madras.

† Mr. Ducarell's name erased by order of the Council, agreeable to his request in an address to the board.

‡ The spelling of this gentleman's name in the records is always altering. We shall hear much of him in our Midnapore Records. He is buried in the South Park Street Burial Ground; See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 75.

order to sign a memorial addressed to the Honourable Court of Directors, remonstrating against the proceedings of the Select Committee, with regard to sending for several gentlemen from Madras to take their seats at the Board, on the Bengal Establishment.

The consequence of remaining single among a multitude, who appeared to be unanimous, the dread of becoming the scorn of my fellow-servants and the want of time to deliberate upon the propriety of what I was about to do, overcame my judgment, and I inadvertently added my name to the numbers who had subscribed to that memorial.

A few hours' reflection convinced me of the folly I had been guilty of. I saw the impropriety and impertinence of my subscribing to a remonstrance against a measure of which I could not possibly form any judgment; and which, right or wrong, could not affect a man so young in the service as I was. The supposition that the complaint of a writer could weigh down the arguments of experienced Counsellors, who are intrusted with the whole management of the Company's affairs, appeared to me absolutely ridiculous; and to pronounce in a matter which could only concern those who were near to Council sounded more like the cry of fiction, than the remonstrance of reason.

I accordingly, without delay, wrote to Mr. Majendie, desiring he would erase my name from the subscriptions to the said memorial; and also to declare, if occasion should require it, that I had entered my early protest against the memorial in general, and against my own inconsiderate assent in particular.

That gentleman, however, in a letter to me, has thought proper to decline complying with my request. He tells me, that unless I direct my protest to the whole body of servants, to the Governor and Council, to the Court of Directors, or to himself in his public character, no notice will be taken, nor my name erased from the memorial.

Since I find this business is to be transacted in so official a mode, I take the earliest opportunity of applying through the regular form, in order to extricate myself from the error I had too hastily engaged in.

Your Lordship, etc., will excuse the prolixity of this address, as well as my having chosen to address you at all, seeing that my honour and future welfare are concerned in your having before you a true state of my conduct, together with my real sentiments on this occasion.

What I have said will, I hope, in some measure secure for me your good opinion, which I have always been studious to deserve; and I request you will be pleased either to order my name to be struck out, before the memorial is transmitted to the Court of Directors, or to inform them that I have earnestly solicited that favour.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord and Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and
most faithful humble servant,
GEORGE GUSTAVIUS DUCARELL.

IN after years the writer of the last letter was to be one of those three friends whom Hastings contemptuously described as the "lees of Francis"—Bristowe, Linus and Ducarell. He played a prominent part in the Francis

escapade at the Grand's house,* and figured in the witness box at the trial. Dr. Busteed quotes an amusing description of him in a letter written by Francis at Paris in 1784:—"Ducarel has found his uncle and aunt, or rather they have found him. He was forced to get on a chair to put his arm round his uncle's neck; and he has worn my blue box to rags to keep his feet from dangling in the chaise."

BARWELL'S letter concerning the supersession of the Bengal Servants may now be quoted.

To his Father,

CALCUTTA,

21st January 1766.

HON. AND DEAR SIR,

As to the several occurrences, from the violences of the ruling power, cannot fail becoming publick, it is almost unnecessary to trouble you or myself with a recital. I, therefore, beg leave to refer you to Mr. Leycester, who carries with him the proceedings *pro et con*. I shall just take notice that, without any shadow of advantage proposed to the Company, the most injurious attacks have been made on the characters of every member of our prior Council in Calcutta—men whose reputations have hitherto been unblemished and seem to rise still higher from the extraordinary measures that have been pursued in the attempt to depravate. To illustrate this, I have but occasion to remark the stretch of authority in the suspension of Mr. Leycester for a mere matter of opinion and freedom of sentiment, the unjustifiable treatment of Mr. Gray proceeding from the same cause, and his Lordship's insulting demeanor towards Mr. Burdett arising from almost ridiculous circumstance. How agreeable for reflection these instances of a most unparalleled vindictive assuming disposition must be to such as are determin'd to support their integrity by a free communication of their thoughts, when it shall prove their lot to be called upon, is easily conceived; and men who scorn to make a base prostitution of their thoughts, will enter with the utmost compunction into the elevated sphere that shall hourly expose them to insult and mortification and which the interposition of the Company's authority alone can possibly remedy.

The vacated seats at the Board being kept open gives room to conjecture an abolition of the succession by seniority is intended: concurring circumstances strengthen this suggestion: and those of any foresight wait in serious expectation of the event. It is indeed beyond my power to give you a true idea of the general dissatisfaction that reigns here.

* Query as to the whereabouts of that house. Mr. H. E. A. Cotton (*Calcutta: Old and New*) seems to favour the tradition which places it "in the modern Allpore Lane." I cannot help thinking that the house must have been close to the town: for it was closely surrounded by other houses and in the evidence the road is called a street. Dr. Busteed has unfortunately not reproduced all the evidence as to the intercommunication of the rooms. It is to be hoped that any future writer who deals with this unpleasant incident will make it clear that there is absolutely no evidence to show that Francis succeeded in reaching the upper floor of the house. It was no doubt the misfortunes of the family (prisoners on parole in 1778) and the loss of her reputation (not her virtue) which contributed to Madame Grand's fall at a later date. Is there any real evidence at all to show that she was at any time the mistress of Sir P. Francis?

Could I, you would scarce credit the description, so extraordinary is the change in the man, to whom this Settlement has so frequently paid its debt of gratitude.

I was here interrupted by the receipt of letters from Madras, the purport of which source I have not err'd in my supposition. Four gentlemen from that Establishment are invited to the Presidency to succeed to the Council here, and are now actually in their passage down. Such a translation his Lordship disapproved of in strongest terms from the Court of Directors; but, proceeding from himself the impropriety of the step seems entirely to have been lost. In a ridiculous opinion of his own importance he bids the Company not to hope from their servants that servile submission to their will and pleasure which he vainly expected should be paid to his vanity, as is evident from the enclosed copy of an address signed by all the Bengall servants; and nothing points out more strongly the sense entertained of this insult than the sentiments of those who are not directly injured by so unprecedented a measure. It's really incumbent on all who are the least connected with Indian affairs to use their utmost influence to put an effectual stop to the arrogant authority that has been assumed; if with a view to the Company's interests, why that solicitation to him the source of dependence from the Company?

Though no man is safe who gives Lord Clive cause for displeasure, yet the whole Settlement is so very much irritated, that a general resolution has been formed to hold no intercourse with his Lordship but on points of business, and to disclaim all connections whatsoever with gentlemen of Fort St. George.

Strachey, an old school fellow of mine, Secretary to his Lordship, favor'd me with a note on the 13th, in consequence of which I waited for him, when he broke to me, his Lordship having heard of a remonstrance for the Court of Directors being drawn out, intended to be offer'd to the gentlemen in the service to sign; that, if I had not sign'd it, he would recommend me not to do it, giving me to understand that the calling down the gentlemen from Madrass was not intended as an injury to me. To the first point I reply'd "Surely you have been misinform'd, or is there really a remonstrance of such a nature going about town?" Having assured me there was I told him that, tho' there might be no intentional injury done me, yet if any grievance that affected the service should at any time be represented, I would not scruple to set my hand to it. So you must not wonder if I should feel the rod of power and struggle some time longer in India.

I must observe many gentlemen have been tamper'd with on this occasion, and one of them frighten'd into a recantation; but, happily for the whole, every servant at the Presidency had signed to it, and it was on the road to the subordinates before intelligence was given his Lordship that the stigma is invariably fixed.

I enclose you a state[ment] of the Company's Revenues and Disbursements which you may depend upon. It is true that his Lordship computes the collections of the year at 315 Lacks, but that is fallacious, as he reckons in the full sum the rents are fixed at, and puts an increase in Bengall of 30 Lacks more than ever was collected, and of Siraj Dowl's 30 Lacks, as not more than 40 is to be paid within this year, he counts 10 too much, etc., etc. However, to show how the Three Crores, 15 Lacks arise, I have annex'd his Lordship's statement.

By my enclosed letter to the Select Committee you will perceive how much it is in the power of its members to render ineffectual our utmost industry through the means of the Country Government, but to give you a true idea it is requisite I acquaint you with further particulars. When I was at Motajee* with Mr. Sykes in November, among other proposals,

* Motajee, *i. e.*, the Pearl Lake near Murshidabad.

he acquainted me of his desire to be concern'd in the timber trade. I told him I had no objection, but I flatter'd myself he would make me some consideration of the time I had laid out of my money, and that in such a case I should with pleasure make over to him even half of my advances. This I suppose did not prove agreeable, for I was urg'd no more. However, not to be deficient, I wrote him from Maulda, advising him I had desired Mr. Barton to call upon him for 12,000 Rs. to be invested for his account in that article. At this time Kishen Kinker, Mr. Sykes' gomastah, was in Purnea, and soon after proceeded up for the purchase of wood, being disappointed by my having pre-engaged the proper people. He wrote, as is evident, to his master, and his master to Sanchitroy, and Sanchitroy to the Resident at the Durbar—a very pretty farce and which I confess makes my blood-boil not little. This, however, I appear to be ignorant of, as I do not deem it quite so eligible to oppose myself to a power capable of destroying all my future prospects. Kishen Kinker in Souchet Ray's address, you will observe, is mentioned as an Agent of the Nabob's, tho' in reality Mr. Sykes' gomastah. I await with impatience the Committee's reply whether the pretext will be admitted or not. If it is all my advances may be claimed under a similar plea, and I interdicted all kind of commerce, for the Nabob may plead a necessity for this, and then another and then another article with equal justice and propriety, and lay the same prohibition he has presumed to do on every other branch of trade.

As I have lent to the amount of 12,000 Arcot Rupees at *Respondentia* is on the *Snow Success*, Captain David Read, Commander, from this port of Calcutta to the port of Fort Marlborough, with liberty to touch at any port or ports within the Company's limit of trade, at the rate of 16 per cent. if the voyage be completed within 3 months from the 31st December 1765, and if not concluded, then a *pro rata* for all such further time, as the vessel may be absent in making her voyage, I must request you will get me insurance for the whole amount of the above mention'd bond with the premium of 16 per cent., which, at the Company's Exchange of 2s. 4d. the current rupee, will be found to amount to one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three pounds, eighteen shillings and fourpence, three farthings sterling (£1,753-18-4 $\frac{1}{4}$). The vessel was safe out of the River, and all well the last advices. Let the insurance be made in the most ample manner possible.

Enclosed I send translated the letter of Mr. Sykes to Sanchitroy of which in my address I have taken no notice, nor do I intend it unless urg'd by further attempts of that gentleman to prejudice my fortunes to the advancement of his own, as it is my wish to live easy, and avoid, if possible, a dispute.

I am, etc.,
R. B.

ON the occasion of a recent visit to Cherra Punjee (the real name of the place is Sohror) I availed myself of the occasion of securing a photograph of David Scott's tomb. Sir Alexander Mackenzie in his *North-Eastern Frontiers of Bengal* has said: "The name and fame of David Scott are still green on the North-East Frontier. He was one of those remarkable men who have from time to time been the ornament of our Indian services. Had the scene of his labours been in the North-West or Central India, where the great problem of Empire was then being worked out, he would occupy

a place in history by the side of Malcolm, Elphinstone and Metcalfe." Certainly the name of David Scott should have a place in the pages of *Bengal: Past and Present*, but we must reserve for a future number any attempt to record his most interesting career. The monument is at present in good repair. Visiting Nongklaw I found that the monument to Burlton, Bedingfield and Beaden has suffered from a recent earthquake—a monument on which, but for a providential escape, the name of David Scott might have been written. I cannot forbear printing here the following curious extract culled from the *Asiatic Journal* (March 1830).

The Late David Scott, Esq., Commissioner at Assam.—The following notice appeared in the *East Indian*. It was in 1829 our informant first saw Mr. Scott. He had gone up to the Khasshas hills to erect some huts for the accommodation of the circuit judges of Dacca, when Mr. Scott went up there and received him very courteously. Mr. Scott treated the natives with great affability and offered chairs to the most respectable of those who visited, an uncommon practice with gentlemen high in the service, but one which is calculated to win the affections of the people.

Mr. Scott was remarkably diligent, beginning work every morning under his blanket, as he never used fires. The mountaineers believed him to be invulnerable, for after failing in several attempts to take his life in those disturbances which terminated by taking possession of the Kasia country, they gave up the design in despair. In particular, Tiet Singh, one of the Chiefs, perceiving that the bullets pierced even his iron-covered shield, retired to the most accessible parts of his territories. The belief which prevailed amongst the most ignorant mountaineers that Mr. Scott was a *debtah*, or something like it, arose from a suspension of animation for several days; he was supposed to be dead, but the preparations for burial were not immediately commenced on account of the coldness of the climate, and it was only when the lid of the coffin was about to be nailed down on him that he gave signs of life.

Among Mr. Scott's plans for usefulness two may be mentioned, the establishment of a school for the Garrows and the Sanatorium at Cheerspunjee. He proposed to reclaim the inhabitants of the Garrow hills from their savage state, by opening a school for children, in which a written language (to which they are strangers) was to be taught. The school was opened under the sanction of Government; but on the death of the teacher, when Mr. Scott applied for permission to appoint another, the Government stated that a clergyman should be appointed, according to the recommendation of Bishop Heber, to place it under ecclesiastical superintendence, in consequence of which no one has been appointed. Mr. Scott will be the best remembered by the Sanatorium now erecting. The sick station built at his recommendation at Nunglew was burnt down by the Khasias just before the commencement of the former. The pains and trouble which it caused him are described as incredible.

Whenever Mr. Scott met with any new tribes of mountaineers, whose languages were different from the known ones, he directed enquiries to be made with a view to collect a vocabulary of certain words in that language. This document was kept in his office for public use.

A reference was made to some of the political sentiments of Mr. Scott in the communication to which we adverted before. It is stated that he had expressed his opinion "that on the liberal and extensive employment of the natives depended the result, whether the judicial system could or could not be rendered efficient," but the views of Mr. Scott will be understood



MONUMENT TO DAVID SCOTT AT CHERRA PUNJE.

from the following letter, of which we have spoken, hastily written, as all his correspondence generally was:—

"I am disposed to agree in much that is said as to the prevailing evils, although I cannot see so clearly the cure. Neither can I reconcile the proposal to give office to the native nobility, by which perhaps is meant the zemindars, with the establishment of the mofussil magistrates or darogahs with a better salary, but who would still be scarcely chosen from the nobility, who, in most cases want both the *ability* and the *inclination* to perform much laborious duties, although they would have no objection to hold the office and allow the business to devolve upon a deputy, who would only prove a worse edition of our present darogahs. The only nobility acknowledged under the Mahomedan dynasty was that of office; and I believe no part of our system has given more general discontent than the undue elevation which the class of zemindars has obtained from their great wealth, the officers of Government of inferior rank, such as serishtadars, tehsildars, dewans, etc., having formerly been considered as their equals. In England the case is altogether different. The landholders there are everything, and the peasantry have *no* right whatever but that of obtaining the hire of their labour, if they are lucky enough to find anyone to employ them. There are, comparatively speaking, no inferior tenures, no right of occupancy during the payment of certain established rates of rent, and a man either holds his farm under a lease, or is at the absolute disposal of the landholder, who may at any time give him notice to quit at the end of the season. Under such circumstances the Government in fact confers no additional power upon landholders, as far as their tenants are concerned, by making them magistrates, as they are already quite despotic, and have only to say the word to expel any tenant from his house and home, who is not secured by a written lease, and that is rarely given in England, in order that the tenants may be kept subservient for parliamentary purposes. In this country the peasantry have rights as well as landlords, and if the latter are invested with powers, police or judicial, they will sooner or later abuse it, with a view to their aggrandisement. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that the lower classes are better protected in England than in India. The fact is, that in the former country they are entirely destitute of any rights or possessions of which they can be deprived so as to give them any cause for complaint. Who ever hears of a day-labourer wanting the protection of the laws? He receives his daily hire, and pays for his hut or quits it, if he be ill used, and has no concern with courts of law or occasion for their protection. I fancy the people in this country, if they ever obtain what it is the fashion to call the benefits of the English law, will find themselves in the situation of the frogs who prayed for a king, and at length got a stork set over them."

"I need not say that the peasantry of all European countries are the descendants of slaves or serfs who are not very likely to have had their interests much attended to in laws made by their masters. The people of India are ignorant of the immense comparative advantage of their situation. Idleness is the bane that keeps them poor, and I am satisfied that any ryot in the country would become a man of substance in a few years, were he to perform daily half the labour that an English peasant must undergo throughout his life, or starve. The people can have no conception of the state of the labouring classes; they would consider the work undergone more intolerable than any punishment that is inflicted on felons in this country."

In person Mr. Scott was rather tall, inclined to corpulency, and of commanding appearance; owing to a diseased heart, he was in constant fear of being carried off suddenly.

IN the Lower Circular Road Cemetery there is a grave to which I would desire to draw the attention of my readers in general and of those of them who are Freemasons in particular. According to the *Bengal Obituary* the tomb is marked by the following inscription:—

Sacred to the memory of
Major ROBERT COLLINS MACDONALD
49th Regt. N. I. died 11th April 1841. Aged 45.

For an account of the Major's great services to Freemasonry in the old Province of Bengal I may perhaps be permitted to refer to my *Early History of Freemasonry in Bengal* (published by Messrs. Thacker Spink and Co.) but in this place I must confine myself to mere points of interest of a more general nature. R. C. Macdonald was the son of a very distinguished father—Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonald, F.R.S., F.S.A., etc., of whom a notice will be found in Buckland's *Dictionary* and also in the *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. VI., New series, Sept.-Dec. 1831. According to the last mentioned account, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Macdonald first married a Mrs. Bogle, the widow of L. Bogle, Esq., of H. E. I. Co's service, but whether or no L. Bogle was a relative of the Tibetan explorer (George Bogle) I have not been able to discover. In 1799, according to the *Asiatic Journal*, he married Francis Maria, the eldest daughter of Sir Robert Chambers, Chief Justice in Bengal, and here comes the rub. The *Asiatic Journal* tells us that by his first marriage the Colonel had two children who both died in their infancy. If the Major died in 1841 aged 45 he must have been born sometime in 1796. The Colonel was the son of Captain Allan Macdonald of the 84th Regt. of Foot (Macdonald of Kingsburgh) and his mother (his father's cousin) was that Flora Macdonald who met Prince Charles Edward after his defeat at Culloden and negotiated his escape to Skye. The *Freemason's Quarterly Review*, 1841, informs us that the Major had "left his regiment for Calcutta on pressing private affairs, and was suddenly seized with malignant fever, and was soon no more! Distress of mind, too, probably accelerated the power of the grim tyrant. He was interred with military and masonic honours."

I HAVE to express my gratitude to the Maharaj Adhiraj of Burdwan for his permission, so readily accorded, to make use of some of the interesting photos in his collection illustrating Calcutta of gone by days. In the present number I have only been able to make use of four out of the large number which Messrs. Johnston and Hoffman have supplied me with copies. The view showing Writer's Buildings in the background comes in very usefully to illustrate what I have said about Barwell's house property, and the view



1. STONE TEMPLE AT GARUL, BURDWAN.



2. MADANNÔHAN TEMPLE AT VISNUPUR.



3. RAMCANDRA TEMPLE AT GUTTIPARA, HUGLI.



4. LALJI'S TEMPLE AT KALNA, BURDWAN.

By the Courtesy of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

of the Marquis of Hastings Statue links itself with an older view elsewhere in the present number. On p. 623 of Vol. IV. I had occasion to speak of the history of Scott Thomson and Co.'s premises and the two views published here will supply a further record. The little group of Lord and Lady Canning and Lord Clyde will, I am, sure be very welcome.

HAVING had occasion to mention the name of Leycester, I will venture to reproduce two documents which concern both him and the little known history of the English at Dacca.

Extract from Consultations, 16th February 1764.

Mr. Leycester is greatly concerned to observe the very heavy censure passed on the Gentlemen of the Dacca Factory on occasion of its loss, in your General Letter by the *Royal George*, but is happy to find that in your address by the *Osterly* the Board have endeavour'd to exculpate the Gentlemen from that part which relates to the Evacuation of the place, in consequence of the Officer having vindicated the opinion he gave for that purpose before a Corps of Officers. Regarding the Retreat and Loss of Treasure, he knows not how it could have been avoided, nor what precautions could have been taken, that were not, to prevent the misfortune. The Gentlemen of that Factory were fully sensible of the Importance of saving their Treasure and tried every possible method, as they did for retreating in a regular manner. In an entire want of Cooleys it was resolved to disarm some of our Seapoys, and employ them in that capacity first to convey our sick and wounded, then our Treasure, and at last retreat with the remainder of our Garrison. The sick had mostly been sent to the water side in pursuance of this Resolution, to be put on board the few Boats we had been able to collect at the Gaut, when many of our Seapoys left the Factory, and Mr. Leycester assures the Board, that while he was in the Factory expecting to hear that Boats were come to the Gaut sufficient to secure the Treasure and remainder of the Garrison, all the Seapoys in a body left the Factory without any orders, and flew to the few Boats that were already come in the utmost Irregularity and Confusion, rendering their own Retreat under such Circumstances very precarious, and putting it out of the power of the Gentlemen to conduct the affair in the manner that had been really proposed and he does hope when the Board consider the Resolution the Gentlemen had taken under such an Emergency for the security of the Garrison and the Company's Treasure and how unfortunately, and unavoidably they were rendered incapable of executing the Resolutions they had taken, they will be pleased to view the matter in a very different light and allow, that however unfortunate they were in being deprived of the means they had resolved on, by the disorderly behaviour of the Seapoys, they were not wanting in Duty and Regard for the Company's Interest, but took the only Resolution, that was practicable under such unhappy Circumstances. He begs leave further to observe that the so sudden recovery of the Dacca Factory was entirely the Result of the Gentlemen's own Resolution on the first account they had ever rece'd. of the Meckly detachments having left that Country, Capt. Grant not having joined our party till we had left Luckypore, and that such their Resolution, and application afterwards has been attended with the happy consequence of procuring to his Hon'ble Masters nearly as large and he may venture to say as good an Investment as hath been known for some years to come from that Factory. From this Representation he flatters himself the Board in their present

address will endeavour to give the Court of Directors a different Idea of what passed at Dacca in the Course of the late Troubles and free the Gentlemen from the obloquy to which they still stand exposed.

Extract from the Consultation of the 29th January 1766.

The very extraordinary assertion of Mr. Leycester, that he believed, when I stepped out of Council one day, to dispatch a note, I was going to send for a military guard, in order to intimidate him, I should have attributed to the worst of causes, were I not well acquainted with his uncommon timidity, and the great weakness of his nerves. That gentleman's behaviour at Dacca, when he abandoned the Factory, which commanded a very considerable proportion of the Company's treasure and merchandize, would, in all probability have lost him the service, if General Carnac had not prevailed upon Mr. Vansittart to let him soften the paragraph written upon that subject in the general letter. For further particulars I refer the world to old Mr. Delaporte, who very quietly smoked his pipe in the factory an hour and a half after Mr. Leycester had forsaken it; and then found leisure to carry off all his own effects, without any molestation from the enemy, who proved to be no other than a rabble of Fakeers. Nor was his zeal for the service greater, when Captain Grant, with a very small detachment, retook the place, without the loss of a man; for Mr. Leycester, who had just run away from the Factory although he would have been a very proper person to have pointed out the road to the Captain, who was a stranger to that part of the country, chose rather to remain on the other side of a large navigable river, until he was informed that the factory was again in our possession, when he returned to resume his former employment. I mention these circumstances, not by way of exposing his ingratitude to a friend, but to prove his unfitness to be employed in a post of consequence, in such a Government as this.

CLIVE.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL D. G. CRAWFORD in his *Brief History of the Hughli District* (page 40) gives a list of the Dutch Governors of Chinsurah. On this list in the year 1789 stands the name "Mons. Titsinh." In the *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. May-August, 1832, will be found an interesting article on this gentleman, whose name actually was Isaac Titsingh. Born at Amsterdam, about the year 1740, Titsingh went, at an early age, to the East in the service of the Dutch East India Company. After a residence of 17 years at Batavia, he was despatched to Nagasaki as Chief of the Factory at that place, where he remained for seven years, 1777-1784. The Dutch, as we know, practically purchased their permission to trade in Japan at the expense of their freedom; but Titsingh seems to have had a remarkable tact and charm of manner which succeeded in disarming the suspicions of the Japanese in regard to foreigners. He acquired the colloquial use of Japanese, and through the medium of interpreters at the Dutch Factory at Desima secured "a vast number" of translations. He then became Chief at Chinsurah, where he formed a friendship with Sir William Jones. In 1794 he went to Peking as Dutch Ambassador. He returned to his native land, but ultimately made his home in Paris, where he died "of a painful disorder" in February 1812. His immense fortune fell to an



9. SYAMCHAND'S TEMPLE AT SANTIPUR, NADIA.



10. KISTAHAYA'S JOR-BANGLA TEMPLE AT VISNUPUR.



11. NAVARATNA TEMPLE AT BAXA, HUGLI.



12. CARVED FRONT OF SYAMRAYA'S TEMPLE AT VIRNUPUR

By the Courtesy of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

illegitimate son who had been born to him by a native woman in India, and we learn that "this wretched young man was able so expeditiously to dissipate his inheritance at the gambling-table and in the society of a female opera-dancer, that, only two years after his father's death, he was forced to dispose of, for trifling considerations, the collections and MSS. which had cost so much toil and expense to accumulate." The papers published in the *Asiatic Journal* deal with Chinese chronology. The first of them is a letter from Mons. De Guignes, author of the *History of the Huns*, and is dated Paris, 18th February 1787; the second is Titsingh's reply dated "Hooghly, Bengal, 12th March 1788;" the third is "Some remarks on the Chronology of the Chinese according to the opinions of the Chinese."

IN the same volume of the *Asiatic Journal* (page 131) I find the following under the heading of marriages:—

May 23. At St. Mary's, Bryanstone Square, Colin Mackenzie, Esq., 45th Rt., Madras N. I., fourth son of the late R. F. Mackenzie, Esq., formerly Attorney General in the Island of Grenada, to Adeline Maria, eldest daughter of James Pattle, Esq., Bengal Civil Service.

By the courtesy of the Asiatic Society of Bengal I am enabled to include in the present number thirteen excellent illustrations which accompanied a valuable paper on "Bengali Temples and their General Characteristics" by Mr. Monmohan Chakravati, M.A. This paper, which was published in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for May 1909, should be read by all who have taken part in the expeditions of our own Society. The reader will be interested in comparing Lalji's temple at Kalna with the Ramsesvari temple at Bansberia. (See *Bengal: P. & P.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 81). In acknowledging the kindness of the Asiatic Society in allowing me to make use of these phototype blocks, I feel sure the Council of the Calcutta Historical Society would desire me to add how deeply they appreciate the general hospitality which the Asiatic Society has bestowed on us in our present homeless condition. It has been a very great privilege to hold our meetings in the historical rooms of the premier Asiatic Society, and those of us who are members of both the societies, have no doubt realised that the aims of the Calcutta Historical Society are most certainly included within Sir William Jones' definition of the terms of association of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

THE authorities at St. John's Church, Calcutta, are to be congratulated on their good fortune in having secured the services of Mr. E. W. Madge for the compilation of a guide book to their historical building. It will be remembered that Archdeacon Hyde's work *The Parish of Bengal* closes with

the division, on 11th August, 1788, of the Parish of Bengal into eight separate districts—Fort William, Barrackpore, Dinapore, Chunar, Berhampore, Fatehgarh and Cawnpore. The same writer's *Parochial Annals* practically closes with the eighteenth century. A continuation of the Archdeacon's work has long been needed, and we hope that this most welcome "handbook" will prove to have been a step in this direction. The lists given of famous persons whose names occur in the Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths are extremely interesting. Amongst the Baptisms we find those of W. M. Thackeray, Sir W. R. Macnaghten, Sir T. J. Metcalfe, Lord Metcalfe, Lord Roberts and infant sons of Warren Hastings and Lord Clive. Some errors in the text are acknowledged and corrected in a printed list of errata. In addition to these we note on p. 43 "Chapusetten" for "Chapusetin," and on p. 39. "Jordon" for "Jordan." By way of completing the record we should have been glad if Mr. Madge had mentioned the considerable improvements in the arrangements of the Church during the last two years. The charming miniatures of Charles Weston possessed by the Church are not mentioned. The handbook is enriched by some most excellent illustrations. The view of the Colvin memorial is an especially commendable piece of work, as the monument is not very easily photographed. In this connection it may be mentioned that the monument to John Adam is also by Westmacott, and that in the parish Church of Nuntar near Salisbury there is an exactly similar piece of sculpture erected to the memory of a member of the Buckley family. This admirable handbook is published by Messrs. Thacker Spink for the very small sum of one rupee and it deserves a rapid sale. We note that Mr. K. N. Dhar, M.A., has assisted in its production. Would that the authorities at St. Paul's Cathedral would ask Mr. Madge to compile a handbook of a similar nature for the "New Cathedral."

PRESSURE of space has compelled me to hold over a further instalment of the "Memoir of Colonel Pearse." The "Records of East Indian Ships" being already in type, I have for motives of economy printed them off in the present number, as it is not desirable to begin a new financial year with a larger amount of matter standing or illustrations unused. Perhaps I may add that the supply of the earlier volumes of BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT is becoming extremely limited. If the Society had printed a large number of copies, its assets would have now been larger, for it seems clear that in the long run we shall dispose of our stock, and of course the expense of printing a limited number is proportionately far greater than that of a larger number. But a Society, such as ours is, cannot find accommodation for large stocks. So far as our expenses go, the members may be assured that very little is left over of their subscriptions after the printing of



5. PANCHARATNA TEMPLE OF SYAMRAYA AT VISNUPUR.



6. FATH KHAN'S TOMB IN GAUR FORT.



7. JOR-BANGLA TEMPLE OF CHAITANYA AT GUPITPARA, HUGLI.



8. EKLAKHI TOMB AT PANDUA, MALDA.

By the Courtesy of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT has been paid for. Indeed it would not be practicable to venture upon the publication at all were it not for the assured support of the subscriptions and an expectation of a modest sale, and, of course, it would not be possible to bring out these large and fully illustrated numbers if the Society had to maintain what indeed it sorely needs—a paid staff. I venture to mention this as some of our reviewers—too kindly as they usually are—seem to be under the idea that BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT is a professional journalistic venture, and not what it really is—the Journal of a private Society.

SHILLONG:

WALTER K. FIRMINER, B.D., F.R.G.S.

St. Andrew's Day, 1909.



Secretary's Pages.



RESSURE of private business has compelled Mr. Jas. C. Mitchell to resign the post of Honorary Secretary of the Society, and at a meeting held on the 17th September the Council, in accepting Mr. Mitchell's resignation, desired to put on record its appreciation of his services and a vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to him. Mr. Cyril Champkin was elected Honorary Secretary in the place of Mr. Jas. C. Mitchell resigned.

Mr. W. C. Beaumont has sent us the following delightful extract from a little-known book entitled *Fifteen Years in India, or Sketches of a Soldier's Life*, published in London in 1822. The book was published anonymously, but it may be noted that in the Imperial Library Catalogue the author's name is given as R. G. Wallace. The incident referred to in the extract must have occurred (if it is not purely imaginary) in about 1813 or 1814, and the record of it will prove peculiarly interesting to those of our readers who are Freemasons.

*The masonic lodge to which Charles belonged at first consisted chiefly of the tradesmen in the Cossitollah; but a rage for this mystery having taken possession of the civil and military ranks, many of them joined in it, and Dr. Talib became the master, while Mr. Philomath officiated as secretary. The harmonic spirit of masonry, however, was not sufficient to preserve brotherly love in such a heterogeneous mixture; for the civil and military brethren, considering themselves as belonging to a different sphere, were shocked by the vulgarity of the plebeians, who, in return, black-balled the candidates proposed by them, and prevented the introduction of their friends; for, according to a public bye-law in every lodge, should two black balls be found in the ballot for a new member, he is rejected without enquiry; if only one, reasons are to be assigned and investigation had on the subject. Dr. Talib was at the head of the patricians, and Mr. Philomath led the lower orders, when a schism took place. A candidate was proposed, and black-balled as usual; but Dr. Talib being determined to carry his point, assembled his forces on the next night and made a speech, in which he signified the resolution of the majority to proceed in the initiation of the rejected by open force. All the plebeians quitted the lodge; but it was suggested, after the doors had been secured by Philomath, that Dr. Talib

might remove the warrant, and accordingly it was proposed to return for the purpose of guarding that document, without which no lodge could assemble. But the tyler with a drawn sword obstructed the passage. "Cut him down," said one, "with his own weapon." "You may kill me," replied the young civilian very firmly, "but till then, you do not pass here." However, after the business was concluded, they returned into the lodge and found the warrant cut out of the frame. It was then hinted that Dr. Talib had it on his person, and an effort was made to recover the instrument. Philomath, followed by his troops, entered the supper room, where the patricians were handling their knives and forks; "I charge you," said he to the master, "with having stolen the warrant," and he extended his hand towards Talib's breast. "Touch me," cried he grinning most alarmingly, while his loud voice echoed through the green room, "and through your body this shall go," and the knife was raised in air. "And through your body this shall go," shouted all the legion arising from the table; but Philomath retreated in grand style, with his front to danger, though he fully expected a facer from a pupil of Crib, who followed him down the hall showing the attitudes of science to his companions, who burst their sides with laughter, and quaffed their claret with supreme delight. Counsellors Strettel and Fergusson were see'd, and the law restored the warrant.

The "Charles" referred to is "Charles Thoughtless," one of the principal characters in the book (probably I think, the author himself.) He was a man of some education, who enlisted in a British Regiment and came out to India early in the last century. After serving in Southern India for some years, where he was initiated into masonry in a Lodge "belonging to the Madras Artillery" at Seringapatam, he was offered and accepted an appointment in Calcutta as "classical master" in a school kept by a "venerable man" who "belonged to a highly respectable family in the south of Ireland, and had taken his degree as master of arts. From the interest of his connexions he soon obtained a good living as a clergyman; but being of a gay and extravagant turn he fell into embarrassments, and came out in the suite of Lord Macartney to the Cape of Good Hope, where a situation under Government was obtained for him by his lordship, thence proceeding to China. Soon after, however, the Cape was given up to the Dutch and he lost his place, upon which he came out to India in search of patronage. Notwithstanding his ability, elegance of manners, and introduction to men in power, he was unsuccessful, and at length became so entangled by debts to sircars that to avoid a gaol he removed to Chandernagore under French protection, where a widow with some cash was unable to resist his captivating addresses, and surrendered herself without much ceremony. She was a pretty brunette, with all the vivacity of her nation, and several fine children were the

fruits of this unfortunate connexion. With the little fund which she possessed, he freed himself from the sircars in Calcutta, and established a school which promised much wealth. She resided at Chandernagore, and he generally paid her a visit on Saturday; but she came to town occasionally, and he did not scruple to seat her at his table." This "venerable man" dying soon after, "Thoughtless" joined forces with another schoolmaster, Mr. "Philomath," described as "a celebrated mathematical proficient, who held a situation under the Paymaster-General, had involved himself in tribulation with Government by starting extraordinary questions respecting the affairs of the nation, and had embroiled himself with his employer by preferring charges against him, which a committee pronounced not demonstrated. He lost his place, worth £100 per mensem, and purchased a school which he called the Polite Academy.

The "Dr. Talib" referred to in the extract, in addition to "attending the school in the capacity of surgeon," was "editor of one of the newspapers, there being seven at that time in Calcutta; and finding that Charles had a taste for poetry as well as prose, he paid him much attention. Of a very eccentric genius, Dr. Talib sometimes formed tangents from the common sphere of intellect; and about this time he was labouring indefatigably to prove that Adam had addressed Eve in the Arabic language."*

"Thoughtless" ultimately, through the influence of the Marquess of Hastings, was given an ensigncy in the 65th Regiment then serving in Bombay.

It is possible that there are in Calcutta some who still remember Dr. George Buist, LL.D., who died in 1860 and was buried in the Scottish Cemetery, Karyah Road. A correspondent has written to point out that his grave has been allowed to fall into decay. Dr. Buist was a distinguished man in his day and his interest in public affairs is commemorated in an inscription on the fallen tombstone. We are glad to be able to state on the authority of the Senior Chaplain of St. Andrew's Church that the Cemetery Committee are taking steps to restore the memorial.

With reference to the contributions which have appeared in *Bengal: Past and Present* on the life of Major-General Claud Martin, the following extract from a series of articles in the *Statesman* entitled "The Private Life of an Eastern King" is of interest:—

"Let us pass from the Emambarra to Constantia—a whimsical pile of buildings of vast extent erected at a great expense by General Martin, a Frenchman. Having entered the Company's service, towards the end of the last century, as a private soldier, he was afterwards transferred to the

* It is tempting to identify "Dr. Talib" with Dr. Robert Tytler.

army of the Nawab of Oude, and rose step by step to the rank of general, amassing enormous wealth as he rose. He was a prudent and successful cock-fighter; and Saadut Ali, the reigning Nawab of those days, was fond of betting with him. General Martin left £100,000 to found a school for orphan children in Lyons, his birthplace; a similar sum for founding a similar institution in Calcutta; and an amount nearly equal for a third in Lucknow. Each of these institutions is called La Martiniere, as directed by the founder, and all are flourishing and useful. Constantia, his residence, he left to the public as a serai or caravansery. It was called, I was told, after his first love, a French maiden whom he had left behind him in France and who died long before he attained to wealth and honours. To prevent the Nawab from confiscating the building and estate, the General was buried, by his own directions, beneath it; for a Mussulman, however unjust, will respect a grave. His tomb, in a sort of crypt beneath, is shown to visitors. A white marble bust of him stands on a sarcophagus, supported by two figures of sepoys, coloured! The whole is in execrable taste. When the General died, his furniture was sold by auction; and the Company's agent purchased the chandeliers and lustres of Constantia to decorate the Governor-General's palace in Calcutta. They got them a dead bargain, for the King of Oude would not bid against the Company; and the Honourable Company was delighted with its commercial sagacity. No Yankee pedler could have done the thing better. When one has said that Constantia is vast and whimsical, all has been said about it that needs be said. Some part of the grounds reminded me of the gardens of Versailles, particularly a sheet of water in the form of a cross, with groves of clipped trees on either side; but on the whole, although it is apparent that vast sums have been spent to produce the result that one sees before him, yet that result is altogether *bizarre* and wanting in harmony. The courts and fountains are European, the turrets and domes are essentially Asiatic in their character. The rooms have a certain European air about them, whilst the verandahs and the blinds are thoroughly Indian. Extent and incongruity are the characteristics of Constantia."

The accomplished sale of the *Golden Crown* and the conclusion of the experimental sea fishery established by the Government of Bengal recalls the fact that the question of a fish supply for Calcutta occupied the attention of the Government as long ago as 1829, for in April of that year the *Asiatic Journal* contains the following:—

"A proposal for the establishment of a fishery at the mouth of the Hooghley, on an extensive scale, has been put forth at Calcutta, and seems to meet with universal concurrence. An abstract of a pamphlet on the

subject appears in the *Government Gazette* of the 22nd September, containing the results obtained by a Committee formerly (*sic*) appointed by government to investigate into the state of the Calcutta fish market, the report of which committee is considered conclusive as to the following points:—

1stly. That the supply of good and wholesome fish is less than the demand.

2ndly. That the poor classes purchase bad fish at a price which ought to insure a supply of the best.

3rdly. That a great portion of the fish which supplies the Calcutta market is spoiled in the conveyance from distance.

4thly. That the fisherman's condition is wretched; that he derives no advantage from the increased profits on the sale of fish, and cannot therefore be expected to exert himself to supply the market with fish of superior qualities.

5thly. That the average daily price of fish sold in Calcutta is Sa. Rs. 1,780-3-0.

6thly. That the profits on the sale of fish is six annas in the rupee.

7thly. That no combination for the purpose of keeping up the price of fish seem to exist among the holders.

"The pamphlet contains the following calculations:—

"Taking the average of the year, we may calculate on a daily sale of 500 rupees worth of fresh and salt fish. This cannot be considered an extravagant average, when we know that the daily average sale of fresh fish alone in Calcutta is 1,780 rupees worth, and that in addition the sale of imported fish is very great. The average of 500 rupees *per diem* gives an annual sale of 1,82,500 rupees worth.

Sum required to establish the fishing may be estimated at two lacs of rupees, and the monthly expences exceed 10,000 rupees or 1,20,000 *per annum*. This sum deducted from the receipts gives a profit of 62,510, or thirty-one per cent. on the money invested in this speculation."

THE following extracts from contemporary periodicals are of general interest as reflecting upon the affairs of Calcutta during the period 1828-31.

JAN. 14, 1828. CASE OF JOHN ANTONE.—The individual, who is a Portuguese sailor, was convicted on the 20th October, 1826, of the wilful murder of an English sailor. It appeared that the deceased was stabbed in Calcutta, but died in the General Hospital, which was without the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice suspended the execution of the sentence till the authorities in England were consulted. He was now brought

up and discharged; his Majesty having been advised to grant him a free pardon.

PROPOSED ENTERTAINMENT TO THE EARL AND COUNTESS OF AMHERST.—At a meeting at the Town Hall, held on Tuesday, the 8th January, Colonel McCombe, C.B., in the chair, the following resolutions were proposed and passed unanimously:

1st.—That in order to express the sentiments of the security of this settlement on the approaching departure of the Governor-General and his family, a public entertainment be given to his Lordship and the Countess Amherst at the Town Hall on some day as his Lordship shall please to name.

2nd.—That a fancy dress ball and supper without masks, if approved by his Lordship and the Countess Amherst, appears to this meeting to be the most suitable and appropriate entertainment for the occasion.

3rd.—That the Hon'ble Mr. Bayley and Sir C. Metcalfe be requested, with such stewards and subscribers as may desire to attend, to wait upon his Lordship and Countess Amherst at an early date as possible in order to express the sentiments of the meeting and solicit his Lordship and the Countess Amherst to fix a day for the entertainment.

A deputation accordingly waited upon his Lordship and the Countess. The deputation was received with the warmest politeness, and the intended honour gratefully acknowledged; but no day could be fixed, as the final departure of his Lordship, in a great measure, depends on further accounts from home. In the meantime, the sub-committee of decorations, etc., are actively engaged in making preparations for the occasion, and nothing will be wanting to give splendour to the scene.—*Cal. Gov. Gaz.*

MONUMENT AND STATUE TO THE LATE LORD HASTINGS.—The site (*sic*) for the monument and statue to be erected in the honour of the Marquis of Hastings has been fixed upon by the committee, and will be near the iron gate in the inclosure of Tank-square, facing the Government House. It is intended, we believe, that the monument shall be in the form of a temple, built in stone, contrived in such a manner as to protect the marble figure from the corroding influence of the seasons in this climate. Those interested in the subject will be glad to know something of the statue, the sculptor, and the progress that has been made in its execution. The late John Flaxman, Esq., Professor of Sculpture in the Royal Academy, was the artist employed. In June 1826 Mr. Flaxman had almost finished two models for selection. He had sometime before waited on Lord Hastings to obtain a sitting or a cast from his features, but his Lordship was so highly satisfied with the celebrated

bust of himself by Nollehins that he preferred the head of the statue being copied from that. Accordingly the Sculptor proceeded in his work, and made two sketches—both excellent; but the one finally approved was admitted by Mr. Flaxman himself to be the most simple or noble in design. It was a plain figure with a military cloak and a scroll in one hand. The model stands about three feet high, raised upon a square pedestal, which is adorned with allegorical basso relievos. Happily at the period of Mr. Flaxman's death the model of the statue of Lord Hastings was finished, and the workmen had commenced upon one of the most beautifully pure blocks of marbles that we have seen. The same people are completing it who have finished the best efforts of their master, so that there need be no apprehension about it being adequately executed, and worthy of the illustrious personage it is intended to honour. The height of the statue is about seven feet, and together with the embellished pedestal, will stand about twelve.—*Cal. Gov. Gaz.* Feb. 7.

THE PERIODICAL PRESS OF CALCUTTA.—The following statement, which appears in the *John Bull*, of the number of the several newspapers, published at the Presidency, which were sent by the general dawk into the Mofussil, on two distant days last year, taken from the returns of the General Post Office, will serve as a criterion of the quantity of this sort of reading required in the interior, and the comparative rank and estimation of the different papers.

	March.	December.
Government Gazette ...	293	—
John Bull ...	259	261
India Gazette ...	254	257
Bengal Harkaru ...	168	144
Bengal Chronicle ...	158	126

MARINE SCHOOL.—Last evening, Captain Bidden of the Honourable Company's ship *Princess Charlotte of Wales* had the honour of leading forth his "Nautick Band" on the Chowringhee boards, in the comedy of *John Bull*, before the Right Honourable the Governor-General and family, and one of the most brilliant audiences ever witnessed at this theatre. The comedy was played with pretty good effect, making all allowance for "first appearances," etc. Between each act there was a song, in which two young aspirants of the "sock and buskin" evinced great powers and were loudly applauded and encored. The afterpiece was one of the leader's own imagination, entitled *The Patriotic Feast, or the Anniversaries of the Glorious Victories of Corrunna and Bhurtport*, in which he led forth the little sailor lads belonging to the Marine School, for the benefit of which institution our readers are aware the

play was got up. Several transparencies were given in the last scene, before which the boys sung the national anthem, and the curtain fell amid the loudest plaudits at about half past eleven o'clock.

The collection at the doors amounted to 10,000 rupees, which, with donations to the institution, made 26,000.

On the 28th January a deputation composed of six East Indian Gentlemen and headed by Mr. J. W. Ricketts, waited upon Captain Bidden, agreeably to appointment, for the purpose of presenting him with a piece of plate, as a token of their esteem and applause for his laudable exertions in behalf of their marine school.—*Cal. John Bull*, Jan. 19.

LORD AMHERST.—The subscribers to the entertainment proposed to have been given to the Earl and Countess Amherst, and for which preparations on a splendid and magnificent scale suited to the occasion were in a great state of forwardness, will hear with much regret, that his lordship has been obliged to decline this mark of respect and regard from the Society of Calcutta owing to the dangerous illness of his Lordship's daughter, Lady Sarah Amherst. A meeting of the Committee of Management and of the subscribers has been called on Monday morning, the 28th instant, at half past ten, when his lordship's letter to the Committee will be laid before them.—*Cal. John Bull*, Feb. 23.

His lordship and family will, it is said, embark for Europe on the 1st of March, and the *Herald* will be taken down the Bay by the *Interprize* steam vessel, probably to the southward of the line.—*Ibid.* Feb. 25.

AUGUST.

BENGAL CLUB.—At a meeting of the members of the Bengal Club, at the Club House, on the 1st March, the accounts of the treasurers (Messrs. Mackintosh & Co.) were laid before the meeting, approved of and passed. The balance in favour of the club is Sa. Rs. 32,254-14-11. It was resolved that Sir Metcalfe be requested to continue President of the Committee of Management, and that the members of the old Committee be re-elected; also that the undermentioned gentlemen be elected to fill the existing vacancies in the Committee, *viz.*, Major Battine, Edward Trotter, Esq., and Major Fidler. In consequence of the increased number of members, it is in contemplation to rent the present club house for another year.—*Cal. John Bull*.

IMPROVEMENTS AT CALCUTTA.—The continuation of the Strand Road to Garden Reach is likely, we learn, to become a creditable monument of public enterprize and zeal, as well as important assessment and convenience to Calcutta. Permission has been granted by the Government, we understand, to construct the road in the direction proposed, if executed at the charge of

those who take an interest in the project, and who are to be allowed to re-imburse themselves by a toll on carriages and passengers, to be levied at the bridge across the mouth of the nullah. The expense is estimated at about a lac and a half of rupees, and it is proposed to raise the subscriptions in shares of 1,000 rupees each; 60,000 rupees, we hear, have already been subscribed, and we anticipate there will be no difficulty in completing the sum required. It is expected that the outlay will be repaid in the course of five or six years, with a fair rate of interest on the capital. It is needless to expatiate on the advantages that will result to the public from the successful completion of this undertaking, and the valuable addition it will afford to their means of enjoying agreeable and salutary exercise.—*Cal. Gov. Gaz.* Feb. 28.

ANNA POST IN CALCUTTA.—Our readers many remember that we have on more than one occasion advocated the establishment of an anna post in Calcutta, like the two-penny post in London, and they will be pleased to learn that suggestion will be adopted.—*Beng. Chron.*

BOUNTY ON LETTERS IMPORTED INTO CALCUTTA BY SEA.—By the orders of the Government the following rules for the payment of bounty on letters imported into Calcutta by sea are published for general information:—

"For all letters brought from Europe, Africa, America, or from any part in Asia, with which no communication by land is maintained, which letters are liable, on delivery, to the payment of postage, a bounty will be given at the rate of one anna per letter.

"This bounty will be paid to the commander of the vessel equally on all letters, whether addressed to Madras, Bombay, or Calcutta, or to any station under this presidency, with the exception of those letters which are free from the charge of postage.

"In all cases of wilful neglect in the delivery of the packets, the claim to the bounty will be deemed to have been forfeited. General Post Office, Dec. 19, 1827.

POSTAGE OF NEWSPAPERS.—We are glad to see the editor of the *India Gazette* advert to the subject of the heavy postage of newspapers in this country, which he places in a light that cannot fail, we think, to attract notice in the proper manner. We have often said that a more popular and really benevolent, as well as politic, boon could not be conferred by Government on their servants resident in the Mofassil, than furnishing them with what is so essential to the comforts, and consequent public usefulness, of a life of banishment, as the amusement and instruction afforded by the newspapers, but from which many are altogether excluded at present by the excessive

pressure of the postages. Although we cannot, like the Editor of the *India Gazette*, speak from our personal experience of the gratifications afforded to a mofusselite by the lucubrations of the newspaper press, we can easily imagine that they must be such as to induce him to make very great pecuniary sacrifice to attain them, but there is a limit to the ability, however great the desire, and it is surely overstepped when the cost of carriage in many cases double the expense of the newspaper. We have had instances where the mere postage for the year required one month's pay of a lieutenant in the Army to defray it. It is not perhaps, at the close of an administration, that a measure of this kind can be pressed with the greatest propriety, but we are well assured that no new dynasty could open more auspiciously than with an act that would bring the pleasures derived from intellectual recreations within reach of many a public servant who is now bewailing the want of them.—*Cal. John Bull*. Mar. 4.

FIRE.—About the hour of eleven o'clock on Friday night last a very alarming fire broke out in the Durmahutta, which being aided by a mild breeze from the E.S.E. the dry state of the native huts and the very combustible materials (as wood, mats, etc.) with which they were stored, quickly communicated to the neighbouring premises, and rendered the whole of the straw-built houses from the Strand to Clive Street, one immensely awful body of flames; nor did it stop here, for the wind blowing the sparks and pieces of burning wood on the roof and into the windows of a large brick-built house, containing hemp, cordage, and a quantity of cocoanut shells, quickly involved it in the common destruction. One engine arrived at about half-past one, and a second at two, but what from the bad supply of water and the defective state of the pipes, they were able to render little, if any, assistance; and though the officer of the engines made every exertion to remedy these defects, and, if possible, to get the fire under, yet the individual exertion of one elderly man, aided alone by natives, was perfectly insufficient for the performance of a duty which required more coolness, resolution and manual exertion than they are possessed of; for what is to be expected of a race of beings who can look with feelings of despair at their own or with carelessness at the sight of other persons' property consuming, when the least exertion on their part might be the means of saving it? It is a fact incontrovertible that people of this kind are ill-calculated, from the temerity of their character, to make what would be called in London bold firemen. In this instance, however, the exertions of two engines were, and indeed would under any circumstances (coming up at the late hour they did) be unavailing. At the commencement of the fire it was rumoured that there were at least from ten to fifteen engines in Calcutta; but though it

burned with intense fury for six hours, so much as to enable a person to read in Tank Square, and though they were anxiously looked for, none arrived to save the property of those in the immediate vicinity, nor for a long time after the fire began was there more than one police officer to protect it when removed from the flames. It is certain that had persons armed with legal authority been present to superintend the supplies of water, and had even two or more engines arrived within an hour or two after the fire broke out, much valuable property would have been saved.—*Beng. Chron.* Feb. 12.

SIR D. OCHTERLONY.—The subscriptions raised for the purpose of erecting some public testimony of respect to the memory of the late Sir D. Ochterlony amounted to 300,000 rupees. It is said to be intended to erect a column of masonry at the triangular space where the course meets the southern circle of Government House compound. The design, it is reported, evinces much taste.

IMPROVEMENTS.—We understand that nearly 50,000 rupees have already been subscribed by the public for the purpose of carrying into effect the new road to Garden Reach from the Strand, and there remains little more than fourteen shares of 1,100 rupees each to be taken, to enable the Committee to call a meeting of the subscribers, to make arrangements for commencing upon the works. The iron suspension bridge to cross the nallah is daily expected in Calcutta, and we therefore may congratulate the public on the prospect of soon enjoying a well-watered road all the way to the gardens, and on being free from the annoyance they now experience from the dust blowing down the course road.—*Cal. Gov. Gaz.* Mar. 20.

The Committee for superintending the erection of the monument to Sir David Ochterlony has appealed to the public of Calcutta, in consequence of the loss of the greater part of the funds raised for that purpose, which were lodged with the house of Palmer and Co., who had balance of 22,000 rupees in their hands at the time of their failure.* A liberal subscription has accordingly been made for completing the monument.

We may state for the information of the subscribers to the monument in memory of the late Warren Hastings, that steps are now taking by Government to have the statue erected. The vestibule of the Town Hall is where it is to be placed.—*Cal. John Bull.* Aug. 20.

The building in Tank Square for the reception of the statue of the Marquess of Hastings is now far advanced. The massive pillars of stone

* The Ochterlony Memorial was twice even involved by bankruptcies. See *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta*, p. 61.

that are to support the front pediment are arrived, and almost ready to be raised. The bareness of this building, and the want of effect, as an architectural object, have been complained of; but it is scarcely fair to pronounce a judgment until it is seen in its finished state.—*Ibid.* Jan. 1831.

SANATARIUM AT CHURRA POONGEE.*—When we lately referred to the interesting settlement on the Cossya Hills, we promised to make and report its progress, and we are now enabled to communicate some further details respecting it, which upon the whole corroborate the views we formerly presented of the salubrity of the climate. We have now before us letters from Churra Poongee, extending to the 20th of October, up to which period the health of the detachment of artillery stationed there had greatly improved. The detachment, including both officer and men, amounts to forty-two individuals; and it would seem from accounts that have reached us, that they left Dum Dum in a very sickly state in almost every case the removal to the hills has effected a decided improvement. We learn that in addition to the establishment of an invalid station at Churra Poongee, it is projected to form a cantonment for 300 or 400 European troops somewhere in the Cossya Hills, and a survey has been made with a view to fix upon the most eligible spot adapted to such a purpose. Two spots are mentioned as possessing great advantages, one is a fine plain, extending from the hill Chillingdress eastward to Nongkreem, and presenting a surface of about four or five square miles, unbroken by any undulation which could not be easily rendered practicable for wheeled carriages. The altitude is probably about 6,800 feet, and the climate so moderate, that when the place was passed in May 1829, woollen clothes were worn by all the Europeans from choice, though the season was represented by the natives as an ordinary one. In winter there are frosts, but it does not appear that snow ever falls. The second spot is in the plain, about three miles south of Nozemdery crossed by the road between that place and Sunareem. This possesses all the advantages of the former, but is probably a little lower, though not so much so as to be perceptible however; and the access from this spot to Pundua is easier, besides enjoying obvious advantage of health and comfort, as crops in either of these positions would be prepared on emergency to afford a speedy and effectual support to any part of the North-East Frontier. Four marches would carry it to the centre of Assam and the same number in the opposite direction would carry it to the town of Sylhet, while a judicious arrangement of signals or telegraphs would secure

* The real name of this place is Sohra—a Khial word meaning fruitless. The neighbouring village called by the English Serrarium is in reality Sohra-rim, or old Sohra.

a communication with Munnipore and Dacca severally. This establishes the advantages of such a position in a military point of view; and it is important to add that the road between Cherra and the second spot described is even now practicable for cattle lightly laden and doolies, and it could soon be rendered so for guns and wheeled carriages, while the road between Pundua and Chura has also recently been greatly improved. The public buildings are, we learn, completed at Chura Poongee at an expence to Government of about 20,000 rupees. Government, we understand, are disposed to grant leases of land for the purpose of building at a rent of one rupee per beegah.—*May 31.*

STATUE OF WARREN HASTINGS.—The statue to the memory of Warren Hastings has been erected in the landing-place of the Town Hall. It is to be regretted that a more roomy situation could not have been found. There is scarcely one point of view from which it is seen to advantage, and in fact, where it is visible from the public road, passing the Town Hall, the narrowness of the lower arch through which it is seen, takes away much from the effect it might otherwise produce: were it possible to enlarge this arch (it is the middle one, leading out of the verandah), the improvement would in our opinion be very considerable. The statue of the venerable Statesman and Governor-General appears to be of the natural size, and is raised on a marble pedestal, executed in a style of great taste and simplicity. Perhaps the effect produced by the principal figure is somewhat lessened by the proportion which the standing emblematical figure of the Pundit bears to it. This figure is represented with his hand at his chin in meditative posture; the other supporting figure is a munshie setting in the native fashion, with a book between his knees. The artist has forgotten to cover the feet of this figure with the drapery, or rather, in ignorance of the native customs, has exposed the part of one foot intentionally to view.—*Cal. John Bull.* Oct. 12.

OCHTERLONY COLUMN.—A party of twelve sat down to an excellent dinner on the top of the Ochterlony Column on Saturday evening last, at six o'clock. The top of the table was formed of the shaft of the column, their feet above the door of the second gallery, at an elevation of 145 feet above the level of the surrounding plain, and the seats were disposed around in the gallery itself, which was temporarily but securely surrounded with a railing for the occasion: after the removal of the cloth, many appropriate toasts and sentiments were uttered, and the enlivening song and merry jest were in as much demand, and as promptly forthcoming, as the sparkling wines, which the entertainer had plentifully provided for his guests. The party broke up at

9 o'clock; rather reluctantly, it is true, owing to the earliness of the hour; but the novel and precarious situation occupied by the company rendered a timely retreat a measure of prudence, although, when it is stated that the majority, say three-fourths, were canny Scotchmen, it will be admitted that they might have safely remained until the "wee short hour agant the twal," and "gane their way hame safer after a."—*Bengal Chron.*

NAVIGATION BY HORSE POWER.—We have heard that there is now, at the Mazagon dockyard, a vessel which has lately been built there, under the direction of a gentleman of this presidency, which is to be propelled by the power of horses, and which it is expected will be completed during this month: a trial has lately been made with eight horses, the particulars of which have not yet transpired.—*Sumnercher*, Aug. 23.

IMPROVEMENTS.—We are happy to state that the lower part of the piers for the new bridge at the entrance into Tolly's Nullah has been successfully completed and that the masonry has been raised above high-water mark, so as to admit of the further progress of the work during the present rains. The Strand Road to Garden Reach has been nearly completed on both sides of the road. The highest praise, we learn, is due to Captain Baker, who has had to contend with difficulties of no ordinary character in the foundation of the piers such as were declared by many persons of experience to be insurmountable. His unwearied zeal and persevering exertion in personally superintending the work which he was frequently obliged to carry on for nights together by torchlight, have enabled him to overcome all obstacles. We are informed that Captain Baker has engaged to complete the bridge within a few months from the present time, provided the necessary funds are immediately placed at his disposal, and as it is of the utmost consequence that no delay should now occur on proceeding with the superstructure, the subscribers are about to be called on for the remaining half of their subscription. The amount of unrealised subscription is 54,000 sicca rupees, of which about 40,000 are payable by resident inhabitants of Calcutta, and as the estimate for completing the work is 45,000 sicca rupees, the collection of the subscriptions already made will be sufficient for the execution of this splendid improvement within the time limited. It is found, however, that the collection will not realise so much as the amount of the estimate; and any who have not yet aided this important work have still an opportunity of giving it their Support.—*Ind. Gaz.*, Aug. 16.

IN Vol. II, No. 2 of *Bengal: Past and Present* Mr. K. N. Dhar, B.A., of the Imperial Library, wrote to controvert a statement made in an article in the *Pioneer* that "the only known portrait extant" of Sir David Ochterlony "is Bishop Heber's description of him, etc." Mr. Dhar, in support of his contention, gave a list of the known portraits of the distinguished General. In addition to those mentioned by Mr. Dhar, there is also a full length life-size portrait of the General in uniform, painted by Reinagle, in the Dining-Room of the Oriental Club, where it forms a companion picture to that of Sir James Rivett Carnac by Pickersgill. Sir David's portrait is presumably either a copy or an enlargement, as it was not painted until 1836, some years after his death. Reinagle, who was an academician of some note, also painted portraits for the Oriental of Sir Thomas Munro and Sir Herbert Compton.

IN connection with the Oriental Club pictures, Mr. W. C. Beaumont writes expressing the hope that in the new History of Government House, Calcutta, on which Mr. Cloughton is at present engaged, the injustice done to the Oriental Club unwittingly no doubt by Colonel Durand, in his "Descriptive List of Pictures at Government House," will be suitably atoned for. In the Government House Collection are two portraits, one of Lord Metcalfe and the other of the Marquess of Hastings—which are described as "Painted by J. Hayes." Both pictures are copies of originals in the possession of the Oriental Club, painted respectively by F. R. Say and Samuel Lane. Colonel Durand has, moreover, added insult to injury in the case of Lord Metcalfe's portrait by stating that "a copy of this picture by F. Say is in the Oriental Club"! As a matter of fact the copies for Government House were made "by kind permission of the Committee of the Oriental Club" in response to a request from the Court of Directors of the H. E. I. Co., Lord Dalhousie having called their attention, in a Minute dated 15th February 1856, to "the poor array of portraits of public men, which the walls of the Council Chamber display" (*Vide "The Oriental Club and Hanover Square"* by Alexander F. Baillie).

THE following letter regarding the grave of the celebrated Madame Grand appeared recently in the press:—

MADAME GRAND'S GRAVE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "STATESMAN."

SIR,—A French gentleman from Chandernagore, who was in Paris last July, visited the Montparnasse cemetery which contains, among the graves of other famous people, the last restingplace of that celebrated lady who, as Madame Grand, played a romantic part in the social life of Calcutta 130 years ago.

Readers of Busteed's delightful *Echoes from Old Calcutta* do not need to be reminded of the story of her life. To them, as well as to others who have a bowing acquaintance, so to speak, with Madame la Princesse de Talleyrand, it may be interesting to learn the following facts about her grave which were communicated to me by the above-named gentleman.

A writer, well-known in Calcutta, thus described the interesting spot some years ago :—

Overgrown with nettle-grass,
Lies your grave at Montparnasse,
Now without a date or name,
Head abashed as if in shame;
But, in regions of the Blest,
Venus of the East and West
Still you hold your Court above
For sad souls who die of love

Busteed corroborates this in the fourth edition of his "Echoes." Alas ! for the fickleness of what we call fame. Not the vestige of a crumbling stone remains to mark the original grave. A low iron railing encloses the bare spot where the monument once stood. Hard by is a wild creeper from which my informant gathered a few petals as a memento.

The following useful information for identifying the grave is supplied to all visitors on an official ticket :—

République Française.
Liberté—Egalité—Fraternité.
Cimetière Parisien,
de Montparnasse.
Situation de Sépulture,
Nom—Princesse de Talleyrand née Worlée, Catherine Noël.
Date du décès. . . 10 X bre 1835. [No. 87 rue de Lille].
2e Division 1 re Section.
7e Ligne Nord.
No. 16 par l'Ouest.
Préfecture de la Seine, Direction des Affaires Municipales, 6 Bureau.
Yours etc.,
A. Lx.

WILL correspondents please note that all communications should be addressed to the Honorary Secretary, 38, Dalhousie Square, unless containing matter for insertion in *Bengal : Past and Present*, contributions to which should be forwarded direct to the Rev. Walter K. Firminger, Shillong Vicarage, Assam.

CYRIL CHAMPKIN,
Honorary Secretary.

NEW MEMBERS.

NAMES.	ADDRESSES.
Minet, J. B.	393, Bow Bazar Street.
Macdonochie, Capt. G. W., I.M.S.	Cannanore.
Macpherson, The Hon. Mr. W. C.	Darjeeling.
Watson, A. W.	United Service Club, Calcutta.
Robinson, Sir Ernest W., Bart.	Purneah P.O., E.B.S.R.
Pyari Mohan Das	Sonamunga P.O., Sylhet.
Mackenzie, D. F.	Collingwood Grange, Camberley, Surrey.
Topping, A.	2, Clive Ghat Street.
Irvine, W.	Hallercroft, 49 Castleman, Barnes.
The Hon. Secretary, E.B.S.R. Institute	Sealdah.
Hodson, Lieut. V., I.A.	H.E. The Viceroy's Bodyguard.
Horniman, B. G.	3, Chowringhee.
Dewar, D., I.C.S.	20, Queen's Road, Allahabad.

BENGAL: PAST & PRESENT.

(JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.)

PRICE, RS. 5:

TO BE HAD OF THE PUBLISHERS, 300, BOWBAZAR STREET, MESSRS.
W. NEWMAN & CO., DALHOUSIE SQUARE, MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK
& CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, R. CAMBRAY & CO., 6, HASTINGS
STREET, ARMY AND NAVY STORES, CHOWRINGHEE, OR
THE HONORARY SECRETARY, 28, DALHOUSIE
SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

VOL. V.

APRIL-JUNE, 1910.

No. 11.

CONTENTS:

	PAGE.
XV. SOME MORE PRINTS OF OLD CALCUTTA. <i>George Lyell</i> ...	231
XVI. RAJA SITARAM RAY. <i>J. N. Samaddar</i> ...	236
XVII. MEMOIRS OF COLONEL THOMAS DEANE PEARSE ...	244
XVIII. THE EARLY DAYS OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY. <i>A. de Cosson</i> ...	261
XIX. JOHN O'DONNELL AND THE CRUISE OF THE "DEATH OR GLORY." <i>W. K. Firminger</i> ...	273
XX. LIST OF MONUMENTS OF HISTORIC, LITERARY AND GENERAL INTEREST IN LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD CEMETERY. <i>E. W. Madge and G. O'Connell</i> ...	309
XXI. BAPTISMS AT CALCUTTA, 1759-1766. <i>W. K. Firminger and E. W. Madge</i> ...	325
XXII. SOME FRESH LIGHT ON THE SECOND MRS. HASTINGS AND HER FAMILY. <i>Sydney C. Grier</i> ...	333
XXIII. A NOTE IN WARREN HASTING'S HANDWRITING ...	339
XXIV. SOME FURTHER NOTES TO THE ILLUSTRATIONS. ...	341
XXV. THE FOUNDER OF CHANDERNAGORE. <i>W. Irvine and A. Lehuvaux</i> ...	342
XXVI. LEAVES FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK. <i>W. K. Firminger</i> ...	346
XXVII. GENERAL NOTE BOOK. ...	373
XXVIII. SECRETARY'S PAGES. <i>Cyril Champkin</i> ...	379
XXIX. SOME TRANSACTIONS OF THE SOCIETY ...	391
XXX. PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ...	397

PRINTED BY D. L. MONRO AND PUBLISHED BY THE CALCUTTA GENERAL
PRINTING COMPANY, AT THE EDINBURGH PRESS, 300, BOWBAZAR
STREET, CALCUTTA, FOR THE PROPRIETORS.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
A VIEW OF CHIRIKURAH	W. Hodge. 231
Ditto CHITTERA	W. Hodge. 231
Ditto TANK SQUARE, CALCUTTA	W. Hallie. 232
SOUTHERN VIEW OF COUNCIL HOUSE AND GOVERNMENT HOUSE	W. Hallie. 232
WEST VIEW OF CALCUTTA	J. Moffat. 233
NORTH-WEST VIEW OF CALCUTTA FROM HOWRAH	J. Moffat. 233
VIEW OF BARRACKPORE HOUSE	J. Moffat. 234
VIEW OF THE LOIL BAZAR	J. B. Frazer. 234
CALCUTTA FROM THE OLD COURSE	C. D'Oyley. 235
CALCUTTA FROM FORT WILLIAM 1807	S. Davis. 235
RUINS OF THE PALACE, MUHAMMADPUR ... ..	... 237
THE TEMPLE, MUHAMMADPUR ... ..	... 243
THE OPENING OF THE E. I. RAILWAY. VIEW OF CEMENT AT BILDWAN ... ..	... 261
SARASWATI BRIDGE NEAR HUGHLI, 1853 ... ..	... 263
APPEAL BETWEEN RAILWAY ENGINEERS AND SONTRAL REBELS ... ..	... 265
DEFENCE OF THE WATER TANK AT BHARWARI ... ..	... 266
HOUSE AT AKRAH AS FORTIFIED. SKETCH BY SIR V. EYRE. ... ..	... 271
LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD CEMETERY. ... ..	... 278
GRAVE OF H. L. V. DEKOZIO, SOUTH PARK STREET CEMETERY ... ..	... 279
MONUMENT TO THE WIFE OF CAPT. (afterwards General) SIR V. EYRE ... ..	... 281
Ditto TO SIR W. H. MACRAGHTEN, BART. ... ..	... 281
Ditto TO MR. JUSTICE J. P. NORMAN ... ..	... 281
Ditto TO THE RT. HON. MR. JAMES WILSON ... ..	... 281
THE SECOND MRS. WARREN HASTINGS	Schlotterbeck. 283
SEALS OF THE CHAPUZET FAMILY ... ..	... 283
MADAME CHAPUZET DE ST. VALENTIN ... ..	... 284
J. P. T. CHAPUZET DE ST. VALENTIN	Schlotterbeck. 285
WARREN HASTINGS	John Jones—Engraving. 286
SHAH JELALI'S MOSQUE ... ..	... 290
WARREN HASTINGS	Unknown. 291
TITLE PAGE AND DEDICATION OF WM. ANDERSON'S FOUR SERMONS ... ..	... 295
MRS. MARY CARY ... ..	... 295
GROUP OF TEMPLES AT DHAKINESHAR	Do. 298
WARREN HASTINGS' GHAT, RIVERA	Photo by F. Brady. Hist. C.S. 298
ROSE AYLMER'S TOMB	Photo by C. F. Harper. 299





W. Holger.

A VIEW OF CHINSURA, THE DUTCH SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL.



W. Holger.

A VIEW OF THE CHUTTRA, BUILT BY JAFFIER CAWN AT MUXADAVA.

Some More Prints of Old Calcutta.

(Continued from Vol. III P. 310.)



BEFORE the time of the Daniells, referred to in a previous article under above heading which appeared in our number of April 1909, William Hodges, R.A., visited India, and on his return to England published a series of aquatint views of India, entitled *Select Views in India Drawn on the Spot 1780-83* with descriptive text. This is perhaps the very earliest series of Aquatints dealing with India, and although none of them actually relate to Calcutta itself there are several pictures of places in the immediate vicinity, including a view of Chinsura, and one or two of Moorshedabad, Monghyr, etc., which are here reproduced.

William Hodges was the son of a blacksmith who kept a small shop in Clare market. In 1772 he was appointed draughtsman to Captain Cook's second expedition. Retiring after three years he was engaged by the Admiralty in completing his drawings and in superintending the engraving of them.

About 1778 he went to India under the patronage of Warren Hastings, and during the next five years he painted many pictures of Bengal scenery for that gentleman and also for Augustus Cleveland, Collector and Judge of the Districts of Bhagulpore, Monghyr and Rajmehal after whose death in 1784 some twenty of Hodges' paintings were sold—all being views in these districts and many of which are included in his engraved work. This was printed for the author in London in 1786 and contains 48 plates all drawn and engraved by himself. Mr. Martin Hardie in his *English Coloured Books* writes regarding Hodges' work.—"His sketches are bold and coloured by hand with a freedom that makes them practically original water colours. The colouring indeed serves to suppress rather than employ and accentuate the aquatint ground."

Coloured copies of this work are somewhat scarce, but are the only ones worth having, the uncoloured (printed in sepia) being little more than a basis to work on in colouring, on which their artistic value principally depends. The prints reproduced are—

A View of Chinsura the Dutch settlement in Bengal
and

A View of the Chuttera built by Jaffier Cawn at Muxadavad.

Chinsura is referred to in the descriptive text as "the residence of the Dutch Governor and his Council remarkable for the pleasantness

of its situation and its healthiness. There is a fort, and within that the Factories of the Dutch East India Company." And regarding the Cuttara built by Jaffier Cawn, the author writes:—

"This building was erected by Jaffier Cawn, Nabob of Bengal, in the early part of the present century, who, for the mildness of his manners, love of learning and strict attention to justice, was the most popular noble who ever held the office in Bengal under the Mogul Government. Muxadabad was the fixed seat of his residence and to which place he invited men of talent. This building has the appearance of a Monastic institution, each of the lesser domes covering a small room or cell, which was inhabited by a religious or learned person. The building originally was a large square surrounded by these apartments, now greatly gone to decay."

It is interesting to compare this old print with the photograph of the "Ruins of the Khatra Musjid, Murshidabad" appearing in the July (1909) number of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

Hodges was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1786 and R.A. in the following year. He died at Brixham near Torquay in 1797, in his 54th year.

WM. BAILLIE, CALCUTTA.

Following on the series of views by Thos. Daniell, which were reproduced in the Journal for April last, there appeared in 1794 a set of 12 views drawn by Wm. Baillie of Calcutta.

The proposals for the publication of these views appeared in the advertisement columns of the *Calcutta Gazette* of 29th May 1794 and they are described as "executed in the manner of stained Drawings."

They are etchings on copper, afterwards coloured by hand, and were published in four parts, each consisting of three plates, within paper covers—"price to subscribers five gold mohurs and to non-subscribers sicca rupees ninety-six the set."

Several of this series are taken from the same point of view as those already referred to by Thos. Daniell. They are well drawn and give a very good idea of the Calcutta of the period. The following are the views reproduced here—

View of Tank Square, Calcutta, from the East
and

South View of the Council House and Government House, Calcutta.

Wm. Baillie published in 1792 a copy, on a reduced scale, of Wood's "Survey of Calcutta," copies of which were obtainable "at the Free School," and in his advertisement of 29th May 1794 he describes himself as "Superintendent" of that school. He also published "Eight views of the Ruins of



W. Bullis, 1796.

VIEW OF TANK SQUARE, CALCUTTA, FROM THE EAST.



W. Bullis, 1796.

SOUTH VIEW OF THE COUNCIL HOUSE AND GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.



WEST VIEW OF CALCUTTA, 1805.

J. Moffat.



NORTH-WEST VIEW OF CALCUTTA, FROM HOWRAH.

J. Moffat.

Gour and Rajmehal" (subscription price Rs. 50), and his address was then given as 13, Chitpore Road. Perhaps some of your readers can tell us something more about Wm. Baillie. Was he a schoolmaster or a bookseller and publisher?

JAMES MOFFAT, CALCUTTA.

About this time and for some years afterwards there were published in Calcutta from time to time several series of views in India, drawn and engraved by J. Moffat. I have three of these series, engraved in aquatint and finished in monochrome, dating from 1803 to 1810. There are only two plates of Calcutta, *viz.*, West View of Calcutta (1805) and N-E. View of Calcutta from Howrah, which, with one of "Barrackpore House," are here reproduced. This latter building I understand was erected by the Marquess of Hastings so that the date of the plate may probably be taken as between 1815 and 1820. There is no date on the engraving.

I have not been able to trace this artist. He was probably an amateur and as his subjects are taken from all over India—from Hurdwar to Tellicherry and Vizagapatam—and include many Ports, Cantonments, etc., such as Monghyr and Berhampore, it is probable he may have been in the Military service of the E.I. Co. Perhaps some of your readers may know something about him. There is a coloured aquatint by him of Government House, Calcutta, in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection, and there may be seen in the vestry of St. John's Church a print by him entitled "A Distant View of St. John's Church from the S.-W."

THOMAS AND WILLIAM DANIELL'S "ORIENTAL SCENERY."

Between 1795 and 1808 were published the six sections of Thos. and Wm. Daniell's great work "Oriental Scenery" (144 Plates and 9 Plans)—"the finest work ever published on India." The six plates relating to Calcutta have already been reproduced and are so well known I need not again refer to them here. Accompanying these prints was an octavo volume of descriptive text.

JAS. BAILLIE FRASER.

I now come to the series of 24 coloured aquatints of Calcutta and environs engraved from sketches by Jas. Baillie Fraser and published in London in 1824 and 1826.

Fraser (1783-1856) was a great traveller and writer—also an amateur artist. In 1813 he accompanied his brother Wm. Fraser (afterwards Resident at Delhi and shot by Kareem Khan at the instance of the Nawab of Ferozepore, a full account of which is given in Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, London 1844) in an extended tour in the Himalayas

and wrote an account of the journey in his "Journal of a Tour through Part of the Snowy Range, etc.," to illustrate which he published at the same time "Twenty views of the Himalaya Mountains, London 1820."

It was probably about 1818, after his return from this tour, that he visited Calcutta, but the publication of the views did not commence until 1824. They were issued in eight parts of three plates each in covers. The first three parts were issued by Rodwell and Martin of New Bond Street in 1824 and the remaining parts by Smith Elder & Co. in 1826.

All of the early issues of these plates were *dated*, but there are now many undated, and what appear to be late impressions, in circulation, some coloured and some in monochrome, but a complete set of the early impressions is somewhat difficult to obtain. The series is an interesting one although the colouring of some of the plates is not altogether pleasing.

Attention may be drawn to the plate here reproduced, showing the house of Palmer & Co. in Lall Bazaar, now the Calcutta Police office. John Palmer was the "Merchant Prince of Calcutta," but the firm came to grief in the great financial crisis of 1830-35 which swept away nearly all of the European Firms of that day.

SIR CHARLES D'OYLY, CALCUTTA (1781-1845).

"Views in Calcutta and its environs, London 1848," are well known plates of Calcutta views lithographed from sketches by Sir Charles D'Oyly probably made about 1830. This work was published in London in 1848, some years after D'Oyly's death, which took place in Florence in 1845. His father was Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, Bart., of the H.E.I. Co.'s service, a friend of Warren Hastings, who also took an interest in the son and secured for him a nomination in the service. The latter succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1818. Charles D'Oyly was an excellent artist and he had his own lithographic press at Bhagulpore from which issued many of his sketches and those of other amateurs. But his largest work was published in London after his death and contains some 27 large plates, beautifully coloured by hand. These, like the coloured edition of Hodges work, are much more rare in the coloured than in the uncoloured state and any copies which may now come to sale fetch a good price.

These drawings were probably made about 1830 and many of the scenes depicted have not altered much from that day to this. The large peepul tree and masonry sentry box shown in the picture reproduced are still, I believe in existence.

Bishop Heber in his *Narrative of a Journey thro' the Upper Provinces of India, 1828* refers to Sir Charles D'Oyly as one of the finest amateur artists he had ever met.



VIEW OF BARRACKPORE HOUSE ON THE RIVER HOUGHLY.

J. Moffat.



A VIEW OF THE LOH BAZAAR, FROM OPPOSITE THE HOUSE OF JOHN PALMER, ESQ.

J. B. Finlay.



C. Doyle.

CALCUTTA FROM THE OLD COURSE.



Painted by S. Davis.

A VIEW OF CALCUTTA FROM FORT WILLIAM, 1807.

Engraved by J. Doherty.

SAMUEL DAVIS (1760-1819).

An interesting view of "Calcutta from Fort William" is that by Samuel Davis which is here reproduced. This is from a large coloured aquatint by C. Dubourg from a painting by Davis, which formed one of a series of engravings of Indian subjects published 1805-1807.

Samuel Davis is referred to in Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography* where it is stated that he went to Bengal as an Officer of Engineers. He accompanied Turner's Embassy to Thibet in 1783, but he himself never got beyond Bhutan, where he remained about six months and made many sketches of that country. Some of these were afterwards engraved by Wm. Daniell and published under the title of "Views in Bhootan." Samuel Daniell, a younger brother of William Daniell, has been confused with Samuel Davis as the author of these sketches, but Samuel Daniell never was in India. He was first in South Africa and afterwards in Ceylon, where he died in 1811. Redgrave in his *Dictionary of Artists of the English School* makes this mistake and so did the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but in the new edition of this work the error has been corrected. In the preface to the *Oriental Annual* of the year in which some of these Bhootan engravings appear (1838 or 1839 I think) it is clearly stated that they are from sketches by Samuel Davis.

Davis was afterwards admitted to the E.I. Co.'s service and was at Benares when Wazir Ali, the deposed Nawab of Oude, revolted and killed Mr. Cherry, the Governor-General's Agent. He then attacked Davis, who however managed to defend himself and family by taking up a position, pike in hand, at the top of the staircase leading to the roof, which he successfully maintained until rescued. A full account of this is given in *Wazir Ali Khan; or the Massacre of Benares—a Chapter of British India History—1844*.* Davis afterwards became a Director of the E.I. Co. and died in 1819.

HORSELL LODGE,
WOKING, SURREY,
January 1910.

GEORGE LYELL



* On consult Thacker's *Guid to Calcutta* P. 103.

Raja Sitaram Ray.



IN the issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. II., No. 4, 1908) appears the following note.—“How full of interest, for instance, would be a visit to Muhammadpur—the great quadrangular enclosure in which stood the Fortress and Palace of Raja Sitaram Ray. By the year 1896 the ruins of the Palace had become inaccessible owing to the dense jungle growth: how things stand at the present day I cannot tell, but if a visit on the part of our Society were to serve to bring about a rescue of these Monuments of ancient Bengal from sheer destruction, we should have very good cause for congratulation.”

The Editor makes other comments in the Volume referred to about the architectural exploits of Sitaram, and the object of this article is to supplement those remarks by a brief account of the life of this Bengal hero.

Some questions naturally arise in our minds when we read of his career. If Raja Sitaram Ray was not indeed a mythical personage was he really a hero or only a dacoit? When did he exist, what were his military triumphs, and how is it that so little is known of his exploits?

Mr. Stuart (*History of Bengal*) characterises Sitaram as a dacoit. He may or may not have been a hero in the truest sense of the word, but the legends associated with Muhammadpur, and the temples and ruins which exist in such profusion indicate something more than the activities of a mere robber-chief.

The date of Sitaram's birth, like that of many other Indian heroes is largely a matter of conjecture. Mr. Westland fixes the date of his death “at the very latest about 1764,” but there appears to be little evidence in support of this when one reads Long's *Selections from the Records of Government*, Vol. I., page 361 where may be found a letter from the Nawab to the English Governor of Calcutta under date the 18th November 1764, from which we quote:—

“I have had the pleasure to receive your letter wherein you write that Mr. Rose, an English Merchant,* was going in a boat with some money and goods; that the boat people murdered him near Backergunge, seized the money and goods and took shelter in the zemindari of Sitaram; that you enclosed me an account of the money and goods that were plundered; that I should write

* (Rose was, I believe, an agent for Warren Hastings, timber business.—Ed., *Bengal: Past and Present*.)



RUINS OF THE PALACE, MOHAMMADPUR.

to the Naib of Dacca to make the zemindar refund and to take such vigorous measures that those parts may be entirely cleared of robbers and murderers. Sir, agreeably to your desire, I have written an order to Syed Mahomed Reza Khan, and I forthwith send it open for your perusal; you will be pleased to forward it."

Again, at pp. 387-388 and 389 in a letter from the Governor to the Nawab, dated the 14th November 1764, this matter is referred to.

"I have already, by word of mouth, represented to you that as Mr. Rose, an English gentleman, was travelling in a boat with some money and goods, the boat people murdered him near Backergunge and carried away the money and goods and took shelter in the zemindari of Sitaram. In order to enquire into this affair I sent an Englishman to the said zemindar, but he would not regard him," etc.

The name of Sitaram is invariably connected with Dayaram, the ancestor of the house of Dighapatiya. The late Babu Kisori Chand Mitra in an article on "The Rájás of Rajsháhi"* stated that Dayaram headed the successful expedition sent to apprehend Sitaram and was on that account created Rai Rayan by the Nawab, and the name of Dayaram occurs also in Long's *Records* in a letter to "Mirza Eritch Cawn" Naib of Murshidabad from the Governor, under date 10th January 1764 :—

"At this time I am informed, by a letter from Mr. Williamson at Cosimbazar Factory, that a hundred maunds of silk belonging to the Company were coming from Rampur Bholeah to the said Factory, but were stopped by Dayaram, the zemindar of Rajshahye on the occasion of the troubles breaking out, and that one Radha Kissen, an officer of yours, has taken the said silk from the zemindar into his own possession and has not yet sent it to the Factory."

If the above statements are to be accepted, it would appear that Sitaram was living in 1764, a year before the granting of the Dewani. On the other hand a reference to the inscription on the Temple of Kali (*Vide Bengal: Past and Present*, October 1908, p. 514) may be noted here as being of interest in this connection:—

"*Mah, bhujá, rasa, Ksháuni Sháke Dasabhuji, alayam*
Akari Shri, Sitarama rayena Mandiram."

This Sloka requires some explanation. It may be translated "In the year of the era called Sak, earth-arms-tastes-earth, this temple, the abode of Dasabhuja, was built by Sitaram Ray." The Sak era commenced in 78

* *Calcutta Review*. Vol. LVI., p. 8, January 1783.

A. D. The date is given in enigma, by the words, Earth, Arms, Tastes, Earth which is thus explained :—

Earth.—Stands for one, for there is only one earth.

Arms.—Means two, for man has two arms.

Tastes.—Hindus enumerate six tastes (pungent, sour, saline, bitter, acid and sweet).

Earth.—As above represents one.

The date is therefore 1-2-6-1 or as written with the largest denomination first 1621 Saka. This year began in April 1699. (Westland, *Jessore*, p. 32, 2nd Edn.)

There is another such inscription on the temple of Lakshi Narayan which reads :—

"*Lakshminarayana Sthithai tark'akshi'rāsa'bhu Sake*

Nirmitham pitrī'puny'arthyam Sitaramena Mandiram"

i.e. "For the abode of the Lakshi Narayan, in the year of Sak Logic-eye-taste-Earth, this temple was built by Sitaram for the sake of the beatitude of his father."

The explanation is :—

Logic.—There are six systems of Logic.

Eye.—Eyes always go by twos.

Taste.—There are six tastes.

Earth.—Stands for one.

Reading the figures as before, we have the date 1626 of the Sak era which commenced in April 1704. The inscription on the temple of Krishna places the date in 1703.

Apart from this enigmatic evidence we may consider another fact. If 1764 or 1765 is the correct date, either Meer Jaffar or Nezamad Dowlah was Governor or Nawab of Bengal. The *firman* or the *sanad* granted to Sitaram testifies clearly to the *regime* of Murshid Khuli who occupied the *guddee* of Bengal from 1704 to 1725.*

In fact, we cannot come to a precise conclusion as regards the date of this hero's exploits. The version given by Stuart in his *History of Bengal* is certainly to be discredited, and on the whole we are tempted to accept Mr. Westland's version unsupported as it is by reliable records.

Mr. Stuart thus speaks of Sitaram† :—

"It is related, that a person of an illustrious family, named Syed Aboo Turab, through the interest of one of the Vizirs, obtained the

* Since writing the above I have seen an original of a *sanad* granted to Jada Majumder, the Diwan of Sitaram which bears the date 25th Bahak 1114. This date corresponds roughly with 1707 A. D. These temples and grants must have been made when Sitaram was in power and to take 1764 as the date of his death would be to assume rather a lengthy period of power.

† *History of Bengal*, pp. 239 et seq. (1847 Edn.)

office of Foujedar of Bhoosnah in Bengal, adjacent to which resided a refractory zemindar named Sitaram, who kept in his pay a band of robbers. With these he used to infest the roads and plunder the boats on the rivers, and even carry off the cattle from the villages setting at defiance the power of the Foujedar :—to extirpate this public depredation, Abu Turab, applied for assistance to the Nawab, but, instead of affording him the required aid, he was supposed in an underhand manner, to countenance and encourage Sitaram."

"At length the Foujedar, finding he had nothing to expect from the governor, took into his own pay an Afgan officer, named Peer Khan, with 200 of his followers, well mounted and armed and sent him to beat up the quarters of the depredator; but Sitaram, having intelligence of the circumstance, moved to another part of the country, where by chance he fell in with the Foujedar, who was amusing himself in hunting and attended by a very small escort. The robbers immediately attacked Foujedar and his party and before their chief came up, killed Abu Turab. When Sitaram found that it was the Foujedar he had slain, he was very distressed and told his followers that the Nawab would certainly avenge the insult offered to his government by slaying them alive and by desolating the pergunna of Mahamoodabad: he then respectfully delivered the body to the Foujedar's attendants, who carried it to Bhoosnah and interred it in the vicinity of the town.

"When the Nawab received intelligence of the murder of Abu Turab, he was greatly alarmed, being apprehensive of having incurred the displeasure of the Emperor by his neglect of so respected a person, whom he knew had many friends about the court who would not fail to represent the state of the case. He, therefore, appointed Bukhsh Aly Khan to succeed the deceased and sent with him a considerable force with instruction to seize Sitaram and all his party. Orders were also issued to all the neighbouring zemindars to assist in seizing the offender; and they were informed that if he was allowed to make his escape through any of their districts, they would be expelled from their lands and suffer other grievous punishments. These orders had an instantaneous effect: the zemindars raised their *posse comitatus* and hemmed the robbers on every side until Bukhsh Ali Khan arrived, who seized Sitaram, his children and accomplices, and sent them in irons to Murshidabad, where Sitaram and the

robbers were impaled alive and the children and women sold as slaves."

This is the "romance" as given by Stuart, but with all deference, we cannot accept this version without some reserve. Mr. Westland rightly observes that "The tanks and temples and rivers at Muhammadpur consist far better with the local legend than with the Muhammadpur account." There appears, however, no valid reason for discrediting the statement that the robbers were impaled alive, for some of the Nawabs at that time were known to have resorted to this form of punishment in the case of zemindars who were irregular in their payment of revenue, and it is therefore quite possible that it was adopted towards those who tried to set up an independent sovereignty.¹

The more probable story is that given by Mr. Westland, which although based on legend, is generally corroborated by fact.²

In Bengal, at this time there were 12 provinces (*Baro Bhuyas* as the term is in Bengalee) and the rulers who were semi-independent were rather remiss in remitting their revenues to the Badshah or to his Nawab. Now to bring these refractory zemindars within control—as Mr. Westland says—or to subdue a Pathan Chief who had rebelled at Fateyabad, Sitaram was sent (either by the Emperor or by Shaista Khan, the then Nawab of Bengal) with an army. He was successful and as a reward for his victory was given the *Naldipurganna*³ as a Jaigir. Sitaram, however, was not the man to remain satisfied with this pittance, so he went to Delhi and represented to the Emperor the lawlessness of the provinces of Bengal. Aurangzeb was pleased to grant him a *firman* and to confer upon him the title of King. Sitaram then came to Murshidabad and paid the customary *Nazar* to Murshid Kuli Khan, who, in his turn, granted him another *firman*, exempting him from payment of revenue for the next few years. Sitaram then returned and began to build the town of Muhammadpur. Opinions vary as to the origin of this name. Mr. Westland says, "at the place where Sitaram desired to build his house, he found that an old Mahomedan Fakir, Muhammad Khan, had established himself. Sitaram desired him to leave the place, but he declared that he would sooner be killed. However, on being pressed he consented to go, provided his name were left as the name of the place: and therefore Sitaram gave his new city the name of Muhammadpur." This is, of course, legendary. It is also said that a Fakir, by name Muhammad Ali, was a

¹ [See Cotton, *Revenue History of Calcutta*. Appendix.—Ed., *Bengal: Past and Present*.]

² I have added details wherever I have thought necessary and have pointed out wherever I have differed from Mr. Westland. Mr. Westland's account was based on legend and therefore requires some supplement.

³ The *Naldi Perganna* is now in the possession of the well-known zemindars of *Pailpurs*.

benefactor of Sitaram, and as Sitaram was trying to set up an independent Hindu Kingdom, the Fakir in order to attract Mahomedan citizens and thus to show the spirit of toleration, advised Sitaram to name it after the Prophet. It may be added that the late novelist Rai Bankim Chander Chatterjee Bahadur in his novel "Sitaram" adopts this view.¹

A word as to the selection of this place. Tradition has it that Sitaram's father Udayanarayan was one day riding when the hoofs of his horse stuck in the mud. He dug open the spot and finding that the hoof had got entangled in a trident (*Trisula*), he eventually discovered the Lakshminarayan idol. Another legend connects the name of Sitaram and not that of his father with this incident. Both are, however, agreed that this marvel induced Sitaram to build his capital there.

How Sitaram gradually became the proprietor of a Raj cannot be traced definitely. At any rate it is possible that he became supreme in his country and began to levy contributions on the other *Bhuiyas* of Bengal and also that he found himself strong enough to refuse payment of revenue. He had at this time a serviceable, if not well-equipped, army, and we hear of several of his generals, among them being Menahathi who figures in the legends of Jessore as one of superhuman strength, Bactar, a Pathan who was a dacoit but who had been converted by Sitaram, Fakir Machkata (Cutter of Fish) a Namasudra by caste, Rup Chand Dhuli, another Namasudra, and others. Sitaram's army was composed principally of men of his own country but there was also a large contingent of Kshattriyas, a fighting race, and traces of these can be found even now, for the descendants of these Kshattriya soldiers are living in a village Katgaraparu near Muhammadpur.²

Abu Turab at that time was the representative of the Nawab. He regarded with great distrust the rise of this upstart, as he thought him, and was constantly urging the Nawab to crush him. Sitaram had offended his *ukel* (pleader) by refusing to marry the latter's daughter (who was a widow and with whom Sitaram had probably been on terms of intimacy in his earlier days) and he now turned traitor to Sitaram and divulged his plans.

¹ The late Mr. Rainey in the *Calcutta Review* referring to Mr. Westland's report on Jessore wrote :—"The ruins at Muhammadpur called after Mahmud Shah, the twelfth King of Bengal wrongly designated by Mr. Westland Muhammadpur are next noticed. They all belong to the period of Sitaram Rai, the notorious zemindar of Bhoomnah, styled by the writer of the report Raja."

² Mr. Rainey quoting from Mr. Blochman (*Journal of the Asiatic Society, B.N.S., Vol. 13, page 229*) says Mr. Westland is unable to account how the zemindari came into Sitaram's hands but Mr. Blochman supposes him to have been one of the descendants or successors of the equally notorious Mohund, who possessed the Sirkar of Faridabad (Faridpur) and pergunna of Bhoomnah, and after whom was named Chat Mukundia, a large island in the Ganges opposite Faridpur. His son Satsajit in the reign of the Emperor Jahangir would not consent to pay any revenue to the Nawab at Dhaka and was captured during the sovereignty of Shah Jahan and hanged at Dacca about 1636." (*Calcutta Review, CXXV.*)

The result was the expedition led by Abu Turab. Sitaram was prepared, and inflicted on Abu Turab a crushing defeat, and the latter paid for his temerity with his life, his head being struck from his body by Sitaram's general Menahathi.

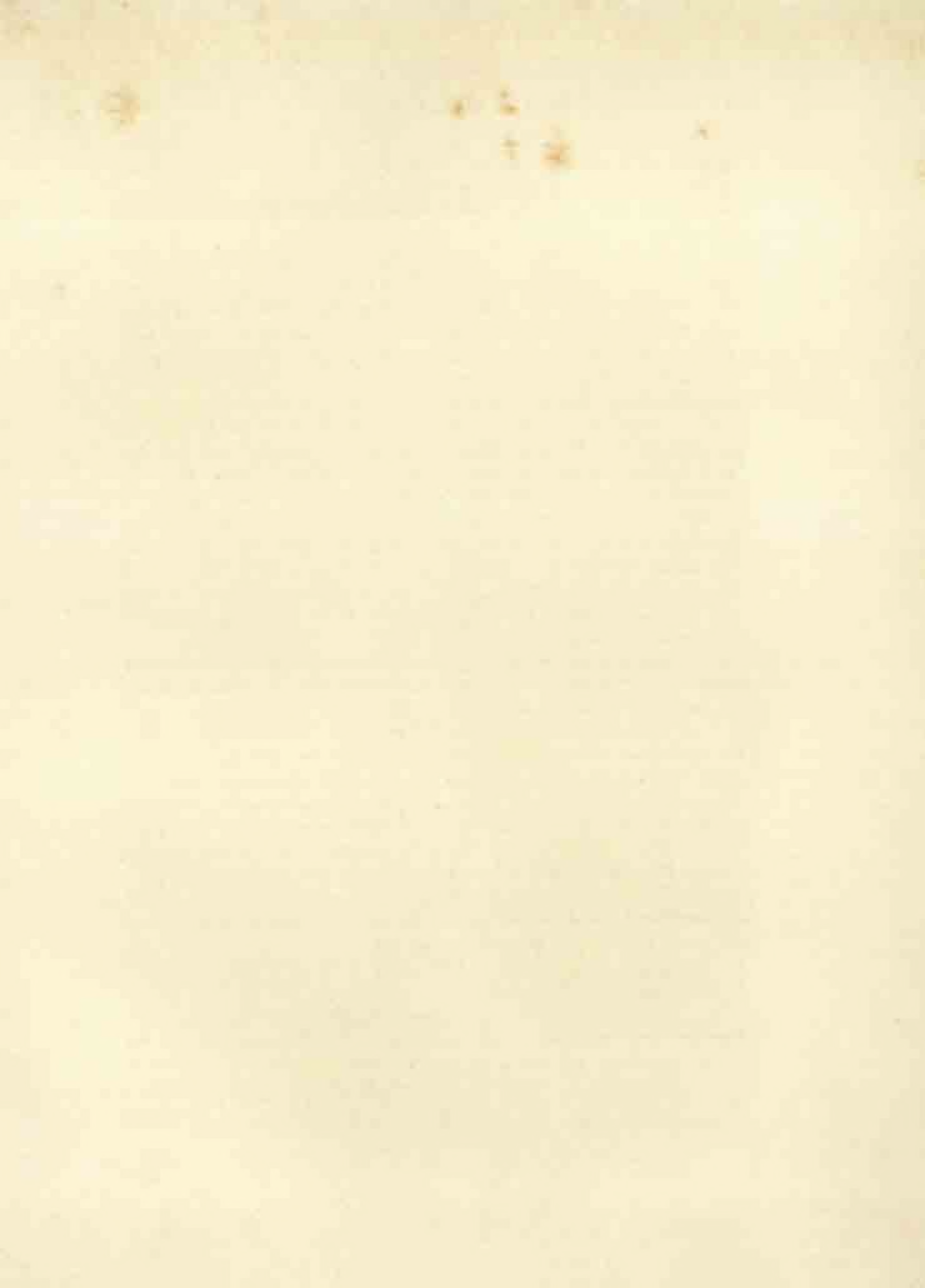
Another formidable force was sent under Bux Ali Khan, but he also was defeated by Sitaram who, with his own hands, managed two guns *Kale Khan* and *Jhumhun Khan*. Sitaram was now proclaimed a rebel in the Nawab's court and a huge army under Singharam Shah was despatched against him. Sitaram's real citadel of strength was his general, Menahathi, and Singharam profiting by the information of a spy was able to surprise and capture Menahathi while the latter was offering his accustomed prayers. But it was found impossible, the legend says, to kill the captive. His assailants belaboured him with all sorts of weapons but this proved unavailing, for Menahathi had constantly with him a drug by which his body was rendered impervious to their weapons, although the drug could not prevent him from feeling the pain of the blows. The constant assaults wearied him, and rather than suffer he divulged the secret of the drug. But its influence could only be checked if it was thrown into the Ramsagar—one of Sitaram's tanks. This was done and Menahathi died. His head was sent to the Nawab who said, "A man like that you should have brought alive, not killed." The head was sent to Muhammadpur and a tomb was built over it.

It need hardly be said that the death of his general, severely handicapped Sitaram. He was still, however, able to defeat Singharam on one occasion, but subsequently his fort was captured.

We have conflicting stories about the death of Sitaram. One is that he was taken to Murshidabad and there impaled alive; another made him drink poison on his way to the Capital. The most interesting tradition is this:—In the attack on his Fortress Sitaram was dangerously wounded. Muhammad Ali, the Fakir of whom mention has been made in the earlier part of this article, sent one of his disciples, who took from the senseless Sitaram his royal robe and turban, and decking himself in these, went on the battle-field, and was captured and killed. In the meantime Sitaram had been removed from the field by the well-wishing Fakir and carefully tended. He did not however survive, and died the next day.

Needless to say the fort was given over to loot and the much-prized idol Lakshminarayan was taken away by Dayaran.

We have tried to place in a compact form the story of Sitaram. His name has survived perhaps less on account of his military genius than his monumental works. The most important of these was the Fort completed in 1697. The palace inside the Fort was more than a mile in length and half a mile in breadth. Besides the temples, there are tanks of interest. Of these





THE TEMPLE, MUHAMMADPUR.

the Ramsagar had a tradition attached to it. There was a widow who had a son, Sita. One day while the widow was calling him by name, Sitaram, who was passing, pretended to apply the call to himself and asked the woman what she wanted with him. After she had explained the mistake, Sitaram pointed to a creeper and asked the price of it. The widow gladly offered it to the Raja as a gift whereupon Sitaram promised to do anything the widow asked of him. She said that she was in sad need of water, and Sitaram ordered Menahathi to dig a tank as long as the flight of an arrow. The arrow fell a thousand yards off but as it was not possible to dig out a tank of that magnitude, as the space included the lands of Brahmins, Sitaram had a smaller tank dug.

Regarding the so-called "treasure" tank it may be said that as late as 1841, 500 gold mohurs in a box were found therein and Mr. Westland mentions another instance in 1861 when a boy of the *teli* caste found a *lota* full of rupees. It may be added in this connection that "treasure" tanks are not at all uncommon. The *Moti Jheel*, the abode of one of Surajud-dowla's aunts, contained a small well full of treasure.

Regarding the idol in the temple of Kali it is said that one day a goldsmith eulogised before the king the workmanship of his son. Sitaram ordered the boy to prepare an idol of pure gold. Arrangements were made to guard the royal gold while the workman was engaged with his work, but the boy, although he worked on the gold in the day time, prepared at night another idol of alloy. When the work was finished the boy took the golden idol to the Ramsagar to have it properly washed before its installation. He had, however, in the previous night placed the idol of alloy underneath the steps of the tank and he now managed to change the one for the other. Nobody detected the trick, but it is said that the father eventually informed the Raja of the boy's deception, and that Sitaram with rare magnanimity not only restrained from punishing him but presented the boy with the golden idol and placed the idol of alloy on the pedestal.

JOGINDRA NATH SAMADDAR, F.R.E.S., F.R., *Hist. S.*



Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse.

PART III.—(Continued.)



ON the 1st of October, the following letter was written to Mr. Hastings:—

TO MR. HASTINGS.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am now to inform you of our progress since I last wrote, and of our second victory, which was in every way much superior to the former one."

"On the 19th the Army marched from the camp, near Poonamallee, and, proceeding by the road through the jungles, arrived at a fort called Poleor, near the famous temple of Tritany. On the 23rd the fort surrendered at night. The temple is situated on a hill of considerable height, lying between two others (to which it joins) still higher, and fronting the western hill. Hyder's camp was perceived to be about 8 miles distant. The 24th and 25th were spent in getting in and in delivering grain, and on the 26th we marched to a village called Parangee where, it was reported Hyder's left lay, but the account proved erroneous. On the 27th the General went out to reconnoitre, and found the enemy's whole force in camp, not 5 miles from our right, at a village called Cuppoor. His left extended a great distance into the country; his front I think was facing the east or north-east. His own green tents were a little to the south of Cuppoor. At the east end of this village there was a small hill of rocks, from which there ran the bank of an artificial lake, nearly north, about half a mile from whence it turned off west, and so passed along the north side of the village. On the northern side of that lake there ran a water-course, which in some parts had a deep channel, and it ran through broken swampy ground, until it turned off towards the south, and by so doing supplied a tract of paddy fields which ran along the eastern branch of the lake. In the continuation of the east bank of Cuppoor lake, and about a mile from its northern end, there was a village called Soorapoor, which had a large pond with a bank as usual and watered paddy fields on the east side, and the ground lying west of the pond was rocky and jungly. About 5 miles north-east of Soorapoor, lay Sholingur mountains and pagoda; the latter is a place of great note. A ridge of rocks extended from thence about 4 miles, in a circular form, of which circle Cuppoor is nearly the centre. Having now described the ground, I can make what is to follow clearer than I could have done otherwise. We crossed the ridge of rocks within a mile of their southern extremity, kept them on our right, till the head of the line reached the Sholingur mountains at the foot of which the baggage was lodged with two battalions and four guns. About a quarter past 3 o'clock the firing began on the right, before which the country was open, and the enemy began soon after to advance in line: Soorapoor lay before the left. Tippoo Sahib, with a considerable force of horse and foot, took post there, and with two guns from his left fired towards our centre. He sent eight other pieces to the left flank of our line, and as soon as it began to move forward, they opened their fire, but, being at a great distance, the

shot did not do anything of consequence. The right having open ground, moved on very rapidly, but the left was entangled in the rocky ground, and could not keep pace; it was besides necessary for the left to keep inclining to the right, to clear Soorapoor pond. All these impediments kept the left wing back very considerably and were the causes of two tumbrils and a limber being left behind, one of which, and the limber, the enemy afterwards carried off. As the right was separated from the left, the enemy made a charge on the left of the right wing, but was received by the 13th regiment and the 17th battalion of Carnatic repays, *in such perfect order, and without a musket being fired,* that they turned back in dismay, and suffered excessively, not only from showers of grape as they advanced and retreated, but from the 2nd battalion as they fell back. The right pushed forwards and took a gun, I believe it was opposite to the 13th regiment. Hyder was present at the charge, and finding it did not succeed, he went to Soorapoor. Tippoo had removed his infantry, and gone round the left flank to fire upon our rear; the left wing was at the pond, and the village about 300 yards from it. When Hyder got there, he found the wing so much scattered, that he ordered his horse to charge. As they passed along the front, which was the most compact, they suffered extremely from the grape: nevertheless they pushed through an interval that lay near the right of the wing, but did no kind of harm. It unfortunately happened that the limber and tumbrils had belonged to that very interval, so that there was no grape to be had to take them in front. Another party had gone round to the rear, but finding how much the rest had suffered, they went towards the baggage, and were repulsed. Tippoo also fired some shot at the baggage but finding more resistance than he expected, he turned towards the rear of the left wing. Orders had come to the left to follow the right, but Tippoo being in the rear, a body of horse on the flank, and the gross of Hyder's army, near the rocks of Cuppoor, with four guns advanced, and firing from the banks of the lake on the left, and the ground being as described, too difficult to be passed in line, I deemed it most prudent to stand firm: for the pond and rocky ground behind, secured my flank and rear, and where we then were posted, the ground was highest. Had we quitted it, Tippoo would have come to our ground, and have fired on our rear, whilst we should have been entangled in the wet and swamp, and the horse that were on the flank could have turned us and charged our rear. Therefore instead of obeying the orders, I sent word to Coote of our situation, and recommended that the right should join us. This was attempted but the right found it impossible by reason of the swamp and nullah. Only the 13th regiment effected it. My left was at the pond, and my right near the swamp, when Coote came up to us, and received a report that the regiment could not join, but could advance to Cuppoor village and grove. The enemy were at this time going off very fast, and the General ordered the right to do what had been proposed. They therefore advanced, and the 2nd brigade, which was the right of all, pushed on and discovered the enemy. A most furious cannonade commenced, but as it was beyond the village and grove, the cause was unknown. The General therefore ordered my wing to stand fast. It was sunset and when we went to see what was the matter, it was dark, and the firing over in all quarters. We encamped at and about Cuppoor, on Hyder's own ground, and about 11 o'clock, I joined with the baggage, and encamped in a second line behind Cuppoor."

"The Kalastry Rajah, Bumcaup Dewan, and two Polygars came off, and left Hyder, and promised us plenty of provisions, in quest of which we marched to Sholinpoor next morning. In our way, we buried Hyder's dead, found two wells full of dead bodies, and counted 650 or 700 horses lying in the field. By accounts since received, he carried off 1,500 doolies loaded with wounded men. Our loss was less than 100 men, and our reward

was a gun and supplies from the Polloms, from whence Hyder drew his subsistence; so that he has suffered an irreparable loss, and I hope will grow tired of the war which promises so little benefit. The enclosed orders will show the rest."

"Now let me recount a little adventure of my own: when the line I commanded had got through the rocks, I was labouring very hard to get it compact, for I perceived the horse were preparing to charge. I was at the interval through which they passed. My horse took fright and ran away, kicking with all his might, and was surrounded by the horse-men. One man's arm was raised to cut me down, when he received a shot in his back that saved me. With difficulty I turned my horse, and rode full speed back to the line, was pursued by another man, when somebody shot him. Humphries got a wound, a man closed to cut him down; he pressed towards the man, ran his arm along the sword close to the man's hand, and so broke the force of the blow; another came up, and he shot him. I believe he shot the man that was going to cut me down, but Humphries will not say so. My Jemadar and my horse which he was riding, were both wounded by our troops. The enemy carried off my little Toorkey, that was Angelo's, and also the horses of Dickson, my Aid-de-camp, and Kennaway's and Gillies's instruments, medicines, and palankeen; so that I am a sufferer in small matters; and it is well it is no worse. I suppose I have the proverb in my favour, for the situation was critical and yet laughable; for nothing could be more so than to see me riding off with the enemy. The men were so drunk, they did not know what they are about, and my horse kicked so furiously, that he helped to preserve me. One man got close to me, just as I had got the better of my horse. I put my hand to my pistol, and he rode off; but if ever I go into an action without a good sword in my hand, I shall think I am a fool indeed. We are now in the land of plenty, and preparing to go again; and the next time I write will, I hope, be to tell you of the complete overthrow of Hyder.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your faithful servant,
T. D. PEARSE."

"1st October, 1781."

"Coote has got a commission of Brigadier-General for Lang, to prevent his coming under Crawford; so I alone suffer, as I do in every respect, except health."

"In the two actions we have had, the troops that marched under my command, distinguished themselves by their gallantry. The General Orders on that subject pointed out the 13th regiment as the particular corps. I have only to add, that the battalion of the 13th regiment, commanded by Captain Powell in the action of the 27th August, merited the highest encomiums for their spirited attack upon a village from whence they dislodged the enemy and as this fell immediately under my cognisance, having been performed in the part where I commanded, I hope it will appear proper to mention it."

I am with the greatest respect,
&c., &c.

The following truly parental letter written to a Lieutenant Martrick, a protégé of Colonel Pearse's, contained such excellent admonition and advice, and these are so kindly given that we trust many of our readers may derive instructions as well as amusement from the perusal of it.

"DEAR SIR,

"You came out recommended to my care and protection, and I did not hesitate to attend to the recommendations you brought; therefore, as they required of me to superintend

your conduct, this letter will I trust be kindly received by you. I heard to-day that you are very negligent, and do not discharge the duties of your office, and that you even neglected those of an officer generally. When the regiment last went on service, you staid behind without leave, under the pretence of sickness. All this shocked me so very much, that I sent for you this evening to speak to you about it; judge then how great was my astonishment at hearing that you were gone to sick quarters! Who has been so much your enemy as to advise you to take such a step at a such a time? and why was it taken without mentioning it to me? Do you not know that when an army is in the field against an enemy, it is ruinous to the reputation of an officer to remain in sick quarters, without such evident proofs of the necessity of it, as shall excite even pity. Let me beg you will reflect in time and not expose yourself to ruin. I expect from one under my charge, that he makes his duty his study. I got you the post of Adjutant, not for the rupees; those, if your pay had not been sufficient, you might have had from me, *but to make you an officer.* The Adjutant who does his duty properly must be the most active officer in his regiment. He must be the first and the last on the parade; know every exercise and the detail of every duty; must be expert and exact in making returns, and consequently know the exact strength of every part of his corps, so as to inform the Commanding Officer of every thing in it at once, without even referring to papers. He must know the state of the arms, accoutrements and ammunition; the characters and conduct of the Native officers, and of every private man; and can he do this without the closest attention to his duty? Can he do it in sick quarters? I expect also, instead of seeking occasion to avoid duty, particularly those of danger, that any person who may be under my charge, will be foremost on every occasion, ever emulous to *get into the way, not out of it.* With respect to moral character, I require only that he behaves like a gentleman. If he can do that, and be a man of immoral character, he must have more assurance than I have met with in the course of my experience. Wildness is common in youth, and pardonable when it does not degenerate into vice; but wildness, if not checked in time too often ends in vice, to the utter ruin of the party concerned; and now I have told you what I require, I have done my duty by you. If you desire that I continue my favour to you, you will pay attention to what I say, and set such a guard on your conduct, as shall prevent my having occasion to animadvert again. Return therefore to your duty, if it be possible, attend to it with the closest regard to *every part of it*, and never let me hear it said again that one I patronized, has formed improper connections. Be assured of this—young as you are—if by your neglect or by any improper behaviour, you lose the post you hold: I mean, if you are deprived of it as a punishment, I will never get you another. I obtained this by proving, when I asked for it, that you had some qualifications for it,—do not put me to the blush by proving the contrary. This is the best proof I can give you that I am your friend, and I will continue so long as you let me. If you suppose that by attempting to return, you are exposed to be taken prisoner, you must not attempt it; for should you be taken your enemies would say what you have done, is on purpose."

"28th October."

I am, &c.

T. D. PEARSE.

TO THE HONORABLE W. HASTINGS, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR,—On the day before the battle Coote sent for me to state the situation of affairs, and to ask my opinion on them, and then I heard from him, what till now I could not commit to paper, *viz.*, that Coote, Hughes, Macartney, and McPherson, had agreed on terms of peace with the Mahrattas. The three first on the part of the King as well as the

Company; and that if you opposed them, you must stand to the consequences. I presume also you have heard of them from McPherson; and the King's *Triumvirate*: though I longed to send this intelligence earlier, I could not, for every letter I sent, I expected would fall into Coote's hands. I should indeed have ventured to do so, when I sent the account of the battle; but I honestly confess, it did not then enter my mind, neither did it when I wrote to put you on your guard and to advise you to secure McPherson for the majority. And now I should not mention it, only to put you more on your guard, and to shew you that there is now on foot a double government, and that Coote is trying every thing to get you into a scrape if he can: you have so long considered your enemies to be your friends, that it is time you should begin to open your eyes, and see who is intent upon injuring you."

"As I know the letters sent with Petrie's, giving an account of battles, etc. down to the 3rd October, arrived safe, I conclude that yours also did. Since that I wrote on the 6th the short letter, to put you on your guard, and on the 18th, a letter of mere chitchat, and to tell you that I had lost a packet which was coming to me, which however was found again about ten days afterwards, by means of a diligent search made by nine hurkaras, whom I sent out."

"Now, then, follows the history of our adventures since we entered the Polloms: Sholingveram is close to them, and to that place we marched the day after the battle. It is a stupendous rock with a temple on it, the hill is double, thus

We arrived there on the 28th, staid the 29th and 30th, marched 4 miles towards the Polloms on the 1st October, and 6½ into the Polloms, to a place called Attamanchery on the 2nd. It is situated in a valley that lies between very high rocky hills, and such is the whole cultivated country all the way from thence to Vellore and Chittoor; and I believe back northward to Midnapore, and westward to Hyder's country, and southward to Cape Comorin: for certain it is, that what appears as a chain of mountains that parts the Carnatic, is only a chain of hills, in the midst of which fruitful valleys run in all manner of directions. These in certain places are so narrow as to be called passes; and such was dear Cuttack: Oh! that it was our's, and I the taker of it. Provisions came in very slowly, and only once did we get any for our servants from the day we entered, to the return to Trippasore. The sepoys were supplied with 2 seers of paddy a day, to be beat into 1 seer of rice; and so we lived from hand to mouth, and by not serving out any rice to servants or followers. Coote was getting forward till Lallah broke into the Polloms, and threw all into confusion. He entered by Tritany pass and burnt all the villages close to us. On the 11th he burnt one close to our Head-quarters, whilst we were sitting at dinner, and I really expected that he would come and sit down with us, or make us rise and follow him. The next day Coote took a detachment, went out to drive him away, and surprised him in camp on the 13th in the morning, took his heel ropes and halters, pickets, broken pots, and some victuals that were dressing on the fire, about forty lame horses, and returned in great triumph on the 14th. This made him fall quite in love with the Bengal troops, for Edmonstone, and other fools of like nature, had been continually telling him how unsteady they were, that there was not any possibility of making them leave off firing, when once they began; or of restraining them if they would go on; nor any possibility of keeping them from plundering if there were anything to be got at, etc., etc., etc. Now it happened that Coote had two Bengal regiments with him, which passed through all that was left by the enemy, and never offered to touch a pot, or a bag of rice, or any one thing whatever, though food was so desirable a thing that they would have been glad of a chattrack. Their steadiness and their bravery, he had learnt on the 27th at Sholingveram, and so every assertion to their prejudice has been refuted: yet he did not give me credit for the opinion I gave (when the

contrary *was* *dictated in his ears*, that they were as brave as any men on earth, and with proper discipline, and strict justice, might be made equal to Prussian troops, in all points, and superior in many, from their simple mode of life. At dinner at Chittoor, he avowed publicly the same sentiments, and then I told him, that he was given to understand they would not fight, but he had found they would, though he did not believe me when I asserted what he had since found true. He confessed that they had forced him to change the opinion he had entertained and to adopt that which I had uniformly delivered. But these are digressions from the main point. To proceed,—Lallah being driven away, things began to go on as before, that is, the fighting men got a couple of seers of paddy a day, and rice might be had at 3 seers for a rupee in our bazaars, in any quantity, and all who had any money to buy with, could get 12 or 13 seers of paddy, and 6 seers of cauliy—a species of grain, they give to horses; mutton of exquisite flavour at one rupee a sheep; fowls 14 or 15 for a hum, etc. All this I knew to my cost, as the rate is taken for 1,000 rupees worth of grain bought at the place, and eaten by my servants and cattle within a month, and my people had their profit out of it you may suppose. When we first arrived in the Polloms, Owen was detached with six battalions, part of their cavalry, their six guns, and two 6-pounders. The object of his mission was to get provisions, and to intercept a convoy of Hyder's through the Dalamjeery pass. The convoy moved twice and returned again; and Owen made frequent excursions from the place where he was stationed; he sent in some bullocks and sheep and got some rice for his men. On the 20th we heard that he had done very great feats, he marched to the river Pouce, crossed it, and took a large drove of cattle, but out of the thousands taken, he only brought away a few hundreds, leaving 6,000 bullocks, and a great number of sheep and goats. Tippoo Sahib was encamped on the opposite side of the river; and Owen took it into his head that he could go and take Chittoor Fort by storm. The grenadier company and a pettard were actually sent to him for the purpose; but before he attempted this *Quixotic scheme*, Hyder marched from his camp suddenly, and on the 23rd attacked Owen in his post obliged him to retire with the loss of 300 killed and wounded and of all his baggage. The Carnatic battalion in the rear broke and dispersed. A 6-pounder fell into the enemy's hands: the Bengal grenadiers, forty in number, headed by Captain Moore, re-took the gun but lost sixteen killed and wounded. Their resolution not only saved the gun, but the whole detachment. The enemy pushed them quite through the pass, and did not quit them until Owen had reached the plain ground, on our camp side of the pass. Thus ended his famous expedition to our shame and great detriment. He had timely notice of Hyder's approach, but would not believe it, until he saw his army marching up in columna. One column got fairly into his rear, and made for the pass to cut off his retreat, when Owen saw that, he also pushed to secure it. He had intended to march in the morning, and his troops knew it. When he wanted to move, he beat 'the General.' The troops did not consider it a signal of haste, and therefore took their time. Had he beaten 'to arms,' he would not have lost a man; however, as Hyder had appeared, and had not destroyed the detachment entirely, Coote gave Owen as many thanks and praises, as if he had gained a victory: but he did justice to the grenadiers in the same orders. The news of the attack reached our camp about 11 o'clock, and 'the General' beat immediately afterwards. But there was paddy four days to deliver, so that it was 4 o'clock before the second line was in motion. The cattle had been so starved, that we were until 3 o'clock moving 12 miles, and then we found Coote and Owen at a place called Opperpillie. Owen was in fact *surprised*, and what is much worse *with his eyes open*, and at the very time he was meditating an expedition to surprise Tippoo and take his

fort. We remained at the place next day, and then we marched back to Pollipette (a town we had passed), where our provisions were laid up."

"At Tritanny the General told me he had received advices from Lang, that being attacked on the 15th October, he could not hold out, because his provisions were expended. However it was on the 25th, that we returned towards Pollipette, and then we heard of Lang's distresses a second time. He was in the last distress, and '*must be relieved immediately.*' Cattle were borrowed from everybody to send to Shunaveram, where Mr. Fauter had very opportunely made a discovery of a great quantity of provisions, which he might have discovered before if he had pleased. But now it became necessary to *do something*, not only on account of Vellore, but because the Nawab had written to the Council, accusing Coote of not doing anything, and asserting that he had provisions for the whole Army for months in his possession: this I heard from Coote before we marched from Attamancherry; that is, on or before the 23rd. I heard it on the 23rd from him; but it was current before that he had received such a letter, and was in a great rage about it. The letter came I think on the 19th, for on that day he got a large packet while we were at table, and replied to it the next day: and it was about this time the report began to spread, for he cannot keep secret for a moment anything that displeases him. Having supplied ourselves, away we went, as we expected a battle. On the 1st of November, the Army marched and passed over *Owen's ground*, and proceeded towards Vellore; the next day made two marches: the first carried us across the river Pouce, and there if Hyder had dared to face us, was a place where he might have destroyed half our Army with almost impunity; for though there was very little water such were the difficulties attending the crossing from the nature of the country on both sides of the bed, and such the advantages of the opposite bank, that though he could have enfiladed our whole line from end to end, we could not, (without forming and fighting it out on the banks,) have forced a passage, and must after forming have marched by the flank again, to get to the only passage that we knew of, or that guns could go through. It took two and a half or three hours to cross *without opposition*. Having got over, we stopped about three miles beyond it to refresh, then pushed on through another pass towards Vellore, and got to our ground about 8 o'clock. The next day we reached Vellore. The pass, which was the first obstacle we had to overcome, was of so difficult a nature, that a battalion might have stood there against an army, and after we had got through it we had a swamp to cross, intersected with water-courses, and bad soft ground, which it was with great difficulty we crossed at all. The Vellore side of the pass was also advantageous ground, and if possible, a better place to have opposed us, than the river Pouce. But when we arrived we ceased to wonder that we had not been attacked; Tippoo Sahib had left the banks of the Pouce, and retired to his father on the night of the 1st at 12 o'clock; and Hyder begun to cross the Palar on the 30th and 31st, and was, as we now found, gone to the south of Arcot, and lay with his Army between Arcot and Arnee; it was said his troops were discontented, having had no rice for three days, and that he himself was so chagrined at not having cut off Owen, who (to use Hyder's supposed words) had only five *half* battalions, that he had not been seen since; but I own I then thought he had retreated to secure Arcot, supposing, as was very natural, that we should go to Vellore to lodge our grails there, and then march down the avenue to Arcot, on the Arcot side of the river, for it would be little short of madness to have crossed the river in the face of his Army. His conduct since shews that my conjecture was right, as you will find by the sequel. Having halted our troops one day, and delivered to them about five days' provisions, and four days' to our

people, we marched on the afternoon of the next to the ground where we had halted on the 2nd, so were at the Pollums on the 6th and the next day arrived at Chittoor early in the morning. We had taken from Vellore the grenadier company, Colonel Lang, and the supernumerary officers; but though Coote gave out an abundance of thanks to Lang, and said that he *deserved every thing the Company could do for him*, yet his promotion was not declared, from whence I, (and I am not singular) supposed that it had been proposed in Council, and opposed by Coote, for fear of offending the King's Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel Crawford: who, as well as the rest of them, think it prodigiously hard that the Directors have given authority to make Brigadiers in India; and Coote declared to me that he had orders from the King not to suffer His Officers to be superseded. Be it true, or be it false, *His Kingship* sets the example; for otherwise Crawford would not have *been in the way* to be offended by the reward of merit, due to an Officer who so nobly withstood all attempts of the enemy to get possession of so important a place as Vellore; which, had it fallen into Hyder's hands, would have prevented our ever recovering the Carnatic, if we may flatter ourselves with such hopes now. Lang was therefore ordered to the left wing, which till then I had commanded, and I was turned out, and became literally a *follower of the Army, without any command or power*. It was thought that Chittoor would run out of its place, to jump over our heads, and take us in, for fear of a tremendous hill from which, as Hyder frightened it, it was concluded we could do so too. However, before night we found the place perfectly reconciled to its new masters, and they to it. Two guns got to the top of the hill, two howitzers fired from the town against the fort, but Hyder's people fired shot for shot, and when summoned, sent word *we might go to the devil*. The hill is indeed near the place, but far too high to be of any use to an enemy; and so rugged in all parts, being composed only of vast fragments of rock lying without earth between them, on the fort side, that except on the top, a gun cannot be placed, and firing from one point at another 1,000 feet below it, is much the same as to let firing alone altogether, as they soon found. All the 8th we amused ourselves with the same work, still believing the enemy would take flight. The chief engineer was killed on the night of the 7th, and was the only Officer we lost; but on the 9th a battery of two 18-pounders having been formed on the west side of the artificial lake, and within 300 yards of a round tower that was in a falling state, a breach was made in it before night and the enemy sent out to capitulate. Coote refused the terms they asked, and the firing was renewed. Next day the guns were removed from the summit of the hill, to a burnt village, close to the foot of the glacis on the town side. The grenadiers were sent down, and the other troops that were to support them, and then Coote sent word that he would storm if they would not surrender. He granted them all private property, and we became masters of the place, the very place that Mr. Owen wanted to take with a petard; and now I see, that his thrashing at the entrance of the Pollums saved his detachment; had he once entered through the pass into Chittoor valley, and had Hyder then taken possession of the pass, we should not have heard how it happened. While we were thus amusing ourselves with taking Chittoor, the frightened Hyder returned to the North of the Pallaar, and went to some place near Sholingur; the garrison of Palloor, a little place near Tritanny, were forced to abandon it, and left four 18-pounders behind to Hyder's mercy; we do not know whether they were destroyed or not. From thence he marched to Polipotte, where the spare baggage was left under the charge of a battalion with three 6-pounders of our's, and two heavier guns of the Polygars. Hyder surprised them, took off all the baggage and the four guns and carried off Lieutenant Bushby and a Conductor, four days' rice for the whole Army, forty horses of the troop,

some sick sepoy, all the women that were left, and then sent Tippoo to besiege Trippasore. We staid till the 16th in the morning, and then set off post to relieve Trippasore; arrived at Polipette on the 17th, and on the 18th in the morning, distinctly heard the guns firing against the place. We marched the same day to Nagree. You must have seen that hill from Madras in the shape of a *large nose*. Proceeded from thence at 2 o'clock on the 19th; it rained all the way: the distance was small, but the road was so bad with the rain, and the nature of the country, that we did not get clear of the pass till dark, and then stopped at a place where there was not a particle of fodder for the cattle. In the night many of our people were drowned by the inundation occasioned by the incessant rain on the road great numbers perished for want of sustenance to support them against the inclemency of the weather. Colonel Owen had the rear guard, and did not come up till noon of the 20th. He said that within the space of 50 yards he saw a dozen men lying dead. Bullocks dropped dead, and their drivers beside them: the whole way was strewed with dead, as if we had been defeated and harassed by the enemy. We could not move on the 20th, as it rained all night a perfect deluge: on the 21st it was fairer, we set out early, and reached Trippasore river, crossed and encamped on the Trippasore side. The last two miles of the route were through a stiff clay, too bad to halt on. In this dreadful march we lost 104 horses of the cavalry, about 1,000 bullocks, one elephant, some camels and numbers of men. Tippoo had abandoned Trippasore, on hearing of our approach. He had battered the place with four heavy guns, had made a regular battery and approach, and was proceeding with the zigzag to the very ditch itself. There was already a good breach made in the curtain, and the place might have been stormed in a few days, for in a few hours another breach of 100 yards long in the curtain would have been effected. We are now destroying the place, and are in hopes of shortly receiving orders to go into cantonments, as we are without tents to cover us, and with hardly any food to save our people from starving; for now there are not even supplies to be bought for money."

"All officers are five months in arrears, the men were paid up to the end of August a few days ago. This is a true narrative of what I have seen, and, therefore, I now leave you to judge what will be the end of the war."

TRIPPASORE :

27th November 1781.

"It is said that Coote intends to send one of the King's regiments to Bengal, as soon as they arrive; if he does so, it will deprive you of the power of granting warrants for Courts Martial, and it is said that this is his reason for doing it. I hope that you will not allow of this; but when the regiment arrives, order it back to the scene of action, where alone it can be of any use."

"Mr. Benfield is become Governor of Madras; Lord Macartney, not being able to manage alone, from his total ignorance of the country and the manners and customs of the natives. Certainly it is not a reflection upon His Lordship to be ignorant of them, but it is disgraceful in the Company to send out such a man. And Mr. B. having paid the *best of bests* for his return and support His Lordship has been ordered to support him, and has chosen him *Regent*: now then, if things do go right, it must be a miracle (indeed)!"

General Coote at this time went to Madras from Trippasore, to settle with the Council where the troops should winter; and on the 30th of November the Army moved to Poonamallee.

It was in the year 1781 that Mr. Hastings undertook his well-known visit to Benares, for the purpose of extorting a sum of money from the

Rajah Cheyte Sing, to supply the immediate calls upon the Company's Treasury, which was at this period quite exhausted.

The circumstances of the arrest of Cheyte Sing, on the 15th of August and the subsequent fray in which the unfortunate Rajah escaped, and in which a party of sepoy and several Officers fell a sacrifice to Mr. Hastings' imprudent measures, are to be found in detail in several of the Histories of British India.

Alluding to this unfortunate event Colonel Pearse, in one or two letters, laments the death of a Captain Mayaffre, an old and intimate friend, who was one of the victims, being in command of the Artillery at Benares when Mr. Hastings arrived.

By the instructions which Colonel Pearse received before he marched with the Bengal troops, it appears that he was to have had the permanent command of them as far as respected "*musters, payments, and all official acts which related to the detachment*" (until his return to Bengal) "*without change.*"

"Sir Eyre Coote, having deprived Colonel Pearse of the command of the Bengal troops, immediately on their joining his army, the Board (following up the same spirit of persecution), on the plea of his not having the command, passed a resolution on the 1st of November 1781, by which the allowances fixed for the command were taken away from Colonel Pearse."

In December, Colonel Pearse addresses Mr. Hastings on these points, and complains of Sir Eyre Coote's act, as one of tyranny, and injustice. He says:—

"The assertion of its being an act of tyranny and injustice, I make good, by shewing that before I arrived here, Coote had appointed Owen *specialls to command the Bengal troops serving on the coast*. This was contrary to the instructions of the Board, and forced upon the Bengal Establishment an Officer, who, by the orders of the Court of Directors, could not belong to it. But as soon as an Officer, appointed by the Board, arrived here (*viz.*, myself) Coote relieves Owen from the command, and refused to let the Officer, duly appointed, exercise those powers with which he was regularly invested. I do not want to quit the scene: I see *all is desperate*, and I am ready to *share in the general ruin*, provided I have no more than my due proportion of it."

Every attempt was apparently made, on the part of General Coote, to drive away Colonel Pearse from the Army in disgust; and the reader will find in the sequel, that it was his lot to undergo the severest trials which a military man, who has the pride of a soldier about him, can suffer.

The personal inconveniences and hardships which Colonel Pearse must have undergone in this campaign, are never complained of, but with all the conscious ability of a Commander; supersession and insult he could not put up with silence; and at length, he made a last appeal in which he requested, that if he could not be reinstated in his command, he might be recalled from the Army.

On the 20th of December, he writes to Mr. Hastings as follows :—

"This dividing our sepoys has done much injury to the service: the vague assertion that they are all servants of one master, is of no avail. English, Hanoverians, Hessians, the mercenaries hired by the English, and the rest of petty Princes of Germany, served with the armies under Ferdinand, but each nation had its own Commanding Officer, and the troops of each served in bodies and were not intermingled; though they took post together and composed a body, which was one division of the Army. In America, Charlton commanded the army; the British troops, under Phillips, composed the right wing, and the German troops, under Reidal, the left wing."

"Intermingling the troops of different nations, is notoriously not the practice in Europe, particularly under Marlborough."

MOUNT,

20th December 1781.

Mr. Petrie, a particular friend of Colonel Pearse's, was at this time about to set out on a voyage to Europe, and he was anxiously looking for the arrival of the vessel at Madras, when orders to march to Vellore, which place was threatened with famine, were issued, and Colonel Pearse writes :—

"DEAR PETRIE,

"It is in vain almost to hope to see you now, we are ordered to march to relieve Vellore; where after all our *mighty expedition*, they are again starving. This is occasioned by our trip to take Chittoor, which, report says, is re-taken by Hyder. The place at any rate is besieged, and must fall; and so I predicted, when we imprisoned a battalion in it, and two companies of grenadiers, and left them with only the paltry guns which we found there. I do not see how we are to effect the relief of Vellore, if Hyder does his duty, as he is between us and the place with all his force; and knowing our project he certainly will be under no anxiety in providing for the defence of Arcot, and therefore may bring his whole force against us. . . . We must go off without necessaries, tents, etc., we take only light guns, and our distressed state he knows, as well as we do."

"Coote is too ill to go. Colonel Lang must command. . . . He nobly defended Vellore: not that it was attacked in form, but for a year he found ways and means to maintain his garrison and his detachment, in a fort which was enclosed within another, on a hill, close to Vellore, and commanding it, he repulsed Hyder in three attacks."

"If Lang commands, I must be second in command. I heartily wish however, as the case is critical, that Coote was going with us, because I believe the sepoys have an opinion of him; but if we get well through the business, so much the better, as it will shew them we can do without him."

"MADRAS,

17th December, 1781."

On the first promulgation of the orders for the march to Vellore, the sepoys, who were without tents, necessaries, and without even pay later than the 1st of September, refused to march—the time was a critical one; the service demanded the utmost exertion and fortunately a sum of money equal to two months' arrears was obtained from Madras, and the discontents in a great measure subdued.

General Coote, worn out and disabled by sickness, determined notwithstanding to proceed with the Army; and Colonel Lang, *on the day of the march*, sent in his resignation.

Sir Eyre Coote was still at Madras, but Colonel Pearse received orders to march the Army to Veloute, near Pondamalee, where the General joined him at midnight.

The conduct of Colonel Lang was certainly very unjustifiable; we can hardly conceive a sufficient cause, that shall exculpate an Officer for the act of quitting his post, *on the eve of actual service*, and with the enemy *almost in sight*. Yet, though Colonel Lang merited censure and disgrace for this act, he was by the personal intreaties of Lord Macartney, afterwards solicited to return to the Army on his Lordship's receiving intelligence of the serious illness of Sir Eyre Coote; a circumstance which Colonel Pearse very justly complained of on his return from the service.

"DEAR PETRIE,

"Again we have marched as far as Tripassore. The Army moved under my command, as far as Veloute near Pondamalee, and Coote joined us at midnight. His rheumatic pains make it inconvenient to him to move early, so we set out at half past 10, to march 15 miles. The leading divisions got to the ground at 5; the baggage, &c., were in motion all night, and the cattle *fasted* of course. To-day we halt.—Lang has resigned his command—Crawford is going home, and as Stuart is not able to take the field, these accidents give me the second post, which I shall hold until we return and are joined by the *swarm* from England.

"TRIPASSORE,
"4th January 1782."

In a letter to General Stibbert on the same day, Colonel Pearse explains the causes which induced Colonel Lang to send in his resignation. He says:—

"It is but fair to tell you, by what chance I am now in the second post here:—

"Stuart is unable to take the field—Crawford thinks the balls at St. James's better than those at the Court of Hyder—and Lang unable to bear the supersession of Horne, who came out a Captain Lieutenant of Artillery in 1768, and not thinking it right to serve under every King's officer who may bring a brevet of *Colonel in India* with him, desired to be made a Brigadier-General—everybody concluded that he would get the rank, for Coote, in his *burst* of thanks, declared that Lang deserved *everything the Company could do for him*; but when he asked this favour, whether he had enemies to oppose it, or asked for it too peremptorily, or Coote and Macartney found out that he would in that case command all the *King's Brevets*, it is certain that he was refused that which was in the Board's power to grant by authority from the Court of Directors, who have sent that power to India, expressly to keep their Armies in Command of their own Officers, and so he sent in his resignation.—When the *swarm* does arrive, I hope you will think me right in deservng to quit this Army and to return to Bengal, unless the Board use the power to save me from such mortifications; for Horne was not a Major till a year or two after I was a Lieutenant-Colonel, and my cousin Humberstone was at school when I left England."

"TRIPASSORE,
"4th January 1782."

"I am, Dear Sir, etc.,
T. D. PEARSE."

On the 18th of January, the following interesting letter was written to General Stibbert:—

TO GENERAL STIBBERT.

"DEAR SIR,

"I wrote to you from this place (Tripassore) on the 4th, as we were starting for Vellore, and this is the sequel of our adventures."

"On the 5th, Coote was found speechless in a fit, and was for a time supposed to be dead; the Staff at Head Quarters instantly sent intelligence to Lord Macartney, on which his Lordship sent for Lang, told him the state the General was in, asked him if he would go to camp to command."

"Lang, as you may suppose, gladly embraced the opportunity, set out in a few hours, and joined us on the 7th in the morning; *so I was turned out of the first line into my old post, and if I could have got away, would most assuredly have quitted the Army.*"

"We marched on the 6th from Tripassore: reached the Marmundul hills on the 9th, late in the afternoon, Hyder's Army was encamped near them, with his left towards the hills, and his right towards Lallaper; he had a rocky hill in his front, round which we encamped the same night, but Hyder shifted his ground, recrossed the Poonce river, and went to Lallaper. The Poonce is a mere bed of sand, and had not in the deepest parts more than 10 inches of water in it."

"The route to Vellore lay along the southern side of the Marmundul hills, through a country formerly well cultivated, and consequently abounding in artificial lakes. Three of these were close to each other, and one of them supplied a cultivation, which it was necessary that we should pass. Before Hyder set off, he cut the banks of it and produced an inundation. On the Vellore side was a large lake lying across a valley, and on the Lallaper side a dry one, through which we passed. On the 10th, early in the morning, we moved on, and about 8 o'clock part of our line had reached the inundation. Hyder's army, appearing *by the dust*, to be coming down fast upon our rear, where I commanded. The rear guard sent intelligence of Hyder's approach and I sent word of it to Coote. At this time our line was in the bed of the dry lake, the Lallaper side was rocky and higher than the bed, and to that Hyder was moving as fast as possible. The Vellore side was also high and advantageous for us, so that I wanted to gain it before Hyder could get to the side which we were leaving to avoid the annoyance which he could have given us while in the hollow. When the General received my message, he was in the swamp, and sent word that he was desirous to get across it with the line and baggage before he formed, and therefore he directed that the line should move on, unless I found it necessary to form. This was what I wished, for the reasons before mentioned, for at that time I was ignorant that there were any swamps in the way. I therefore ordered the rear guard, consisting of one regiment of infantry and two of cavalry, to proceed in columns of single corps, with the cavalry nearest to the Marmundul hill and thus we crossed the bed of the lake.—When we reached the Vellore side, I found the swamp was not far distant, and the greater part of the baggage was on the enemy's side of it. The followers on foot and beasts of burden were gone on, but the carts laden with rice for the Army, ammunition, and baggage, were nearly all on my side of the swamp, and could only cross one at a time; and foreseeing, that if the enemy was not opposed, that he would be at the swamp long before half of them were over, I instantly resolved to take post. To do this, I ordered three battalions, all that remained on the enemy's side of the swamp, to draw up between a burnt village on our right, and the lake with the swamp on our left, or rather a little in our rear. I then sent the rear guard round the lake,

nearer to the hills, to prevent the enemy's turning our flank, and getting into our rear; a company of grenadier sepoy's was also thrown into the village. The ground in front was rocky, and was broken by a small pond and choultry. The grenadiers kept our flanks free from rocketeers, but they got amongst the rocky ground in our front, and threw a great many amongst us—we had one 12-pounder, one howitzer and six 6-pounders in the line, and three 3-pounders with the rear guard, but these were useless to us, being destined for a particular service."

"As the line was forming, Hyder opened between twenty and thirty heavy guns upon us from the Lallapet side of the dry lake, and there he drew up part of his forces; the rest he sent down towards our right, where if they had arrived in time, they would have done us great damage. Coote seeing what was going on, from the other side, posted the first line with its left towards the same village upon some high ground, that fell from them towards the continuation of the cultivation, and he then ordered a regiment and one 18-pounder and four 12-pounders to a post between their left and the burnt village, but on the Vellore side of the swamp, to flank the swamp as we should cross it. The rest of my line was standing under a hill with its rear close to the swamp. We remained in this position above an hour, Hyder keeping up a constant cannonade; we scarcely firing at all, and merely sufficient to keep our troops in temper, as our shot could not have reached Hyder to do any good; his shot, from the great elevation which he gave his guns, fell dead behind us in general, and the few that fell before us never rose again."

"In this position we remained until all the baggage, carts, &c., had crossed the first branch of the swamp and only five or six carts were in the second and then as it was certain that these could get across with or before the troops we moved off and passed also."

"There was a small choultry close to the Vellore side of the swamp, into which I had thrown a company of grenadier sepoy's and two guns, and then went to report to Coote, having previously put the line in motion to make room for the baggage and cattle which were crossing. The General gave me his warmest thanks for all that had been done, and ordered us to move on in two lines. As we crossed the swamp we came to a company of European grenadiers, who were posted in a dry spot between the two branches of the swamp, having been sent there to secure our rear in case of our being pushed; and after I sent the guns to the choultry, my Aid-de-camp overtook another company coming to our aid; but the General went to the foot of the hill, found the enemy there, or coming towards it, and he ordered these Europeans to take possession of it, at or about the time that he sent me the order, of which mention is made below. They took post on the hill, and were reinforced with a company of grenadier sepoy's of the 26th regiment. The enemy's rocketeers and polygars crossed the swamp, took possession of the choultry, and from thence annoyed the Europeans on the hill; the latter sent half their force, and attacked the choultry, but were repulsed with the loss of their Officer, who was killed, and the enemy got possession of his body; and the party would have suffered most severely, had not the other Captain of the grenadier company with his Europeans covered their retreat to the hill. The enemy also lost their leader, who was the chief of the Mysore polygars, and I found afterwards that his name was Dulwe, chief of Chitturcull near Seringapatam: he commanded a large body of burkundaux and pikemen in Hyder's army. It was now intimated to the General, that the enemy were going round by the post which the rear guard had occupied to the valley that was crossed by the lake, to get at our baggage and stores. I therefore received the General's orders to take a force and stop them, and proceeded with two battalions and joined the two other battalions and two regiments of cavalry with the body guard, which were protecting the baggage. The enemy advanced to the side of the lake,

and we opened a fire upon the foremost of their horse; they fell back, upon which the enemy's guns which had fired upon our line, opened from the side of the lake. They did us very little damage as they were too far off, and I forbid any firing from our guns, except when the enemy's parties attempted to advance. Hyder now gave over firing, and went back to the ground from which he had marched. Thus we lost one Officer killed, two wounded, and between 40 and 50 rank and file."

"Though Vellore was only one march from our camp in the morning, we could not get to it until the 11th, but were encamped within three miles of it on the 10th. Hyder only possessed himself of two coofie loads of rice of our whole convoy. Having carried our point, we remained at Vellore on the 12th to refresh, and commenced our return on the 13th. About 11 o'clock we saw a cloud of dust, which betrayed the movement of Hyder's army towards the swamp: at about twelve the head of our line entered it. Here I was again in command, as we marched by the left. The baggage was crossing fast, and the advance guard had crossed, when Hyder formed his line opposite to the ground where the Europeans had been posted on the 10th."

"His apparent intention was to take our line in flank as it passed. A large body of horse advanced, and he opened the fire of his Artillery when the Europeans began to cross the swamp. Coote sent for two 12-pounders of the second line, and ordered the 18-pounders of the first line into the rocks near the burnt village; and he ordered that the instant Hyder opened his guns, our's should return as heavy a fire as possible. Accordingly a very heavy cannonade commenced; but as our troops crossed, the whole were formed to advance upon Hyder, and he fell back towards the Palaar, under a very heavy fire from our right. Just at sunset all was quiet, but as the Army was beginning to move back to Marmundul, a party of Hyder's troops advanced to a height and opened a fire upon us from three guns; they were however presently driven away by the left, and before dark we got into the road and remained there. We lost in this day two Officers wounded, one since dead of a mortification from his wounds, and 42 rank and file killed and wounded. On the 14th we crossed the Poonee; on the 15th we reached Parespic; on the 16th we moved into the plains to the old post, and though there was a great deal of manœuvring the whole day with the enemy, yet not a shot was fired. The manœuvres were performed by the line under my command, and met with Coote's highest approbation; he declared this in public orders, and said, that in forty years service he had never witnessed anything superior. The movements were all made in consequence of those of the enemy, who appeared to be desirous of attacking us in flank; but by always shewing a full front before he could form an attack, he never ventured to close upon us. To describe these by words without knowing the names of the places, is next to impossible; and I shall therefore send you a plan as soon as I can prepare one. I heartily wish you health and happiness, and am,

"TRIPASSORE,
18th January, 1782."

"Dear Sir, etc.,
T. D. PEARSE."

On his return from this service in which he had acquitted himself so well, Colonel Pearse, who felt himself severely hurt by Colonel Lang's being allowed to rejoin after having sent in his resignation, addressed the following letter to Sir Eyre Coote;—

TO SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B. ETC., ETC.

"SIR,

"I beg your permission to go to Madras during the stay which the Army may make in the environs of it, in fact, until you are pleased to take the field again. Many causes urge

me to make this request, but amongst these I own none is so weighty as the indignity lately shewn me by Lord Macartney, by his Lordship's sending out Colonel Lang, upon hearing of your indisposition, although that Officer did not choose to march with the Army when you took the field at its head."

"I assure you, Sir, that I am ready by day or night, to do any service in my power, but my feelings are deeply wounded by the circumstance abovementioned, and by finding myself in a situation where I am considered so totally unworthy of trust. As a further reason, I am destitute of every necessary, and wish for a few days relaxation, after having been for one year incessantly in the field."

"TRIPPASSORE,
19th January, 1782."

"I am, etc. etc.
T. D. PEARSE."

"P. S.—I beg permission to take my staff, and Mr. Gillies my Surgeon; and purpose to set out with the first public escort, unless you should honour me by ordering one to attend me."

General Coote refused Colonel Pearse leave to go to Madras, in the following *handsome* manner.

TO COLONEL PEARSE, ETC., ETC.

"SIR,

"I have had the honour to receive your letter of yesterday; desirous as I am at all times, and upon all occasions to make things agreeable to Officers in general serving under my command, and to endeavour to accommodate them in all their wishes, I need hardly assure a person of Colonel Pearse's merit and pretensions, how much I am, from inclination, led to comply with his desire of coming to the Presidency during the time I may be absent from the Army; nor would I hesitate a moment in giving you my permission, did I not see the necessity of your being with the Army in the field, at a time when an emergency may happen to require the co-operation of those able services, which I had particular satisfaction in observing ever so zealously exerted, in our last march to the relief of Vellore."

"Impressed with these sentiments, I cannot but express my regret, that anything should have occurred in the course of service, to create uneasiness in your mind; or that could be brought forward as an additional plea in favour of your desire of coming to Madras. But, in the present unsettled and uncertain state of our affairs, we ought not only to expect to meet with disappointment, but to be prepared to reconcile ourselves to any temporary impediment that may obtrude to the preclusion of our views. I hope some future arrangements may yet be found expedient, which may prove to be more accordant to your prospects."

"After what I have said, and knowing, as I do, the laudable spirit with which you are actuated in all cases when the good of the service is concerned, it is scarcely necessary that I should add, that your continuation for the present in the field, will afford me pleasure."

"FORT ST. GEORGE,
"20th January, 1782."

"I am,
With esteem, and regard,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
(Sd.) EYRE COOTE."

To this letter Colonel Pearse returned the following answer :—

TO SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., ETC., ETC.

" Sir,

"I was this morning honoured with your letter of the 20th, I beg to return my sincerest acknowledgments for the honourable mention which you are pleased to make, of my endeavours to acquit myself of the duty which I owed to you and to the service ; and I shall ever consider it as one of the happiest events of my life, that I had an opportunity of using the means towards meriting your approbation, and that I was so successful."

"Give me leave Sir, to assure you, that as it is my duty, so it shall be even more my inclination at all times, and on all occasions, to do that which you are pleased to require of me in my station, according to the best of my abilities."

" I am, etc., etc.,

T. D. PEARSE."

" PONDAMALER,

" 22nd January, 1782."

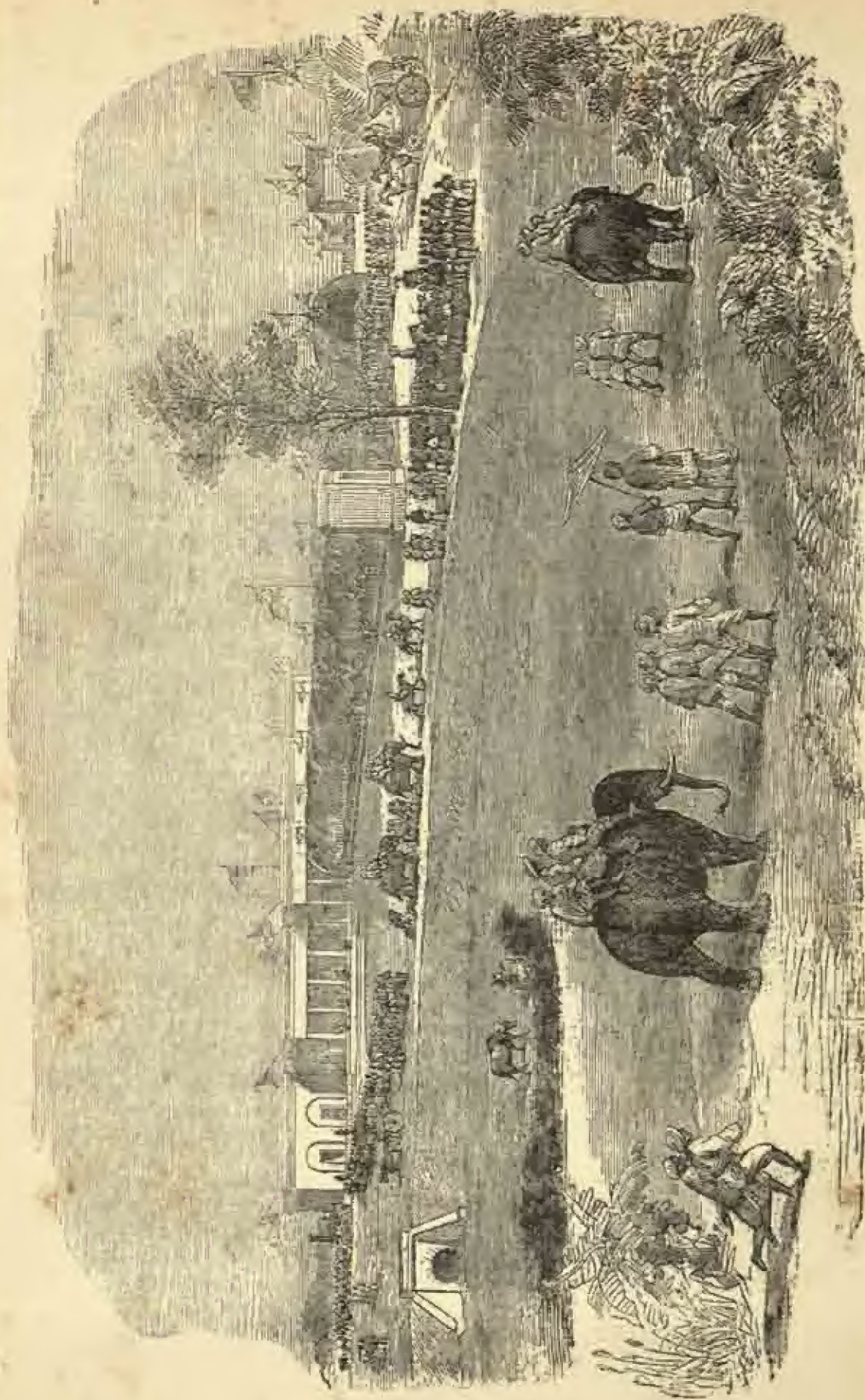
To Mr. Hastings, Colonel Pearse writes as follows, enclosing a copy of the above letter :—

"As General Coote's letter, *if sincere*, is a very full answer to mine, and very honourable to myself, it will, I hope afford you some pleasure to receive such a testimony concerning a man, for whom you certainly had, and I hope still have a good opinion and esteem."

"*What Arrangements Coote will make, I am at a loss to guess ;* but I shall now wait the event patiently. I suppose you know officially of the expected arrival of a French fleet with troops ; if they come, we must fight hard to keep our ground, for one defeat will do our business as effectually as twenty."







THE OPENING OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY TO RANIGANJ.—VIEW OF THE CEREMONY AT BURDWAN.

The Early Days of the East Indian Railway.*

A SIDE-LIGHT ON THE MUTINY.



THE East Indian Railway has been closely associated with the development of Calcutta during the last sixty years. It may therefore be interesting to set down the history of the early days of the railway when the first engineers from England had literally to cut their way through the jungles of Bengal in order to connect Calcutta with the inland world by an adequate and lasting means. The Mutiny figures largely, for outside the Civil Service the railway engineers were the only other body of civilians affected by it.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) Rowland Macdonald Stephenson was the founder and first Agent of the East Indian Railway Company. He brought this company into being in London in 1844,† although during the preceding years he had carefully collected data. In the cold weather of 1845-46 a trial survey was made by him from Calcutta to Delhi and he then went home to forward his proposals to his Board of Directors and to the Honourable East India Company. Sir R. M. Stephenson returned to India when the building of the railway to Raniganj was sanctioned as an experimental measure in 1850.‡ The delay during the years 1846 to 1849 was mainly due to the great diversity of views and opinion put forward to the Government by its officials.

On this subject Sir R. M. Stephenson wrote in a memorandum to Government: "Active operations have now at the close of 1850 scarcely commenced. The interval (from 1844) has been occupied with discussion, doubts, objections and their solution and removal. At the commencement of

* An article on "The Opening of the East Indian Railway" by Mr. Geo. Huddleston, C.I.E., appeared in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II., Pt. 1.—Ed., *Bengal: Past and Present*.

† It may not be generally known that the railway mania reached India as early as 1845-46. A line was projected from Calcutta to Bhagwongola on the Ganges and an alluring prospectus was issued promising 65 per cent. per annum on the gross capital of £1,500,000. Money was subscribed by the Calcutta folk and a splendid entertainment was given at the Town Hall to celebrate the event. Shortly afterwards the promoters of the C. B. Railway disappeared!

‡ The first 50 miles of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway were sanctioned as an experimental line at the same time.

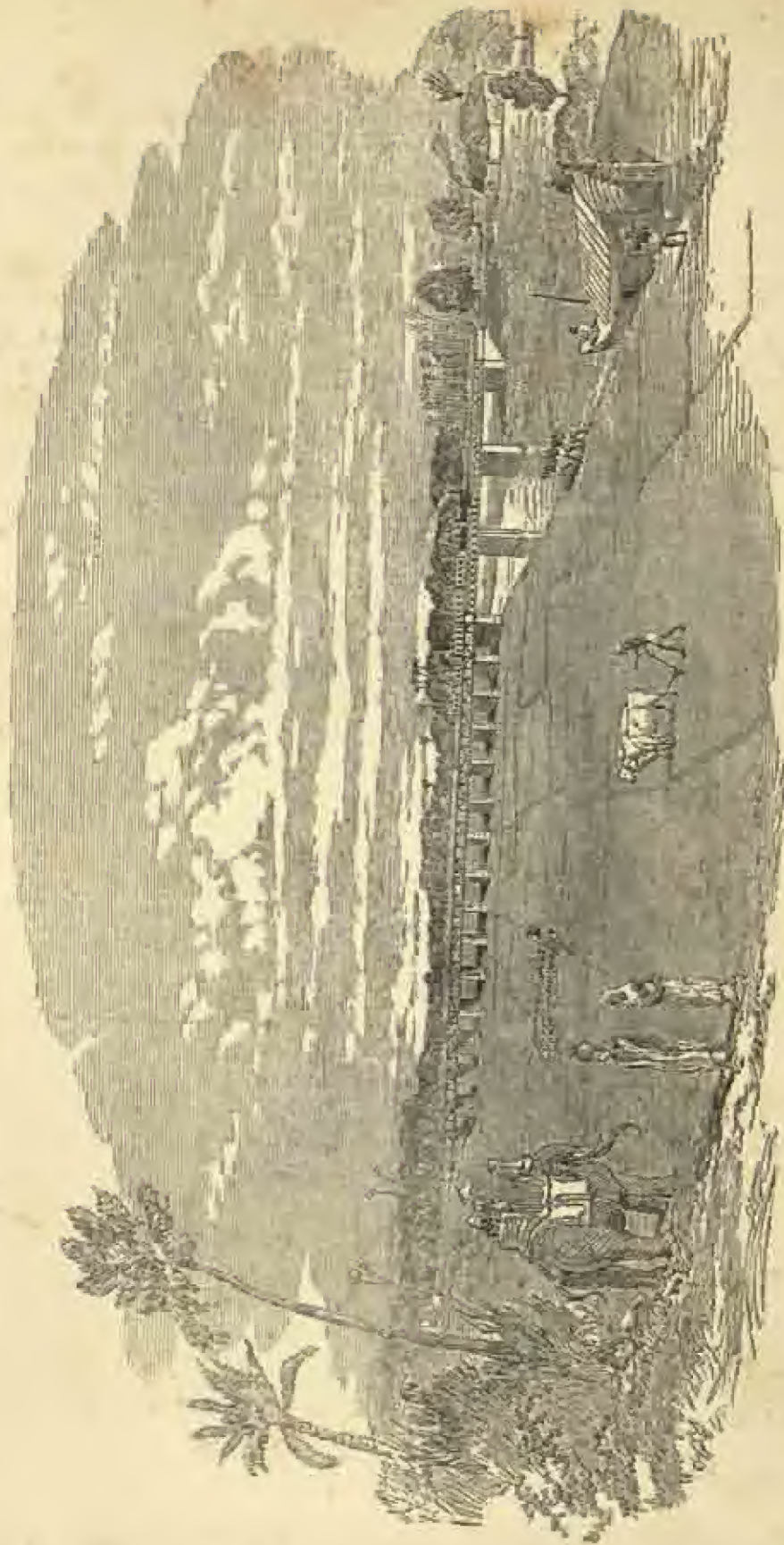
1851, the practicability, the usefulness, and indeed the indispensable necessity of constructing at least the great trunk lines of the country will probably be undisputed." From this it will be observed that the Government were at late as 1851 uncertain of the success of the railway. However, Stephenson and George Turnbull, the first Chief Engineer, overcame these difficulties in the end against all opposition. These two practical men faced a Government with no previous experience of railways and a population ignorant of the Company's wants and doubtful of its benefits. Further there was no Land Act under which land for the railway could be purchased; the new Land Act was not passed till the end of December 1850, but previous to this Mr. Turnbull with his two first Assistants, Messrs. Purser and Evans, made every effort to start the work; in fact, they were actually able to obtain the consent of the owners of the land to open out a track through the jungle along the centre line before formal acquisition. By the end of 1850 only five or six miles of the line to Panduah remained to be cleared, and a year later three-quarters of the embankment and some of the brickwork had been completed. This illustrates the rapidity with which the engineers worked once they had a clear start, nor must the disadvantages against rapid working be forgotten. Inspectors and bricklayers from England had to teach the natives their work and native surveyors had to be trained; a training school for surveyors had been started at Howrah in 1845 for the first survey and it was re-opened in 1851. The rains too delayed matters. It is recorded that during the rains of 1850 the *banks* of the Damodar River burst and 110 boats with 2,000 tons of coal from the Raniganj collieries were scattered over the paddy-fields of Burdwan.

In those days English coal could be landed in Calcutta almost as cheaply as country coal. The country coal had to come by boat and cart *via* the Damodar. After the railway was opened this traffic was very soon killed as it was intended. The first coal train arrived in Howrah on the 30th March 1855 with 187 tons of coal in 26 wagons.

During the year 1851 much progress was made, as has been shown, and the first engines and carriages were indented for from England, of which more anon. A survey was also made through Raniganj to the Barakar River. There was much sickness too and fourteen more engineers were indented for.

The year 1852 was marked by further strides afield and the present Loop Line was examined and advocated by Mr. Turnbull and was finally surveyed later. At the end of August engineers were sent up-country in advance to Suri, Bhagalpur, Dinapur, Buxar and Allahabad to observe the inundations of the country and to make trial sections as far as Allahabad. The Railway Company were ready to construct 100 or 1,000 miles as





THE SAGARWATI BRIDGE NEAR HUGHLI (1853)

Government would decide, there was no stinting in the broadness of their policy for the development of the country. All they asked was that delays should be minimised. It was definitely decided only at the beginning of 1853 to build a branch line to the collieries and to make the trunk line run westwards by Rajmehal to Allahabad and beyond. The route of the present Grand Chord having been more than once suggested instead.

The strain had been so great on Sir R. M. Stephenson, that during the hot weather of 1852 he had to take leave to the Nilghiris, and in 1856 he was compelled to go Home permanently, where he was knighted and made a Director in which post he continued to exert himself in the service of the Company. He retired in 1893 and died shortly afterwards.

By the end of 1853 the line was ready for opening to Panduah but for two serious obstacles. Firstly, there were no carriages as those sent out as models to make the rest from had been lost in the ship *Goodwin* at Sandheads. Secondly, the French possession of Chandernagore stood in the way. The boundary was then apparently not clearly defined and the railway was found to be running over French territory. Matters, after nearly three years, were at length favourably settled. Finding the carriage models lost, to save time, Mr. John Hodgson set about building some himself and when these were complete he tendered to the celebrated Calcutta coach-building firms of Messrs. Stewart and Company and Seton and Company to build enough carriages, vans and wagons to start with.*

In those days all the engines, rails and iron work had to come out in sailing ships; very often these were wrecked and sometimes, as in the case of the first locomotives sent out, the ships were long overdue. The first locomotives came out in the *Kedgerie* by way of Australia, and they were unloaded in the Hughli in June 1854. On the 28th of that month one had been erected and was taken on a trial trip by Mr. Hodgson from Howrah to Panduah thus constituting "the first link in a continuous chain which within a few years" proudly wrote Stephenson, "would connect the extreme points of the Indian Empire with the Metropolis."

The Railway was opened as far as Hughli on the 15th August and up to Panduah on the 1st September, 1854. The occasion was one of great novelty even to Europeans and the Native impression was quite favourable.† In 1854 it was proposed to use Bengal Coal in the locomotives and samples were sent home. English coal was then being obtained at £1-14 per ton. In this year too the survey of the line was pushed forward to Agra

* Compared with the enormous Rolling Stock of these days, it is interesting to note the numbers at the end of March 1855. First Class 4, Second Class 8, Third Class 17, Wagons, Vans, etc., 64, Total 93!

† See "The opening of the East Indian Ry." in *Bangal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, Pt. 1.

and it was proposed to develop further through Meerut and Umballa and by the foot of the Hills of Lahore.

On Saturday, the 3rd February 1855 the line was opened to Raniganj with due pomp and circumstance unfortunately "the health of the Governor-General rendered it impossible for his Lordship to do more than attend the prayers at the Howrah Station." The year 1855 was one of great progress in those parts of the line not affected by the Sonthal Rebellion. The line from Allahabad was being pushed on and the works at the Sone Bridge were started; 60 feet brick arches and the use of Palamau coal, floated down the Sone, for the brick making was first proposed. The present steel girders of 150 feet were subsequently settled on.* At the time too the Government suggested a bridge over the Hughli and borings were taken by one of the East Indian Railway Engineers but nothing further was done. The Matlah River project also came up, and the East Indian Railway were in favour of working it.† The line from Agra onwards to Lahore was surveyed by way of the right bank of the Jumna and Delhi by Mr. Purser, and brick-making, etc. on this section was actually in progress when the Mutiny broke out. The Mutiny entirely changed the railway policy of the Government and the alignment was changed to the present route *via* the left bank of the Jumna and Aligarh and Ghaziabad in 1858, as it was found that the Mutiny was the strongest on that side of the River Jumna. The line from Delhi to Lahore had subsequently also to be abandoned to the Punjab Railway Company although the line and the site for the Sutlej bridge had been fully surveyed by the East Indian Railway Engineers.

The Sonthal Rebellion gave some trouble to the engineers and contractors in Birbhum and Rajmehal, and there was a certain amount of loss of personal effects, as many bungalows were burnt down by the rebels and those at Taljhari (now the C.M.S. Mission) were sacked. At Rampur Haut the railway people built a strong round tower into which they retired when necessary. The works were delayed off and on from July to February 1856. The charge of oppression brought against the contractors (Messrs. Nelson) as a reason for the Rebellion was entirely without foundation, in fact, a month after the first outbreak the contractors were able to collect their labour together to proceed with the works partially. The Railway engineers were thanked by Government for the stand they made against the insurgents owing to which was attributed the safety of many wealthy villages. Several trains were run from Howrah to Raniganj with troops to quell the insurrection and in fact

* This bridge was finished, after much delay during the Mutiny in 1857-58, on 22nd December 1862. There are 28 spans and the total length is 4,726 feet.

† In 1858 Mr. Turnbull, the Chief Engineer, proposed to build a Hughli Bridge at Fulta and to have a joint station with the Eastern Bengal Railway in Calcutta.



THE SONTHAL REBELLION—AN AFFRAY BETWEEN THE RAILWAY ENGINEERS AND REBELS.



the East Indian Railway had a good deal to do with reducing the seriousness of the outbreak.

There was, too, during 1855, a slight disturbance at Patna on account of the Land Acquisition Officer taking over the land for the Railway before payment was made, but this was soon rectified and was the only trouble of the kind during the whole of the construction.

In 1856 the line was already open as far as Raniganj and the Coal Traffic was steadily developing. The line towards Rajmehal was being pushed on, and on the 1st December 1856, a trial trip was made with an engine and some trucks from Allahabad for 8 miles towards Cawnpur. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces and his staff being on the train expressed satisfaction to Mr. Hodgson, the Locomotive Superintendent on the success of the run. This gives some idea how far the line had penetrated when the Mutiny broke out. The dawn of 1857 marked further progress, mail trains commenced to run from Howrah to Raniganj in 5 hours; about this time too, the first Sunday trains were started although much preached against by the Clergy of Calcutta. On the outbreak of the Mutiny at Meerut in May 1857 the East Indian Railway engineers and their staff were at the following points along the line—at Delhi, Agra and Aligarh surveying; at Cawnpur and Allahabad, and between, building the line from Allahabad and Cawnpur and the bridges over the Jumna and Tons; in the country opposite Benares; at Buxar and Arrah, building the line west of the Sone, sinking the wells of the Sone Bridge itself; at Patna, building the Poonpoo Bridge, etc., and at the Halowa and Kiul Bridges, Monghyr, Rajmehal and Rampur Haut, etc. Taking these different stations in succession it is interesting to note what happened at each.

On the first troops from Meerut reaching Delhi on the morning of the 11th of May, most of the civilians in Delhi were massacred, it appears however that those of the Railway engineers who were in Delhi managed to escape without their property to the South. Their names were Mr. W. H. R. Curll, District Engineer, Messrs. Michael and Carter, Assistant Engineers, Cummins, Spencer and Taylor, Junior Engineers and Benn an Inspector. About 20 miles south of Delhi they were allowed to take shelter in a fort belonging to the Raja of Ballabgarh. Shortly afterwards they had to flee from this place to Agra, 100 miles beyond, and in doing so Mr. C. B. Taylor and Inspector W.S. Benn were killed by the mutineers.* The rest of the party reached Agra, where luckily the safety they anticipated was obtainable. There they found Messrs. C. B. LeMesurier, J. Mackerness and Johnson, Railway Engineers, and all of them volunteered service in what was known

* The last Raja of Ballabgarh, Nahr Singh, was executed for his disloyalty in 1857.

as the "Agra Militia Force" under George Harvey, the Commissioner of Muttra, with 20 other civilians. This little body of horse did good work in patrolling the roads in and out of Agra. They got within 30 miles of Delhi and were in action more than once. Similarly at Aligarh what Railway men there were volunteered in the "Aligarh Volunteer Horse." They had their headquarters at Madrak, (where there is now a railway station), and had a sharp fight there one night with the Gwalior Troops from Hathras and afterwards went to Agra in time for the battle there on the 5th June. On the 3rd June the Acting Agents* reported to the Board of the Railway in England that "the works between Agra and Delhi are of course all suspended, Delhi is still in the hands of the mutineers and the attempt to retake it will be made as soon as a strong force of European troops can be collected. All India is affected by this Mutiny of the native troops. The Engineers on the Cawnpur District have been obliged to leave the line and to retire into Cantonments for safety." I will now transcribe the words of W. H. Fitchett.† he writes, "Perhaps the most obstinate and bloody fighting during the siege (of Cawnpur) took place in the line of unfinished barracks which crossed the South-West angle of the entrenchments. The Sepoys held the northern half of this line of buildings. Of the three buildings to the south—which completely commanded the entrenchment—what was called "No. 4" was held by a party of amateur soldiers—civil engineers employed on the East Indian railroads (*sic.*). There were a dozen of them, young fellows more familiar with theodolites than with rifles; but a cluster of English Life-Guards could not have fought with cooler bravery. And the civil engineers had a keenness of wit and a fertility of mechanical resource which veteran soldiers might easily have lacked.

Vainly the sepoys pelted "No. 4" with 24-pounder shot, scourged it with musketry fire, or made wild rushes upon it. The gallant railway men devised new barriers for the doors, and new shields for the windows, and shot with cool and deadly aim, before which the sepoys fell like rabbits, "No. 4" like Hougoumont at Waterloo, it might be battered into a wreck, but could not be captured. In the Memorial Church at Cawnpur to-day, not the least touching tablet is one upon which is inscribed:—

'To the Memory of the Engineers in the service of the East Indian Railway Company who died and were killed in the Great Insurrection of 1857. This monument is erected in affectionate remembrance by their brother engineers in the N. W. Provinces, India.'

* Messrs. Lingard Stokes and A. Boyle were Acting Agents from 1st May 1856 to June 1857 when Mr. Edward Palmer came out to take over the Agency. Mr. Palmer was succeeded in 1873 by Mr. Cecil Stephenson brother of Sir R. M. Stephenson.

† "The Tale of the Great Mutiny."

Mr. Fitchett goes on to describe the sorties of the garrisons from Barracks Nos. 2 and 4 which at a given signal "would dash out together, a little knot of ragged, unwashed, smoke-blackened sahibs, counting about thirty in all, and running without regular order, and with that expression on their faces which the sepoy knew meant tragical business; and, with musket and bayonet or hogspear, they would sweep the line of barracks from end to end."

This illustrates what fortitude and braveness could be mustered from the ranks of the engineers of the East Indian Railway in this time of great need. It was the same all over the line as will be seen hereafter. No set of civilians had a finer record of courage and usefulness, besides showing great foresight as at Allahabad and Arrah, and it is well perhaps to record what was accomplished, lest we forget.

The name of those killed in Cawnpur were A. M. M. Miller, A. C. Heberden, Resident Engineers, and W. Digges La Touche, Robert Hanna, J. C. Bayne and W. Forsyth, Assistant Engineers. Besides these there was Inspector J. Holmes and sixteen subordinates with their families whose names are written on the tablets of the Memorial Church—44 men, women and children in all.

I will now pass on to Fatehpur. On the position becoming dangerous Robert Tucker, the Judge, sent all the Europeans to Allahabad for safety, himself alone remaining. Everyone knows the story of his heroic and single-handed defence of his house. It is not, however, generally known that the railway employes before leaving put his house into a thorough state of defence. Similarly at Banda an East Indian Railway Inspector, of the name of Bews (Bayes?) who had escaped to this place from Fatehpur made himself useful by cleaning out and repairing the old ruined fort of Bhuragarh to which the Europeans of Banda were to have gone for safety.* This plan was afterwards abandoned and the residents escaped from Banda, some in Mr. Bews' trap, to Mirzapur by way of Maihar and Rewah.

In reporting to their Board on the 3rd June 1857, the Acting Agents of the East Indian Railway wrote the following regarding the state of Allahabad. "He (Mr. Purser, the Chief Engineer, North-West Provinces) and Mr. Hodgson have been obliged to send all their plans and valuable papers into the Fort of Allahabad, and all the Railway Company's servants there have been furnished with arms and have assisted both the Civil and Military powers by patrolling at night, keeping the peace, and taking their turns at other duties for the general welfare."

About the same time the *Englishman's* correspondent had written from

* This fort was built by the Raja Guman Singh in 1784, and it was stormed and taken by the British in 1804. Curiously enough the rebel Nawab of Banda started repairing it again on the advance of the British in 1858.

Allahabad. "We have plenty of cause for amusement here. The railway people insist on going the grand rounds. One cadet doing duty with the 6th Native Infantry, walked in the verandah last night five hours, armed with sword and pistol, amid the raillery of his wiser comrades." *

In one of the most ghostly old cemeteries I know, a great, long, crowded place with funereal trees giving a ghastly light, is the grave of John Hodgson, the first Locomotive Superintendent of the East Indian Railway, in an honoured place next to the stone beneath which "were laid on 18th June 1857 the remains of 7 officers of the 6th Regiment Native Infantry who were murdered by their own men at the Mutiny of that Regiment on the night of 6th June. Eight other officers of the same Regiment or doing duty with it were murdered at the same time but their bodies were not recovered," that is, only a fortnight after the *Englishman's* correspondent had written, 15 officers of the 6th Native Infantry were massacred and among them, "his wiser comrades." The story of Arthur Cheek of the same Regiment may also be remembered.

On John Hodgson's grave is the following:—

In the Memory of
JOHN HODGSON, C.E.,
formerly of Newcastle-
upon-Tyne, England,
and Locomotive Superinten-
dent of the East Indian
Railway, N.-W. P., who died
of Cholera, June 20th, 1857,
aged 45 years.

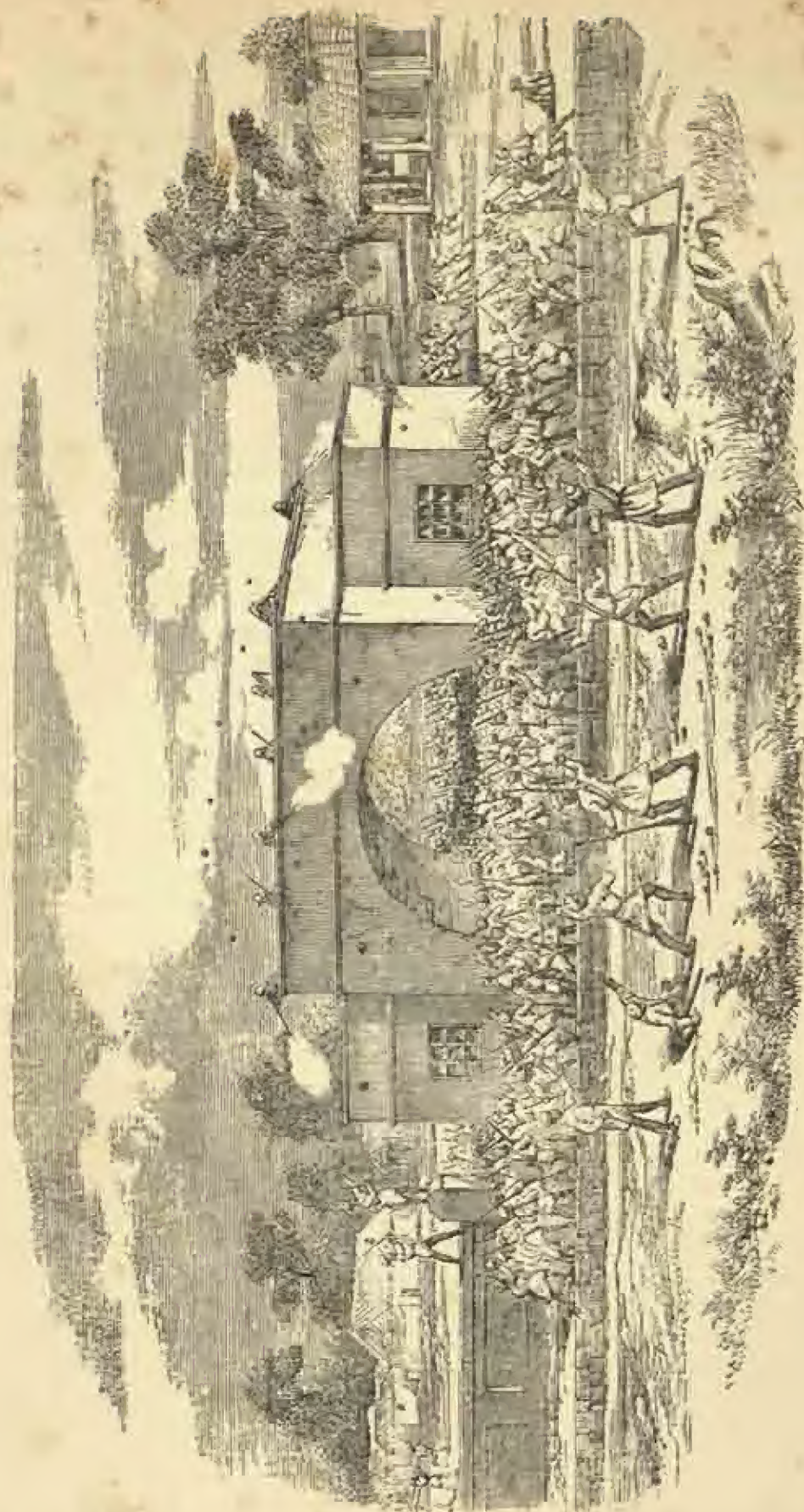
Also of
MARY ANNE,
Wife of the above, who died
of the same disease on
the day previous in the
Fort at this place,
aged 35 years.

Near by are the graves of R. N. Mantell, the Engineer of the Jumna Bridge, died 30th June and George Richardson, Foreman, died 11th August 1857.

I fancy it was Mr. Betagh, District Engineer, who insisted on doing the grand rounds as he was made Adjutant of the "Volunteers" after the Mutiny had broken out, and he had under him 65 civilians who did good

* This passage is quoted in Sir G. Trevelyan's "*Competition Wallah*."





THE WATER TANK AT BHAIRWARI, DEFENDED AGAINST THE MUTINEERS FOR THIRTY-TWO HOURS.

service with General Neill. His name coupled with that of Major Ryves was mentioned to Government by the Commissioner. Kaye states that the railway works and engines were among the first things destroyed by the rabble under the Mulvi Liakat Ali,* and that they brought their guns to bear on the engines, battering them to pieces "some appearing to be afraid of approaching them as though they were living monsters." Seeing this destruction of his engines from the Fort may have hastened poor John Hodgson's death. All the Station Works at Allahabad including the Locomotive and Carriage Shops were destroyed and the river flats, etc., were damaged.

The day after the Allahabad troops had mutinied, fifteen railway men, women and children, among them being Major Ryves (Madras Army retired) and his wife and one of the engineers, Mr. Snow, found themselves cut off from Allahabad by the rebels at Bharwari, a railway station between Allahabad and Fatehpur. At about 2 P.M. on the 7th June, the party got up into an overhead water-tank for safety, the rebels having turned up from Allahabad. On the same date a Mr. William Lancaster (described as an Assistant contractor) who lived four miles below Bharwari, tried to reach the tank but was killed in doing so. A Mr. Smith of the railway from Sirathu, also came in wounded, his companion, David Thomas, an Inspector, having been killed on the way down. By this time about 1,000 rebels had collected round the tank and tried burning it down but did not succeed. The rebel leader, Mulvi Liakat Ali at Allahabad, sent word that if they would become Mahomedans all would be well. The Bharwari party replied they wanted time to think over this!

For three days and nights these brave people in the open water-tank withstood missile and sun, without covering. They did not fire back for fear of ladies, but waited and were happily relieved at 3 P.M. on the 9th. As they were descending from the tank, Mrs. Ryves was struck down by sunstroke and died. She was buried on the river bank. This incident reminds one of Arrah on a smaller scale, and, although the garrison in the water-tank forebore to fire till they might have been compelled to do so, there is no doubt they had made up their minds to sell their lives dearly. It may be added that the Sowars were promised Rs. 2,000 to relieve Mr. Snow and his party at Bharwari. In another case Rs. 300 was given to a native who saved the life of Mr. McCallan, the cashier of the Loco. Department, who was in imminent danger somewhere else and was brought safely into the Fort.

Allahabad was gradually pacified and Mr. Gower, who was acting in Mr. Hodgson's place, took an engine out 10 miles from Allahabad on the

* Liakat Ali was captured and brought to justice in 1877, just 20 years after.

29th July but found the line too unsafe to go further. Later a force of 400 Europeans were posted at Fatehpur, and this enabled the contractors (Messrs. Norris) to proceed with the work and repair damages. This was done with such vigour that the line was opened to Fatehpur on 25th March in the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor and the entire length to Cawnpur on the 15th September 1858 for Government use, and for the public later.

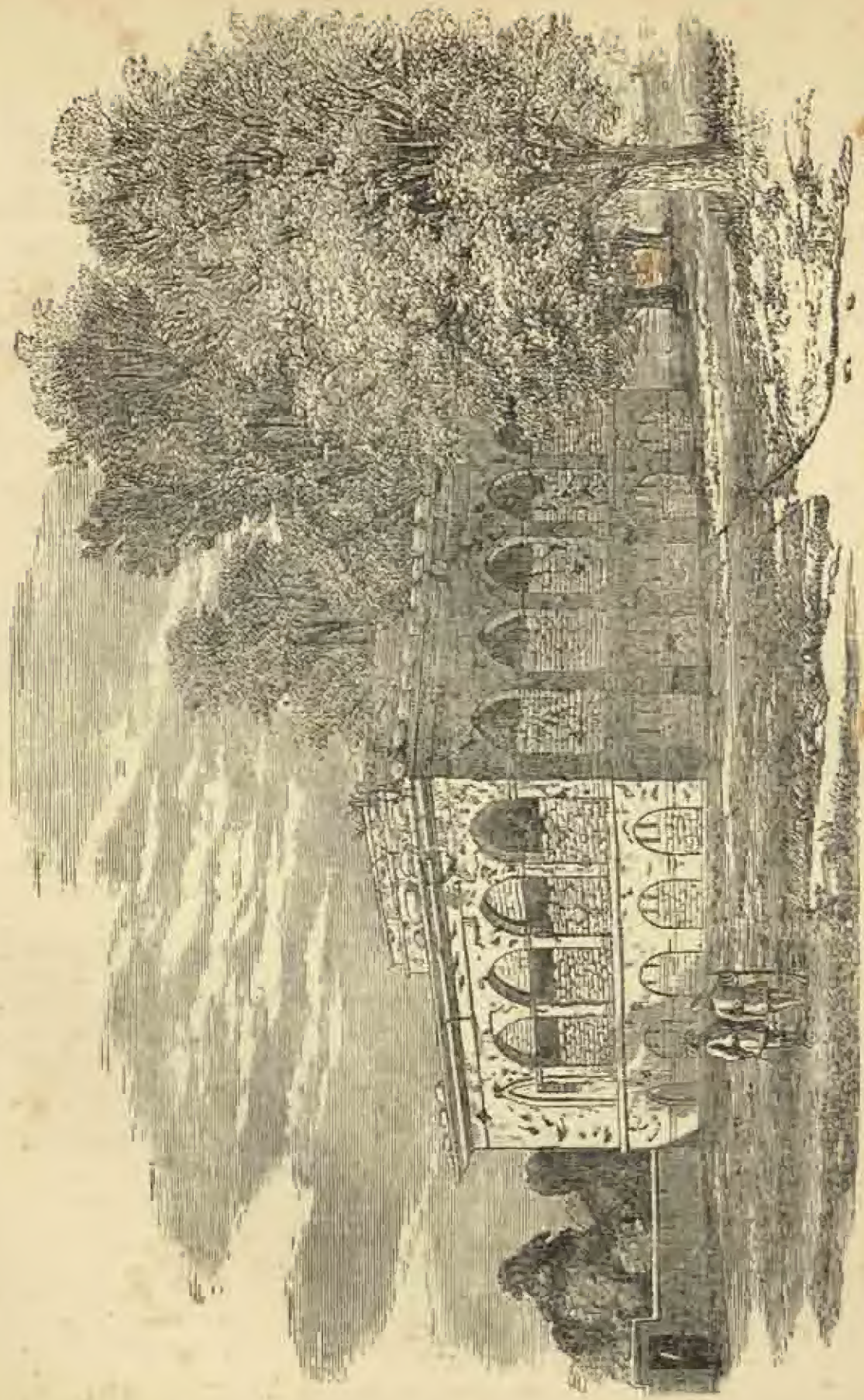
Our engineers on the Mirzapur District had to flee into Chunar Fort in June and it was not till March 1858 that troops were provided and the work on the Tonse Bridge could be gone on with.

I will now pass on to a more celebrated episode in the Mutiny. What was known as the Sone District was in charge of Mr. R. Vicars Boyle. He also had charge of the Sone Bridge works as the Engineer-in-Charge Mr. Samuel Power had not yet arrived from England. The story of the siege of Arrah has already been told in these pages* and I can only add a few facts referring to the Mutiny on this District. In the siege there were three other railway men—Hoyle, Tait and LaPayiere—besides Vicars Boyle. In the relief of Arrah by Sir Vincent Eyre part of the action at Bibiganj on 2nd August was fought on the railway embankment, 5 miles west of Arrah, Eyre also used some of the railway material to cross his guns over the Banas Nala. When the Mutiny broke out the extensive sheds and workshops at the Sone were destroyed. In the interim, before Koer Sing's re-occupation of Shahabad in May 1858, they were built up again, only to be destroyed for the second time. All the outlying bungalows had been destroyed too. Trouble in the Shahabad District and the neighbourhood continued long after; a small band of rebels overran the district and destroyed the station buildings at Gahmar and Dildarnagar and the kilns were prematurely fired, etc. Even as late as April 1859 the Company's works at Gahmar were attacked.

With regard to Vicars Boyle's services the thanks of Government were accorded him "for the gallant defence of the house at Arrah," and he was awarded a *jagir* of Rs. 10,000 annually for life and Rs. 5,000 for his successors in perpetuity. He was also given the C.S.I. He remained at Arrah from 1855 to 1862, when he went to Patna. He retired from the East Indian Railway in 1864. From 1872 to 1877 he was Chief Engineer to the Japanese Government. He died in January 1908 at the age of 86.

The engineers from the neighbourhood of Monghyr retired into the fort there and requisitioned for a few troops to hold the place with. However, no troops could be spared. By the end of the year they were back at work on

* See *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. II, Part II, page 143.



THE HOUSE AT ARRAN FORTIFIED BY VICARUS BOYLE—FROM A SKETCH BY MAJOR V. EYRE, AND DEDICATED BY HIM TO THE HEROIC GARRISON



the Kiul and Halowa Bridges, although Patna was likely "to go" at any moment, and it was an exciting time working, as Mr. W. G. S. Good, one of the engineers told me.

On the mutiny of the 32nd Native Infantry at Rampur Hant in October 1857 a sudden stop was put to the works, and the Inspectors and Contractors there had to retire into the Round Tower built during the Sonthal Rebellion and before referred to.

Further down in Bengal in May and June 1857 at Raniganj and Howrah the Company's servants were in a state of alarm and requested to be supplied with arms to protect their families. The Acting Agents applied to Government for arms but were told no breach of the peace was apprehended and that their (the Company's servants') fears were groundless. "It is true," added the Acting Agents in reporting this to their Board, "that European troops are arriving almost daily from Madras, Rangoon, Ceylon and Bombay."*

In the face of this it is curious to note that the Government applied to the railway for help and this was readily given. Flats belonging to the railway, were fitted with locomotives and paddles, thus turning them into tugs, and these with other flats were used for transporting troops up the river; forges and other material were also lent, and trains with troops were run to Raniganj. Many attempts were made to derail trains between Howrah and Raniganj during this period.

One of the last incidents in the Mutiny occurred in 1859.

At Manikpur in Bundelkhand is a little enclosure containing the grave of William Evans, who under George Turnbull constructed the first line out of Calcutta. He was killed with Charles Linnel, as Mr. Huddleston describes in his *History of the E.I.R.*, at Entowah (Itwan), 18 miles from Manikpur. They must have been among the last civilians killed in the Mutiny, for they were murdered by Tantia Topi's sowars as late as the 26th February 1859. There is only one grave, as Evans' remains only were recovered; he was killed first and Linnel was made to carry Evans' head till he dropped. There is a stone roughly scratched by some loving hand. "Here lieth the Body of W. Evans, Esq., C.E., E.I.R., 1859." There is also a later monument:—

"In Memory of
William Evans, Chief Engineer,
and Charles Linnel, Resident Engineer
of the
Allahabad and Jubbulpoor Railway,

* Afterwards arms were indented for and sent out by the Railway Company and supplied to the engineers at the latter's expense. But this was in 1858 when the Mutiny was nearly over.

who were murdered
by Rebels at Entowah near
the 80th mile from Allahabad on
the 26th February 1859."

The construction of the Jubbulpur line to Bombay had been sanctioned in December 1858, but it was not till the 21st January 1859 that Mr. Evans was allowed to start work on account of the disturbed state of the country.

The total losses, incurred during the Sonthal Rebellion and the Mutiny, came to between 3 and 4 million pounds. The Board of the East Indian Railway at Home and the shareholders were very sympathetic regarding the loss of life among the engineers. The Board wrote on 2nd November 1857 that they learnt "with feelings of deepest regret the deaths of so many valuable officers, some from natural causes * in the discharge of their duties and others in the fearful calamities which have overtaken them, and they take this opportunity of expressing their warm approbation of the endeavour which, under most trying circumstances, appear universally to have been made to protect the Company's property."

At a meeting of the shareholders of the East Indian Railway Company at "The London Tavern," Bishopsgate Street, on 29th October 1857, the following resolution passed:—"That this meeting desires to record its high sense of the conduct of the Company's staff during the recent disturbances in India, and to express its warm and heartfelt sympathy with the friends of those gentlemen who have been permanently cut off in the midst of a prosperous and honourable career.

"That the Board of Directors be directed to communicate to the staff generally the thanks of this meeting for their services, and most specially to Mr. Boyle and the other officers who took part in the gallant and unparalleled defence of Arrah."

A. F. C. DE COSSON.



* The names of those engineers not already mentioned who died during the Mutiny are—J. W. Allen at Mirzapur, John Mackerness and A. Spencer at Agra, Thomas Byrne in Calcutta on his arrival from Allahabad after the outbreak there, F. Cassen on board a river steamer, John Fitton Thompson near Buxar and F. S. Mudge at Sitapabar near Rajmshah.

The illustrations are from old volumes of the *Illustrated London News*, kindly lent by Mr. H. Wright, and reproduced with permission of the proprietors of "The I. L. N."

The Career of John O'Donnell and the Cruise of the "Death or Glory" Private Ship of War.

6.—JOHN O'DONNELL AND CAPTAIN JOHN McCLARY ON TRIAL BEFORE WARREN HASTINGS AND EDWARD WHELER.

(*Concluded.*)



HE Warrant for the arrest of O'Donnell and McClary was, as we have seen, dated July the 9th. Assisted by the Chief Justice (Sir E. Impey), Warren Hastings and Edward Wheeler sat in their capacity of Justices of the Peace to hear the charges advanced by Captain James Bracey against his late companion. The evidence is recorded as follows :—

William Boswell of Calcutta in the Kingdom of Bengal, late Governor's mate of the *Death or Glory* private ship of war, maketh oath and says, that on the 2nd of February last the ship *Death or Glory* being at an anchor Pels Varedlo near the entrance of the Straights of Banca about two leagues from shore, at day-light in the morning he saw three prows coming off from the land towards the ship. The *Death or Glory* then weighed anchor, stood towards the prows at noon, brought one of them to, that Captin Bracey ordered the boat of the last Prow to come on board and bring their pass; which they did; the boats crew was taken into the *Death or Glory*, but this Deponent did not see the pass. By this time the other two prows came up and hove to. Captain Bracey ordered them to send their boats on, which they did, and the Crews of the three Malay Boats with their passes came on board the *Death or Glory*, and that the Pinnace of the *Death or Glory* proceeded toward the largest of the three prows with Mr. John O'Donnell, who with the boats Crew consisting of six persons and the cockswain went on board the 1st prow, that the Deponent was then on board his own ship, from whence in a few minutes he saw a pistol fire on board the prows on which Mr. John O'Donnell was aboard, that the firing of this pistol alarmed the Malays who were on board the *Death or Glory*, and who being then unconfined rose upon and attacked the Crew of the ship and attempted to wrest the arms from the hands of the Seamen, several of the *Death or Glory's* people who had musquets in their hands fired upon the Malays and killed several of them, and some they cut with cutlasses. That Captain Bracey was then sick in his Cabin from whence he came up on the Deck and ordered his people to cease firing which it was some time before they would do. That this deponent went with another into the Captain's Cabin, who asked him what he wanted there, to which this Deponent replied that he

was come to protect the life of him the said Captin Bracey as well as the deponent's own, as the Malays were then coming up the Stern Ladder, and endeavouring to get in at the Cabin window, where upon a table three or four swords were lying. That they the people of the *Death or Glory* quelled the Malays, and then, tying them some back to back and others with their hands behind them, threw them into the Sea. That this deponent saw the said John O'Donnell return in the Pinnacle from the said Prow, this Deponent then being in the Cabin Window with his Cutlasses in his hands, and looking out to prevent the Malays from coming into the Cabin. That at that time some of the wounded Malays who had jumped over board and some of those who had been tied and thrown over board as before mentioned were striving to save themselves by swimming, and that some of them were close to the Rudder of the Ship and others of them about ten or twelve yards astern. That this Deponent saw Mr. O'Donnell come up in the pinnacle to the said Malays who were so swimming as aforesaid, and with a Malays lance, which he had in his hand, he thrust at them and killed several of them. That at that time the people on board the ship were firing at the Malays in the water, and that the said Jn. O'Donnell called out to them to 'vast firing, for that he could keep them from coming on board, they had no need to fire. And this Deponent says that some person on Deck at the time of the fray called out to the Seamen to tie the hands of the Malays, and he believed they threw them into the Sea; that this Deponent does not know who the said person was, but is sure that it was not Captin Bracey; and this Deponent further saith that he has seen Captin Bracey but twice since the *Death or Glory* returned to Calcutta, and that at this time he had no conversation with him upon the subject of the matter contained in this deposition, that he only went to him to ask him for money which the said Captin Bracey refused to give him.

Council Chamber

WM BOSWELL

Sworn before us this

11th day of July 1782.

Deposition of Ephraim Clarke, Seaman, late belonging to the Death or Glory private ship of war:—

This deponent maketh oath and saith:—That the *Death or Glory* was lying at anchor off an island in the Streights of Banca, he cannot remember the time, when two Prows and one sloop were seen standing down the Streights. The ship weighed and stood after them and by firing a gun brought them to. They then hailed them and ordered them to send their boats on board. That the vessels each sent their boats with Rockadas on board the *Death or Glory*. That the boat of the *Death or Glory* was then mann'd with eight men of whom this deponent was one, and a coxswain. That Mr. O'Donnell went in her to examine the prows. On his arrival on board one of the prows, he asked the people for the keys of their chests, some were delivered and other chests they were obliged to break open. That after about four of the chests had been examined, this deponent was standing aft upon the poop when one of the Malays whom he had asked for the key of his chest, without other provocation knocked him down. This deponent immediately rose and made a stroke at the same man with his cutlass but missed him, several of the Malays then set upon this deponent, and one of them gave him a very severe cut above the knee with which he fell down. That Mr. O'Donnell and the people with him, seeing the fray, immediately fired upon the Malays, having each a pistol and a cutlass: about four Malays were killed upon the spot, the rest either jumped overboard into the water or got into a boat and rowed away. That Mr. O'Donnell and the boat's crew took the boat and rowed after the people in the water, that they fired several times at these people and a man named John Hughes stood in the bow of the boat with a lance, with which he struck

those whom they came up with. That the Malays on board both the prows jumped over board as above related, and it was after these and the people thrown overboard from the *Death or Glory* that the Boat was rowing for about half or three-quarters of an hour, during which time this deponent remained wounded on board the first prow, that the boat afterwards returned for him and took him back to the ship. That the Malays on board the sloop did not rise like the rest, the officer sent on board having taken the precaution to confine them. That these men were afterwards released and allowed to go in the vessel where they pleased.

Being asked if he saw Mr. O'Donnell kill any of the people, says that he fired twice when on board the prow and twice in the Boat at the people who were swimming. He saw him shoot at a man in the water with a Crease in his hand, who was killed, but whether by that shot or not this deponent can not say.

This deponent says that he has only seen Captain Bracy twice since he came on shore, once when he went to ask him for a note to go into the pilot service, and that he has had no conversation with him upon the subjects related in this affidavit.

EPHRAIM CLARKE
his + mark

Council Chamber

Sworn before us this 11th July 1782.

WARREN HASTINGS,
EDWD. WHEELER.

1782. O. C., 11th July, No. 5.

Captain John Mackhury says reply to Captain James Bracey's Affidavit.

In answer to the charge delivered on oath by Captain James Bracey in which I, as late Commander of the ship *Dodulay*, am accused of the crime of murder, I beg leave to state that, on the day sworn to by my accuser, it had been agreed upon by the said Bracey and myself to send away from both ships all the prisoners who had (during the cruise in the Straits of Banca) been made in vessels bearing the colours and passports of the Dutch Government, and adds that the people called Malays were the navigators of most of these vessels particularly that on whose concerns the present charge is forwarded. The men in question were informed that all of them were to have their liberty and that boats were provided for the purpose of conveying them on shore. I must observe that in consequence of an attempt having been made on the life of the first officer of my ship by one of these Malays, I ordered that all who had been brought from that particular vessel should be clearly confined under the charge of a sentinel. I had declined doing so on their being first brought on board, but this attempt, aided by information, from a number of Malays, who were entertained by me as seamen, that the crew of the vessel were men who lived by preying on the lives and properties of all persons (Malays as well as others who were not in a situation to defend themselves) determined me. I have been a little particular in the latter part of this narrative because I believe they were the only prisoners who had at any time been in confinement during the whole of the cruise of the *Dodulay*; further I beg leave to say that Captain James Bracey, having engaged with me to go that morning on board another ship or vessel, the said Bracey called upon me, but that, at the minute previous to our intention of quitting the ship, an alarm was given by people on the upper part of the quarter deck (the place where the prisoners were confined) that the sentinel had been stabbed by one of them, and on looking instantly round I saw one of the said prisoners with a bayonet in his hand struggling with a seaman who loudly called on me to assist him and defend myself. I thought I was lucky at the moment in having a hanger

in my hand, and sprang to his assistance. I made a blow at the Malay certainly with the intention to disable him whose aim was evidently at me. In striking with force I was so unfortunate as to wound the man who held him, and my hanger broke before I could materially injure the person it was pointed at. A crowd of people instantly assembled, and the Malay was killed. The circumstances attending the stabbing of the seaman were these.

The Malay had requested to go forward to the ship's head, and in order to enable him to do so, I understand that the shackles were loosed from the legs of several others, they being all confined on one bolt or barr. The man went and returned peaceably, but as the centinel was stooping to replace the shackle, he inadvertently laid down his bayonet within reach of the prisoner, who instantly snatched it, and with both hands and all his strength struck it into his back with so much force as to penetrate his lungs. The man to all appearance at that time was killed by the blow (he is now in the hospital), and the prisoner sprang forward towards the spot on which I was standing. What followed I have before related. Every man without distinction was instantly in arms, and it was with great difficulty that the ship's company, by myself and others, were prevented from putting to death at the moment every description of Malays, both seamen and others, then on board. Three or four small vessels being then under detention, whose crews consisted principally of Malays, it was thought prudent to send on board of them and to bring all that there might be reason to be apprehensive of under the stern of the *Dehalay*, in order to prevent insurrections, which must have been fatal to the few Europeans who were in charge of them, as well as to have them in readiness to send on shore as they had been promised. I admit that I ordered the prisoners who associated with the man who had stabbed the seaman to be more closely confined than usual with a very strong guard over them till I should have the opportunity to send them out of the ship, the Malays from the other vessels begging that they might not go together as they should certainly be cut off, either before or after reaching the shore by those men and others of a similar description. I further declare that very soon after the attempt (as I believe) to assassinate me, I went from the deck into my cabin to change my clothes, those I had then on having been stained by the blood of the Malay, that what happened upon the deck during my stay below I neither knew of or in the most distant manner authorised, nor do I believe that my officers in the least degree encouraged what was doing, but to a man would have been happy to prevent unnecessary bloodshed, yet I am firmly of opinion that neither my authority with that of my officers united could have in any degree restrained the ungovernable rage that had possessed the whole of the ship's crew from the circumstances of a shipmate having been, as was supposed, murdered and the attempts that had been made on my life and that of the Chief Officer of the ship.

I have only to add to this relation that from the day alluded to till the arrival of the ships in Malacca Roads (a lapse of fifteen days) that the most perfect cordiality had subsisted between me and Captain Bracey: seldom a day passing without our dining or supping with each other, and that, during those fifteen days, there never had dropped from him a single word of regret at the scene which he has sworn to have been witness to, and surely it must appear extraordinary that he should not bring forth this heavy accusation till now, although the parties had been on the spot more than six weeks.

I can produce evidence in support of the foregoing declarations, on the oath of several officers and others in my ship, and I particularly beg leave to call upon Captain Mackenzie, an officer in His Majesty's twenty-third Regiment who was my passenger from China, for

an account of the general tenor of my conduct and treatment of the prisoners who at different times were on board the *Dodulay*.

JOHN MACKLARY.

Deposition of James Fitzgerald, late Boatswain of the Private Ship of War the Death or Glory, taken in Council at Fort William, the 11th July 1782.

When Captain Bracey returned on board the *Death or Glory* from the *Dodulay* while both ships were at anchor in the Straits of Banca (but the day or month this deponent cannot recollect) he informed this deponent that the people in the *Dodulay* were going to do as they had done in the *Death or Glory*, the Chief Officer asking what that was. Captain B. replied that they were going to tie the Malays to throw them overboard and shoot them, or words to that effect. This deponent about half an hour afterwards saw people whom he took to be Malays thrown overboard from the *Dodulay* and he heard muskets fired but cannot say whether or not they were fired at the Malays. The ships were anchored, as well as he can recollect about three-quarters of a mile asunder. He was not near enough to see whether the people thrown overboard swam or sunk. Being asked if he knew the cause of this violence, this deponent replies that Captain Bracey mentioned that one of the Malays had been released by the Centry to go forward upon his necessary occasions and when he returned the Centry having laid down his bayonet to put him again in irons the Malay seized it and thrust it into the Centinel, upon which Captain McLary, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Bracey and others on board came up immediately with cutlasses and cut down several of the Malays, while they were getting out of the irons which had been opened for the above persons, one bar confining the whole. They were to the number of about twelve or fourteen. He saw no boat sent out after the Malays who were thrown over board but he saw boats sent from the *Dodulay* to the other Prizes to take the Malay Prisoners out of them and that they were sent on board a vessel which had been cleared and was delivered up to them by Captain McLary to go where they pleased.

The crew of the *Dodulay* consisted of about 50 or 60 Europeans besides Portuguese and Lascars. These last he computes at about 20.

That some time before this, he cannot recollect the month, but about a month before, and on the 2nd day of the month, while the *Death or Glory* was lying off a Dutch Port the name he does not know, between 9 and 10 o'clock they saw three Prows coming down which anchored within a Cable's length. About half an hour afterwards they saw a Sloop which also came to an anchor near them, that Captain Bracey immediately sent on board to examine their papers and to bring the Noquedas on board the *Death or Glory*. He found that they had Dutch papers, on the Noquedas coming on board, officers were sent to each of the Prows and Mr. O'Donnell himself went with a linguist on board of one of them. This was done with intention to take out what was valuable and to let them go. The Malays rose aboard the Prow in which Mr. O'Donnell was, cut the linguist who attended him on the back of the leg near the Ankle, the other Europeans then took to their arms and the Malays jumped over board out of all the Prows and swam towards the *D. or G.* The Malays on board of the *Death or Glory* who had been brought with the Nackadas, about 16 in number, seeing this and being under no other restraint than the care of a Centinel immediately rose, ran at the Centinel to seize his Cutlass, and one William Legh, Boatswain's mate being on Deck knocked the man down who was scuffling with the Centry with his flat. The Officers and men then came up from below with their arms, cut several of the Malays in a terrible manner and at length quieted them. After a short pause the Malays perceiving that their country men were still swimming towards

the ship rose again, and a second tumult ensued, in which they were again severely cut and the tumult quelled, several muskets were also fired at the Malays in the water, and Captain Bracey who was sick below, hearing this, came to the foot of the Cabin ladder and called out cease firing, which was ceased accordingly and the prisoners on board who had been desperately wounded were tied and thrown over board into the Sea—two or three of them contrived to break the Ropes, with which they were seen climbing up the ship's side and some of the people of the ship on the quarter Deck having fire arms shot them.

Being asked who were the people on the Deck, he replies, Mr. Kent, Mr. Dobbins, Mr. Nairne, Doctor Hartley, Mr. Yandle, William Legh, Jack Holland (the Gunner's mate) and Captain Bracey was down in his Cabin, and Mr. O'Donnell was out in the Boat endeavouring to pick up the people who were swimming in order to put them again aboard the prows, and to destroy those who were desperately wounded to put them out of their pain. There were no firearms in the Boats that he saw, but the Crew were armed with Cutlasses. He did not see Mr. O'Donnell strike at any of the Malays with his hanger, but he knocked some of them underwater with a stick. When Mr. O'Donnell returned on board he said that he had rowed about after the men till he was tired, as they swam faster than the Boat and concealed themselves by diving. That he could not take up any but had struck several who were dangerously wounded, intending to kill them, knowing they could not swim to the Shore, in order to put them out of their misery. This Deponent believes that not more than two or three were killed outright in the water by firearms from the Ship. This was about a league from the Shore and he believes many of the men swam to the Shore. A Malay Boy taken out of one of the Prows has since informed Mr. O'Donnell and others on board that the people in the Prows came down with an intention to cut them off if they had not been too strong for them, and this Deponent further saith that he hath not seen Captain Bracey before for these three Weeks nor had any conversation with him upon the Subject contained in this deposition.

Council Chamber.

Sworn before us this 11th day of July 1782.

his
JAMES X FITZGERALD.
mark
WARREN HASTINGS.
EDWARD WHEELER.

Consn. 12th July 1782.

Charles Bryant, late first officer of ye *Dodalay*, sworn on the 26th March in ye Mornng. I was ordered by Captn. Maclary to get all the Boats ready which belonged to the prizes we had taken at that time, to send away the Malays who were prisoners on bd. the *Dodalay* and other vessels. Before I could get out of the ship, an insurrection took place among them. Captn. McClary and Captn. Bracey were then standg. on the quarter deck with cutlasses in their hands being the only two persons armed in ye ship except ye Centry, and whether he had his Bayonet or not I cannot tell. I saw the man who had stabbed the Centry in the hands of the Sail Maker struggling to get to Captn. Maclary and Captn. Bracey. Captn. Bracey jumped over the Companion and drew his hanger. I went down to arm

myself, and when I came up I found the Malay who had stabbed the Centry killed upon deck, and all the people armed and on the quarter deck. Captn. McLary and Mr. O'Donnell were endeavoring to save the Malays who were at liberty from the fury of the people. The people became a little pacified but would not deliver up their arms. I afterwards went to execute the orders I had received and brought all the Malays from the Prizes to send them away in boats. I went down below to acquaint Capt. McLary that the Boats were ready to send the Malays away and in the meantime a tumult commenced upon deck in which several of them were thrown overboard. The ship's company was in a state of mutiny, this being the 3rd time the Malays had rose against them and notwithstanding Captn. Maclary was preparing to send the Malays away they could not be prevented from throwing them overboard.

Q. by Captn. McLary—Can you point out any person who was particularly active in throwing the Malays overbd.?

A.—No I cannot.

Q.—Was I directly or indirectly concerned in throwing the men overboard?

A.—You gave me no orders nor did I give any. You were down in your cabin at the time. I left you there and ran up on deck where all was confusion. The ship's Company were armed and had rushed aft in a body. There was no quelling them nor was it possible to come near the Malays before they were thrown overbd.

Q.—What was my genl. conduct while on bd. the *Dodalay* to prisoners of all denominations whom I had at diff. times in ye ships?

A.—You used them w. ye greatest lenity. The European Offrs. had victuals from your own Table and ye rest of ye people of all denominations fared the same as the ship's Co. Indeed they were taken more notice of. When you discharged the Dutch Europeans and Malays at Quidda you gave them money and left them in ye charge of Captn. Scott to get a vessel to carry you to Malacca.

This deponent adds that each of the Ship's Company had a musket, a bayonet and cartouch box constantly in his own possession.

Q.—By the Bd.—Do you know of any Consultn. held between Captn. McLary and Mr. O'Donnell or did you ever hear of any in wh. it was propd. to throw ye Malays overbd.?

A.—No I never did.

Q.—Do you know ye cause of Capt. McLary's going down to his cabin after ye tumult had happened?

A.—I believe he went down to shift to the best of my recollectn. he was shifting when I went down to him.

Q.—What was ye state of ye Crew upon deck when Captn. M. went down?

A.—It was in a very mutinous state, the men all exclaimed against me for not having suffered them to cut the Malays to pieces the first time they rose. Captn. McLary was asleep in his cabin the first time the Malays rose.

Q.—Did Captn. McC. before he went down use any means to quell ye mutiny and was it in his power to quell it?

A.—I do not believe it was in his power to quell the mutiny, because the men would not give up their arms when required, but he as well as Mr. O'D. did all they could to prevent the Malays from being instantly thrown overbd. I saw Mr. O'Donnell with his hanger drawn endeavouring to keep the people off from the Malays.

Q.—Were the Malays tied to be thrown overbd. or thrown loose into ye water?

A.—I cannot say, the moment I returned I went down into the cabin to Captn. McLary and did not stay upon deck. I did not see them tied.

Q.—At what time did you leave the ship to bring the other Prisoners?

A.—As soon after the first Malay was killed as I could get ye boat manned.

Q.—How long were you absent?

A.—I can't exactly tell. I went to two vessels to bring the Malays, the farthest distant was about half a mile.

Q.—When did you rec. ye orders for bringing ye Malays?

A.—About 7 or 8 o'clock in ye morning; the first tumult began about 10.

Q.—Were ye orders repeated to you for bringing ye Malays after ye tumult began?

A.—Yes they were.

Q.—Was any part, purpose then mentd. for bringing ym?

A.—To send them ashore for fear of more accidents.

Q.—When you left the ship was Captn. Bracey on bd?

A.—I believe he was.

Q.—Was he on bd. when you returned?

A.—I did not see him.

Q.—Were the Malays all thrown overbd. before you came upon deck from below?

A.—I do not know, there was such a crowd and tumult I could not see, but I believe they were.

Q.—Was Captn. M. upon deck while ye Malays were thrown overbd?

A.—I believe he was all ye time in his Cabin, I left him there shifting and made ye best of my way upon deck.

Q.—How long after was it yt, Captn. M. returned upon deck, and what did he say?

A.—I don't know how long it was, but he expressed great concern at what had happened.

Q.—How did the Malays behave whom you brought from the other Prizes?

A.—They behaved well and did not offer to rise being of a diff't. cast.

Q.—To what cause do you attribute this unruly behaviour of ye Malays on bd. the *Dodalay*?

A.—They were pirates, being from Johore where most of the people are pirates and live upon the plunder both of Europeans and Malays.

Q.—By Captn. M.—Was not notice given to these Malays that they were to be sent ashore that Morn'g. and to have their liberty?

A.—I told them so myself the———, who was a Malay.

Q.—Did not the other Prisoners brought from the vessels express a desire that they might not be put into the same boats with them from an apprehension that they would be cut off by persons who made murder their business.

A.—They did beg not to be sent with these people, and a Dutch Captn. and Boatswain whom we had on bd. kept watch to be on the guard against these people tho' they were in Irons.

Q.—As soon as these Malays were brought on board was it not requested by all the Malays who were seamen of the ship and the Dutch Prisoners on bd. that these people might be put into confinement immedy. because they would murder the crew.

A.—It was. The Dutch declared that they made it a rule to murder this cast of people whenever they meet them.

(Sd.) CHARLES BRYANT.

COUNCIL CHAMBER. Sworn before us this 12th day of July 1782.

(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

(Sd.) EDWD. WHEELER.

1782. O. C. 12th July. No 2.

Mr. Benjamin Dott, 3rd Officer of the *Dodalay* Sworn.

On the 20th of March in the morning, the boats were ordered to be manned from the different vessels and the Malays in them to be set at liberty. The Centinel over the prisoners came to me (being Officer on Deck) and asked leave to take one of them forward, which I permitted. The man was brought aft again. As the Centinel stooped to unlock the bolt to which he was going to put the man he laid down his bayonet, which the Malay

instantly seized and stuck into the Centinel's back. Captain McClary, Captain Bracy, myself and James Freir were walking the quarter deck at the time this happened, when the Malay running towards us to endeavour, as I suppose, to kill some officer, he was seized first by a lascar and then by the sailmaker, who called out the Malay was running a muck, or something to that purpose, and desired us to take care of ourselves. Upon which we all armed, and Captain McClary made several cuts at the Malay with a hanger but did not cut him down, when a Portuguese gentleman who was on board at that time, came up with a Pollaxe and struck him on the back between his shoulders and afterwards killed him by a blow on the skull, and he was thrown over board. The Seamen rushing aft all armed, tied the others that were in confinement, and insisted on throwing them over board, declaring that they had made three or four attempts upon their lives. They were then thrown overboard. I don't know whether they were all tied or not. Captain McClary was in the cabin at the time they were thrown overboard. Captain McClary expressed great concern at this unfortunate affair having happened at a time when all the boats were manned to carry the Malays on shore to be set at liberty :—

Q.—By the B: How long after the first Malay was killed were the others thrown overboard.

A.—I cannot exactly tell, but to the best of my recollection it was about 10 minutes or a quarter of an hour.

Q.—Had Mr. Bryant returned when they were throwing the Malays overboard.

A.—I believe he was, but am not certain for there was so great a riot and disturbance on board that it was not easy to distinguish who was upon deck.

Q.—When did Mr. B. leave the ship?

A.—I believe a little before the Malay was killed, but am not certain.

Q.—Where was Captain McClary when the crew threw the Malays over board.

A.—In the cabin during the whole time.

Q.—When did he leave the deck?

A.—Directly after the first Malay was killed.

Q.—Do you know the cause of his going down to his cabin?

A.—I believe to shift himself.

Q.—What cause had he for going down at that time to shift himself?

A.—I suppose in consequence of his having soiled his clothes in bustling about the ship. I don't know whether he had shifted himself before that morning or not.

Q.—Did Captain McClary before he went down use any means to quell the mutiny and was it possible for him to do it?

A.—Every means he could possibly use.

Q.—Was it in his power to quiet the mutiny?

A.—No, I believe it was not in his power.

Q.—Did Captain McClary give any orders when he left the deck?

A.—None that I heard.

Q.—Do you know of any consultation held between Captain McClary and Mr. O'Donnell, or did you hear of any in which it was proposed to throw the Malays over board.

A.—No, none at all.

Q.—How long after the Malays were thrown over board did Captain McClary return upon deck, and what did he say?

A.—That I don't recollect.

Q.—To what cause do you attribute the unruly behaviour of the Malays that were in irons?

A.—They had never any ill-treatment while I was in the ship. I only went on board the evening before the tumult happened. I believe they were born pirates.

Q.—Do you know of any provocation that the Malay had who stabbed the Centinel.

A.—I don't know of any provocation he had at all. These people have a thirst after European blood; they even murder their own countrymen whenever they can get them into their power, or sell them to those who will bid for them.

Q.—How did the other Malays behave that were taken prisoners.

A.—None of the other Malays on board the *Dodalay* that I saw had ever risen before, but the greatest part of the time that the *Dodalay* was in the Straights I was in another vessel.

Q.—How did Captain McClary treat the prisoners, either Europeans or Malays.

A.—Exceedingly well . . . as for the Europeans they fared better while in the hands of Captain McClary than when they were with their own countrymen.

COUNCIL CHAMBER.

B. DOTT.

Sworn before us this 12th day of July 1782.

(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

(Sd.) EDWARD WHEELER.

(1482 O. C. 12th July No 3.)

Capt. Abraham Muckenzie, of His Majesty's 23rd Regt. of Foot, who was a passenger on board the *Dodalay*, sworn. Capt. McClary begs leave to ask

Capt. Mackenzie to give an acct. of the general tenor of his conduct to all denominations of prisoners on board the *Dodalay* while he was a passgt. in that ship.

A.—I have often blamed Capt. McClary and his officers in my own mind for shewing too much leniety to his Prisoners and giving them too much liberty, so much did he indulge them, that the Dutch Prisoners came to me as I spoke Dutch, and expressed a desire to enlist with him as Seamen on account of his good conduct towards them. They were accordingly rated as Seamen and came in the ship to Bengal. The Malay and all the other prisoners were equally desirous of enlisting and many of them did enlist as Seamen. Those who were dismissed by Captn. McClary were paid by him 2 or 300 hundred dollars to defray their expenses back to Batavia and he did many other other acts, which were highly generous.

All the prisoners declared to me that they would bear testimony to the Governor of Batavia of the kind treatment which they had received on board the *Dodalay* and added their wish that we might not fall into the hands of their Nation, being confident we shd. not be used so well.

AM. MACKENZIE,

Capt. of the 23rd Regt.

Council Chamber, sworn before us this 12th day of July 1782.

(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

(Sd.) EDWARD WHEELER.

1782. O.C. 12th July, No. 4.

Charles Bryant, late officer of the *Dodalay*, sworn.

Question by Mr. O'Donnell.—When I was on board the ship *Dodalay*, on a visit, on the day of the unfortunate business complained of, had I any hand or concern in throwing the Malays overboard?

A.—No.

Q.—Did you see me on deck on that time, with musquet or pistol, firing at the Malays?

A.—No, I did not.

Q.—Do you believe that I was upon deck at that time?

A.—I did not see you.

Q.—Did I not endeavour with a drawn cutlas in my hand to prevent the Malays from being innocently put to death?

Q.—I saw you when I came up endeavouring with a drawn cutlass to keep the seamen from the Malays and strive, during the time that I was upon deck, to pacify the seamen. I left the ship soon after the first man was killed.

Q.—Was not the throwing of the Malays overboard the act of an enraged ship's company and not the deliberate one of either Captain Maclary or mine?

A.—It was entirely the act of the ship's company to the best of my knowledge.

Q.—Did not Captain Bracey himself, the present accuser, on this occasion approve of the Malays being delivered up as a sacrifice to the seamen and inveigh against their treachery?

A.—Captain Bracey was talking to me and said that the Malays ought to have been destroyed the first time they rose.

Q.—Did I not save three Malays from death a few days before this unfortunate circumstance happened when they were swimming towards the prow where I was? Did I not prevent the men from firing at them?

A.—I was not there myself then, I was on board the ship, but I heard from those who were on board the prow that you had prevented the men from firing at the Malays.

Q.—A few days before this disturbance happened, did I not return from on board that prow with three Malays, two of whom were afterwards taken away by a Captain of a Portuguese ship?

A.—As to the time I cannot be certain, but the Malays did come from the prow, and went, on their own accord, from the *Dodalay* on board the Portuguese ship.

Q.—Were not the two Malays who returned from the prow treated with every humanity and not put into the same predicament with the other people?

A.—They were well used and not confined in irons with the rest of their comrades. Cloaths were even given them by Captain Maclary's order when they were going on board the Portuguese ship.

Q.—Since and before this business you have been often in company with Captain Bracey, did you ever hear him disapprove of inhuman conduct in either Captain Maclary or me towards the Malays?

A.—Never.

Question by the Board.—Where was Mr. O'Donnell when you returned to the *Dodalay*?

A.—I do not know. I went no further than the cabin door and looked in. I did not see Mr. O'Donnell. I was in such a hurry that I did not know whether he was there or out.

Q.—At what distance was the *Death or Glory* from the *Dodalay* at the time?

A.—About a mile. There was two ships between, but not in a direct line.

1782. O.C. 12th July, No. 3.

Mr. James Smith, late Second officer of *Dodalay*, sworn.

Q.—On the day that the Malays were thrown overboard from the *Dodalay* had I any hand in throwing them overboard?

A.—None.

Q.—Was I upon the quarter deck with musquet or pistol firing at the Malays when they were thrown overboard.

A.—I saw Mr. O'Donnell go down and can safely take my oath that he was below all the time they were throwing the Malays overboard.

Q.—Was the throwing of the Malays overboard the act of an enraged ship's company or a deliberate act of mine?

A.—It was the act of the ship's company. Mr. O'Donnell did not belong to the ship, and they would not pay any attention to any order given by him.

Question by the Governor-General.—Did Mr. O'Donnell encourage it?

A.—No, not to my knowledge. When I came on board every man in the ship was up in arms going to throw the Malays overboard.

Q.—Have you been in company with Captain Bracey either before or since this affair happened?

A.—Very often before.

Q.—Did you ever hear Captain Bracey accuse Mr. O'Donnell of inhuman conduct to the Malays?

A.—Never.

Q.—Do you think it was possible for Captain Bracey to distinguish at the distance the *Death or Glory* lay from the *Dodalay*, me particularly, even had I been on deck, amongst one hundred and twenty men, shooting at the Malays in the water?

A.—No. I don't think it possible at that distance amongst so many people to distinguish your men with the best glass that ever was.

Q.—At what distance was the *Death or Glory* from the *Dodalay*?

A.—I am not certain. There were two vessels between those ships.

Q.—Where did you first see Mr. O'Donnell after you went on board?

A.—He was standing near the Companion ladder and went down immediately I got on board.

Q.—At this time had the people thrown the Malays overboard?

A.—No. They were getting ready to throw them overboard.

Q.—How getting ready? What preparations were they making?

A.—The ship's company had surrounded them and I believe were tying their hands.

Q.—Did you know, or ask, why they were tying their hands.

A.—I asked when I came on board what was the matter. I was informed that the Centinel had let a man out of irons, and in putting him in irons again

he had seized the Centinel's bayonet and stabbed him, on that the crew were enraged at the loss of one of their ship mates, who at that time they supposed was killed, that nothing would appease them but the lives of the prisoners who were in irons, as this was the third time they had attempted to rise and cut the ship off.

Q.—Do you know the names of the particular persons who made you this answer?

A.—No. I do not. It was the whole of the ship's company.

(1782. O.C. 12th July, No. 6.)

Mr. Benjamin Dett, late Second Officer of the Dodalay, sworn.

Question by Mr. O'Donnell. On the day that the Malays were thrown overboard from the *Dodalay* had I any concern in throwing them overboard?

A.—None at all.

Q.—Was I on the deck at that time with either musket or pistol in my hand firing at the Malays?

A.—No, but in the cabin with Captain McClary.

Q.—Did I not endeavour with a drawn cutlass in my hand to prevent the Malays from being instantly put to death by the seamen?

A.—Yes, as well as every other officer who was on board, except Captain Bracey, who stood behind the companion.

Q.—Was not the act of throwing the Malays overboard that of an enraged ship's company and not a deliberate act of mine?

A.—Yes, it was.

Q.—Had I any hand or concern in it?

A.—None at all.

Q.—You have been often in company with Captain Bracey before and since this affair, did you hear him disapprove of my conduct or complain of any act of cruelty or inhumanity of mine against the Malays?

A.—Never.

Q.—In the confusion upon deck while the Malays were throwing overboard do you think it was possible for Captain Bracey to distinguish me particularly amongst 120 men at the distance which the *Death or Glory* was from the *Dodalay*?

A.—No, I do not think that any person at that distance and during the confusion could distinguish any one in particular.

Q.—How far did the *Death or Glory* lay from the *Dodalay*?

A.—About a mile or upwards.

Q.—Did the crew declare their intention of throwing the Malays overboard?

A.—Yes, they did, and often complained bitterly at their being kept on board. There was a Malay interpreter on board who advised their being sent away, and had not this affair happened, they would all have been sent off in a couple of hours, rice and water having been put into the boats for them.

Q.—Did they tie the Malays who were thrown overboard?

A.—To the best of my knowledge they did.

Q.—What time did it take to bind the men and to throw them overboard?

A.—To the best of my knowledge ten minutes or a quarter of an hour.

Q.—How long after the first Malay was killed were the others thrown overboard?

A.—They began to tie the others immediately.

Q.—When they began to tie them did they declare their intention of throwing them overboard?

A.—Yes, they did.

Q.—When did Mr. O'Donnell leave the deck to go down to Captain McClary's cabin?

A.—There was a great hurry upon deck, but I believe it was shortly after Captain McClary.

Q.—How soon after the death of the first Malay did Captain McClary leave the deck?

A.—I can't say to a few minutes, but it was before the others were thrown overboard.

1782 O.C. 12th July No. 7.

James Frier, a Volunteer on board the *Dodakay*.

Question by Mr. O'Donnell.—Was not Captain Bracey on the deck of the *Dodakay* at the time the Malay was cut down? Did he not make a cut at him and afterwards run behind the companion out of the way of danger?

A.—He was upon the quarter-deck at the time. He made a cut at the Malay, and afterwards ran behind the companion out of danger.

Q.—Do you recollect the day when you and I went together on board a Malay prow that had a Dutch pass, out of which we afterwards took a large quantity of gold dust?

A.—I do.

Q.—On our arrival on board did we not turn all the Malays out of their prow into the boat except the *Rochadar*?

A.—We did.

Q.—Did the Malays refuse to go astern without the *Rochadar* and were they not again coming on board, when the seamen would have attempted to cut them down had not you and I prevented it?

A.—Yes.

1782 O.C. 12th July No. 8.

John Macintyre, a Volunteer on board the *Dodalay*, sworn.

Question by Mr. O'Donnell.—Was I on deck on board the *Dodalay* at the time when the Malays were thrown overboard and had I firearms in my hand?

A.—No, you were down below.

Question by the Board.—How long after the first Malay was killed was it that Mr. O'Donnell left the deck to go below?

A.—I cannot answer for how many minutes. He was using his endeavour to quiet the ship's company. He went down below just when the people were tying the Malays. Being a visitor only on board the *Dodalay*, the people would not attend to his orders.

JOHN MACINTYRE.

1782, O.C. 12th July, No. 9.

Question by Mr. O'Donnell. Was I not in the great cabin of the *Dodalay* and did you not see me there during the time the Malays were throwing overboard (*sic*) by the seamen of the *Dodalay*?

A.—Yes I saw you there and Captain McClary also.

Q.—Had I either musket or pistol in my hand shooting the Malays when thrown overboard?

A.—No. Not then.

Question by the Board.—How long after the first Malay was killed was it that Mr. O'Donnell left the deck to go below?

A.—When the seaman was stabbed I went below to dress him. I cannot mention the time Mr. O'Donnell went down.

JOHN WILLIAMS.

1782, O.C. 12th July, No. 10.

Ephraim Clark, Seaman on board the *Death or Glory*, sworn.

Question by Mr. O'Donnell.—Did I order or desire you to beat or strike any of the Malays on board the prow when the insurrection happened?

A.—No, you did not.

Q.—Did I give the Malays on board the prow any provocation to rise upon us?

A.—No, none.

Q.—Was not I in defence of my own safety and life obliged to take up arms against the Malays?

Yes, you came aft in your own defence upon my being knocked down.

12th July 1782.

x } The mark of Ephraim Clark.
x }

1782. O.C. 12th July. No. 11.

Bartholomew Hartley,* late Surgeon-on board the *Death or Glory*, sworn.

Question by Mr. O'Donnell.—Were you not on a visit on board the ship *Dodalay* on the day when the unfortunate circumstance complained of happened, *vis.*, that of throwing the Malays of the *Dodalay* overboard, and on deck during that time?

A.—I was.

Q.—Did you see me on the deck of the *Dodalay* with firearms in my hand shooting at the Malays when thrown overboard or while in the water?

A.—No.

Q.—Where do you believe I was during the time when the seamen were throwing the Malays overboard?

A.—I believe from many circumstances that you were below in the great cabin.

Q.—Were you on board the *Death or Glory* when the Malays rose and made an attempt on the lives of the ship's company?

A.—I was.

Q.—A little before that time did you not hear a disturbance on board the vessel I went to examine and the firing of small arms.

A.—No. I did not hear any alarm on board the ship where Mr. O'Donnell was until the disturbance happened on board the *Death or Glory*.

Q.—After the disturbance happened on board the *Death or Glory* did you see or hear of any disturbance on board the prow I went to examine?

A.—I did both hear and see. I saw the confusion that prevailed and the firing of guns.

Q.—After the insurrection was quelled on board the vessel where I was did you not see me instantly coming with the pinnace to the assistance of the *Death or Glory*?

A.—I did, and spoke to you, and I was asked by you to visit a man on board of the prow from whence you came who had been wounded by the Malays.

Q.—Was not the *Death or Glory* much weakened by the draft of men from her to the prizes and pinnace on account of her having still a number of Malabar prisoners on board?

A.—She must have been much weakened as there were three boats crews sent to the different vessels that were taken.

Q.—In consequence of such a number of men being out of the vessel at that time was not your situation very critical and alarming?

A.—Yes, both men's and the ship's.

* The organiser of the famous lottery for the benefit of the Building fund of St. John's.

Q.—Would it not have been very dangerous and productive perhaps of fatal consequences had the Malays been driven into the sea from the prow which was the cause of the general insurrection, and those who had been driven overboard from the *Death or Glory* been suffered to swim away to the boats which the Malays from the other prizes had taken possession of?

A.—It must have been very dangerous, as I suppose that many of those who jump'd into the sea were armed with criseses (?)

Q.—If I had not been in the planace and prevented the Malays who jumped overboard from the first vessel and the *Death or Glory*, do you not think that they would have been too strong for the few Europeans on board the other prizes, and might not their joining the other Malays have endangered their lives and safety?

A.—I do believe so.

Question by the Board.—How many European men were there on board the prizes, how many Malays on board the boats?

A.—I suppose that there were 7 or 8 Europeans on board each prize. I did not see what number of Malays were on board the boats?

Question by Mr. O'Donnell.—Do you not think and believe from the intricate and dangerous situation we were all in at the time that there was an absolute necessity for my conduct in this unfortunate business, that I acted entirely consistently with my duty, both as principal owner and Captain of Marines on board the *Death or Glory*?

A.—I do.

Question by the Board.—To what conduct do you allude when you say that Mr. O'Donnell acted with propriety?

A.—I mean his activity on the board the prize where he was and the assistance he afforded us by coming.

Q.—By what means did he intercept them?

A.—By following them with his boat and cutting them off as I have heard from others. I did not see myself.

Question by Mr. O'Donnell.—Do you not think and esteem that my conduct and activity upon the occasion in assisting to subside so dangerous an insurrection, which surrounded us on every quarter, rather merited the thanks and approbation of every person concerned than their censure?

A.—I have said before that I believed your activity in suppressing the insurrection freed us in a great measure from the danger we were in, and, of course, must merit the thanks and approbation of all concerned.

Question by the Board.—Do you think or did you hear that any of the Malays who were in the water escaped from the pursuit mentioned by you in your answer to a preceding question?

A.—Some of them might, but I did not hear from any one.

Question by Mr. O'Donnall.—Do you not think and believe that the prow I visited was in the heat of passion and just indignation on a continuance of the first insurrection and not coolly and deliberately acted?

A.—I cannot answer the question positively, but I suppose it was the effect of heat of passion, and I judge so from your speedy return to the *Death or Glory* after the insurrection happened, there being no time for coolness and deliberation.

Q.—Did you ever see me treat or hear that I had treated the Malays either at, before, or since that time with any cruelty or inhumanity?

A.—I have seen no one instance of ill-treatment or anything but what was to be vindicated on the principles of humanity and self-preservation.

Q.—From your long intimate knowledge of me do you think that I would be guilty of any act of cruelty or inhumanity?

A.—I have never had one reason to think you would.

Q.—During the disturbance was not Captain Bracey down in his cabin when there was the most urgent necessity for his presence on deck? Did you not take his sword on deck to insist in quelling so dangerous an insurrection?

A.—He was below in the cabin when the insurrection first happened. I was at the time at the medicine chest below in the cockpit, and then saw Captain Bracey walking between the mizzen mast and the cabin windows. That the alarm of the Malays engaging was repeatedly called out to him that he cried out "It can't be so, it was impossible" or words to that effect, and asked what was the matter and that he continued at this time to wave his sword to and fro between the main mast and the cabin windows, not attempting to stir further. I was much surprised to see Captain Bracey remain below at so critical a time when the safety of our lives was depending. I answered him when he cried out: "Don't you see what's the matter," on which instant of time I ran up with Captain Bracey's hanger in my hand.

Q.—Don't you think that the true reason of his not making his appearance on deck at so critical and dangerous a time must have rather proceeded from want of proper and becoming spirit in the execution of his duty than from want of health?

A.—I do think so from circumstances which I can mention.

Q.—Though in the ship with him from the above time until his arrival in Bengal did you never hear him express his disapprobation of my conduct or inhumanity to the Malays on this or any other occasion?

A.—I did not.

BARTW. HARTLEY.

Council Chamber, Sworn before us, etc

1782. O. C. 12th July, No. 12.

John Kent, a Volunteer on board the Death or Glory.

Question by Mr. O'Donnell.—Was you not on board the *Death or Glory* when the Malays were thrown overboard from the *Dodalay*?

A.—I was.

Q.—Did you see me on the quarter-deck of that ship shooting at the Malays either before or when they were in the sea?

A.—No, I did not.

Q.—Did you look particularly towards the *Dodalay* when the insurrection happened?

A.—I did, even with a spy glass, and did not distinguish you upon the deck, nor do I believe it was in the power of any particular person at that distance and amongst such numbers in great confusion.

Q.—Do you recollect whether you looked at the *Dodalay* with Captain Bracey's glass, or one as good as his?

A.—I don't recollect whether I looked with Captain Bracey's glass but I looked with one as good.

Q.—Was you not on board the *Death or Glory* when the Malays ran on the crew and made an attempt to cut them off?

A.—Yes, I was.

Q.—A little before that time did you not hear a disturbance on board the vessel I sent to examine and the firing of pistols?

A.—I heard the report of one pistol or musket, but could not tell where from, as I was then down in the cabin.

Q.—When you came upon deck did you look to see from where the disturbance arose?

A.—When I came up on deck I saw the three prizes which we had taken. They seemed to be in great confusion, as was our own ship.

Q.—Did you not see me coming with the pinnace to the assistance of the *Death or Glory*?

A.—Yes, I did.

Q.—Was not the *Death or Glory* much weakened at that time by the draft of men from her to the three prizes and the pinnace, and on account of her still having a number of Malabar prisoners on board?

A.—Yes, she certainly was.

Q.—Was not the situation of the people of the *Death or Glory* as well as that of the Europeans on board the other prizes very critical and alarming?

A.—It certainly was.

Q.—Would it not have been exceedingly dangerous were the Malays, who had been thrown into the sea from the prow and also were the cause of the general insurrection, and the other Malays, who had been driven

overboard from the *Death or Glory*, had they been suffered to swim away to the boats, which the Malays from the other prizes had already taken possession, and which were very near two of our prizes very weakly manned by our people?

A.—Yes, I really think it would endanger the safety of the few Europeans on board the prizes.

Q.—If I had not been on the pinnace and prevented the Malays who jumped overboard from the first vessel and the *Death or Glory*, don't you think they would be too strong for the few Europeans on board the other prizes, and might not their junction endanger their lives and safety?

A.—I really think they would, if they had attempted to board them, as was very likely to be the case, they having swam directly towards the boats and prizes.

Q.—Don't you think and believe that there was an absolute necessity for the whole of my conduct in the unfortunate business, and that it was entirely consistent with my duty and safety, both as principal owner of the *Death or Glory* and as Captain of Marines?

A.—I do really think so, as far as I saw of Mr. O'Donnell's conduct I thought it absolutely necessary.

Q.—Don't you think my activity in assisting to subside so dangerous an insurrection and the dangers which surrounded us on every side and in preventing the Malays, who were swimming towards the prizes and the boats from forming a junction with them which might possibly endanger the lives of the few Europeans on board the said prizes, rather invited the thanks and approbation of every person concerned than their disapprobation or censure?

A.—I do really think so.

Q.—Do not you think and believe that the part I was under the necessity of acting was in the heat of passion and high indignation at their general attempt of assassination, and not coolly and deliberately?

A.—Yes, I do think so.

Q.—Did you ever see me, or hear that I had treated the Malays with any kind of cruelty or inhumanity either at, or before, or since the above time?

A.—No.

Q.—Did I not at the fort of Perac, where I commanded, save many Malays present being cut to pieces by the seamen under my command, as when some Malays in the guard had just at that time run and wounded one man?

A.—Yes.

Q.—From your long knowledge of me do you think I would be guilty of any act of cruelty or inhumanity?

A.—No, I do not imagine you would

Q.—Did not Captain Bracey, after the disturbance on board his own ship was quieted and the Malays had been subdued, give orders for all of them who remained on board alive to be tied and thrown overboard?

A.—He did order such as remained after the disturbance was quieted to be tied and thrown overboard.

Q.—Though in the ship with Captain Bracey did you ever hear him complain of my using the Malays with cruelty and inhumanity?

A.—No.

1782, Q. C. 12th July, No. 13.

Mr. Thomas Franklin, late midshipman of the *Death or Glory* maketh oath and saith.

Question by Mr. O'Donnell.—Were you on board the *Death or Glory*, when the Malays were thrown overboard from the *Dodalay*?

A.—No I was on board the *St. Antonio*.

Q.—Did you look particularly at the *Dodalay* when the affair happened?

A.—I looked at her, but was at too great a distance to distinguish anybody.

Q.—Was the *St. Antonio* nearer to the *Dodalay* than the *Death or Glory*?

A.—I cannot say, but I believe the *St. Antonio* was the nearest. We were near enough to see them throwing people overboard, but who threw them I cannot tell.

Q.—Did you look at the *Dodalay* with a spy-glass?

A.—I really don't know, but I believe not.

Q.—Were you on board the *Death or Glory* when the Malays attempted to cut off the crew some time before that?

A.—I was.

Q.—Did you hear any disturbance on board the prow I went to examine?

A.—Yes I heard some shots fired.

Q.—Did you see me coming from the prow to the *Death or Glory* when the disturbance had been quieted in the prow.

A.—I saw you some time after you put from alongside of the prow.

Q.—Was not the *Death or Glory* much weakened at that time by the draft of men from her to the prizes and the pinnace and on account of her having a number of Malabar prisoners still on board?

A.—Very much.

Q.—Was not the situation of the people of the *Death or Glory* as well as that of the Europeans on board the other prizes very critical and alarming at that time?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Would it not have been immensely dangerous were all the Malays, who had been driven into the sea from the prow and who were the cause of the general insurrection, and the other Malays who had been driven overboard from the *Death or Glory*, had they been suffered to swim away to the boats? which the Malays from the other prizes had taken possession of and which were near two of our prizes very weakly mann'd by our people?

A.—Yes, it would.

Q.—Don't you think and believe that there was an absolute necessity for the whole of my conduct in this unfortunate business, and that it was entirely consistent with my duty and safety, both as private owner of the *Death or Glory* and as Captain of Marines?

A.—I do.

Q.—Don't you think that my activity in assisting to subside so dangerous an insurrection and the perils which surrounded us on every side, and in preventing the Malays who were going (?) towards the prizes in the boats from forming a junction with them which might possibly endanger the lives of the Europeans in the said prizes, rather merited the thanks and approbation of every person than disapprobation and censure?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Don't you think and believe that the part I was under the painful necessity of acting was in the heat of passion and high indignation at the general attempt of assassination and not coolly and deliberately?

A.—Yes, I do.

Q.—Did you ever see me treat the Malays, or hear that I had treated them with any kind of cruelty or inhumanity?

A.—No. I have known of instances of the contrary.

Q.—Did you ever hear Captain Bracey disapprove of my conduct for cruelty or inhumanity either on this or any other occasion?

A.—No. I never heard of him disapprove of your conduct for cruelty or inhumanity.

Q.—Did you hear the officer of the deck tell Captain Bracey, in the evening of the day the disturbance happened that another sail was in sight but that they had as many vessels as they could with safety manage?

A.—The officer did not say *vessels* but *prisoners*, alluding, as I understood, to the Malabar prisoners then on board. Captain Bracey replied that he would not lose that vessel for those men.

John Frankland (sic) called back and further examined by Mr. O'Donnell.

Q.—Did you see me coming in the pinnace?

A.—Yes I did some time after you had left the prow?

Q.—Had I then any crice in my hand?

A.—I saw no such weapon in your hand. If you had, I think I should have seen it.

1782; O.C. 11th July, No. 5.

James Kelly, of Calcutta, in the Kingdom of Bengal, late a seaman on board the *Dodalay*, private ship of war, John Maclarey, Commander, maketh oath and saith that said ship was at anchor in the straits of Banca between two or three leagues from the shore, about four or five months ago, but the day or month he cannot exactly recollect, and that this Deponent being in the boat alongside the ship, a little before twelve o'clock at noon heard a disturbance on board the said ship, on which he went up into the ship, where he saw a great number of the Malays, who had been in irons, out upon the quarter deck, and that a Portuguese seaman belonging to the said ship was lying wounded and groaning upon the deck, and the Deponent further saith that he then saw a Malay with a bayonet in his hand running after the Chief Mate of the ship, Mr. Charles Bryant, that the Deponent, seeing this, jumped off the gunwale of the ship, and ran to the cabin to get a cutlass, which, having got he returned upon the deck, where he found the people of the *Dodalay*, employed in tying the said Malays, who (to the best of this Deponent's recollection) were sixteen or seventeen in number, and who were all unarmed except two or three who had small crises six or seven inches long in their hands; that the said Malays who were unarmed endeavoured to prevent the seaman of the *Dodalay* from tying them, and strove to bite the men who were going to tie them; that this Deponent was then ordered by the coxswain of the boat to go down into the boat, which order he instantly obeyed by going into the boat, and saw nothing further of what passed up on deck. That at this time the *Death or Glory* private ship of war was lying at anchor at above two miles distance from the *Dodalay*, and the boat of the aforesaid *Death or Glory* was then lying alongside the *Dodalay*, but this Deponent did not take notice whether Captain Bracey was then on board the *Dodalay* or what officers of the *Death or Glory* were then on deck except the aforesaid Charles Bryant. And this Deponent further saith that he continued in the said boat on the larboard side of the *Dodalay* for some time, and that none of the Malays were thrown overboard from the larboard side of said ship. That after this Deponent had been some time alongside in the said boat, several of the ship's company came down from the said ship into the boat, in which this Deponent was, and shoved off. This Deponent saw many of the Malays in the sea astern of and near the said ship *Dodalay*; that their heads were above water, but whether they were swimming or floating this Deponent cannot say, and that several loaded musquets being

then lying in the stern sheet of the said boat, as many of the seaman as came from the said ship into the said boat as could seize the said musquets laid hold of them, and shot the said Malays who were swimming or floating in the water, and wounded several of the said Malays, and that, after following the Malays some way, the boat returned to the ship. That some of the Malays had got to a considerable distance from the ship, there being a current which carried them along from the said ship, and that some of the people in the boat, but this Deponent could not recollect which, wanted to follow the said Malays who were got to a distance as aforesaid, but the coxswain of the said boat refused to comply with their desire, and insisted on returning to the ship. And this Deponent says that several persons fired from the ship *Dodalay* at the said Malays after they were in the water, but from the distance this Deponent was in the said boat he could not tell who they were. This Deponent further saith that he been informed that there had been a quarrel with the said Malays before, but this Deponent was then absent from the ship, having been sent in a boat to another vessel, and this Deponent saith that not having seen what people on deck after he went down into the said boat, he did not know whether the said Malays were thrown overboard or whether they jumped into the sea.

1782, O. C. 12th July, No. 14.

Mathew Yaudle, late Lieutenant of Marines on board the *Death or Glory* sworn.

Question by Mr. O'Donnell.—Did you see the Malays thrown overboard from the *Dodalay* in the Straights of Banca?

A.—I did, I saw it from *St. Antonio*.

Q.—Did you see me on the deck of the *Dodalay* at that time?

A.—I did not, tho' I looked with a glass.

Q.—Which was nearest to the *Dodalay*, the ship *Antonio* on the *Death or Glory*.

A.—I believe that the *St. Antonio* was to the best of my recollection.

Q.—Have you often looked through Captain Bracey's glasses?

A.—I have very often, and I believe the glass I looked through then was as good as Captain Bracey's glass.

Q.—Were you on board the *Death or Glory* some time before that when the Malays rose and made the attempt on the lives of the ship's Company?

A.—I was.

Q.—A little before that time, did you not hear a disturbance on board the vessel I went to examine and hear the firing of pistols?

A.—I did.

Q.—Did you not see me, instantly after the insurrection was quelled on board the *prow* where I was, come to the assistance of the *Death or Glory*, with the pinnace?

A.—I did.

Q.—Would it not have been dangerous had the Malays, who had been driven into the sea from the *prow* and those who had been thrown overboard from the *Death or Glory*, been suffered to swim away to the boats, which the Malays from the other prizes had taken possession of, and towards the *prows*, which were weakly manned by our people? Would it not, I say, have been the means of fatal consequences to those Europeans who were on board the prizes?

A.—Certainly in the general opinion of every person on board the *Death or Glory* as well as of myself.

Q.—Did you not see near the two prizes the boats of the other prizes which the Malays had got possession of?

A.—One boat was gone. I saw one boat with Malays and heard that the other had been cut away before.

Q.—Was not Boswell, the Gunner's Mate of the *Death or Glory*, considered as a man out of his senses?

A.—He was so considered not only on board that ship, but also on board the *Resolution*, where I knew him, and on account of his being insane he was turned out of that ship at *Tillicherry*.

Q.—Don't you think that there was an absolute necessity for the whole of my conduct in this unfortunate business, and that not only mine own safety but that of every other person on board the prizes would have been in danger if I had not done so?

A.—I really think so.

Q.—Do you think and believe that what I did on that occasion was in the heat of passion and high indignation at the general attempt of assassination made by the Malays and not coolly and deliberately?

A.—I think it was in the heat of passion and high indignation, for you had just cause so to do.

Q.—Did you ever see me treat the Malays with cruelty or inhumanity during any part of the voyage?

A.—I never did.

Q.—Did you ever hear Captain Bracey disapprove of my conduct for cruelty and inhumanity on any other occasion, or say that I had acted illegally or unjustifiably?

A.—I never did.

Q.—When the officer of the deck came down on the evening of the same day to tell Captain Bracey that there was another Malay *prow* in sight

but that they had as many prizes as they could in safety manage, what did Captain Bracey say?

A.—That he could manage a thousand more Malays before he would let the prow pass.

Q.—What did you understand by the word "manage"?

A.—Why! I really thought that he meant then that if they rose again he would kill them.

Q.—Did you not see Captain Bracey down in his cabin apparently very much alarmed for fear the Malays who had been driven or who were thrown in the water should return through the cabin windows and port holes into the ship, and did he not order a good look out to be kept and persons to be placed at proper stations to oppose them?

A.—I saw him much alarmed, and also was present when he gave the orders to that purpose.

Q.—Did not some of the Malays make an attempt to get up by the rudder into the cabin, through the cabin windows and through the port holes?

A.—I saw one upon the rudder.

Q.—Did you not understand by the order of Captain Bracey that violence was to be used and death inflicted if they attempted to get again into the ship?

A.—I did, and I also heard him give a precaution to kill none but Malays.

1782. Q.C. 17th July, No. 15.

Edward Bolton, Captain Bracey's Steward, sworn, latterly Ship's Steward.
Question by *Mr. O'Donnell*.—Was not Boswell, late Gunner's Mate of the ship *Death or Glory*, considered as a man out of his senses both by you and every person on board?

A.—Yes, he was.

Q.—Did not Captain Bracey order the Malays who remained aboard after the insurrection was quelled to be tied hand and foot to be thrown overboard?

A.—He did.

Q.—Did not many of the Malays attempt to return through the cabin windows and portholes?

A.—Yes, they did.

1872. Q.C. 12th July, No. 16.

George Bragg, late Surgeon's Assistant on board the *Death or Glory*, sworn.

Question by Mr. O'Donnell.—Did not Captain Bracey order the Malays who remained on board after the insurrection was quelled to be tied hands and feet and thrown overboard?

A.—Yes.

1782, O.C. 12th July, No. 17.

Mr. Thos. Henry Davies, barrister in the Supreme Court, maketh oath and saith: About a fortnight or three weeks a case and some papers were laid before me by Mr. Sherindall, an attorney of ye Court, on behalf of Mr. O'Donnell and the other owners of the ship *Death or Glory* stating some instances of misbehaviour and cowardice in Captain Bracey on the day when the *Dodalay* attacked some ships in the road of Malacca, I advised them to commence an action against him for misbehaviour in his office of Captain of ye *Dodalay*, in consequence of which I was requested to draw a plaint against Mr. Bracey which I accordingly did, and delivered it to the attorney I believe a week ago.

7. O'DONNELL AND McCLARY SENT FOR TRIAL BEFORE THE ADMIRALTY COURT AT MADRAS.

It is a curious instance of the general ignorance which prevails in regard to the history of the Law Courts of Calcutta, that while it is usually stated that the Supreme Court was also one of Admiralty in 1782, it is not generally known in 1782 that it actually had no Admiralty jurisdiction. In a long letter dated 5th April 1783, Warren Hastings and his Council drew attention to the inconvenience to which plaintiffs and defendants had been placed by the absence of a Court possessing Admiralty jurisdiction in Bengal. This letter has already appeared in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Volume III., 163, and it will, therefore, be unnecessary to republish it *in extenso* in this place. In paragraph No. 9 the Council refers to the trial of O'Donnell and McClary in these terms: "In July last a complaint having been made to the Governor-General and Council that several piracies and murders had been committed by Captain John McClary and Mr. John O'Donnell in the Straights of Malacca the Council was convened, and the Chief Justice desired to assist us in examining into them. Being of opinion that the charge was not made out against Captain McClary we discharged him: but we thought that Mr. O'Donnell ought to be put on his trial. This gave occasion to inquire into the powers vested either in the Governor-General and Council or the Supreme Court relative to crimes committed on the high seas, and it being the opinion of both of us and of the Chief Justice that there was no power in either of them to try him, the witnesses were bound over to appear and the prisoners were sent to Madras to be tried at an Admiralty Court to be there held, where it was understood there was an existing Admiralty Commission.

The event was that the principal witnesses did not appear and the prisoner was acquitted."

The last statement is a *suggestio falsi*, for it was the witnesses for the defence who did not appear, and O'Donnell was acquitted after the examination of the witnesses for the prosecution only had been taken. Having determined, however, to send O'Donnell for trial to Madras, Hastings and Wheeler issued the following order to the Sheriff :—

1782, O.C. 12th July, No. 18

FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL.

The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General, and Edward Wheeler, Esq., Counsellor of the Presidency of Fort William, Justices of our Lord the King, assigned to keep the Peace in the settlement of Fort William aforesaid.

To the Sheriff of Calcutta at Fort William aforesaid.

We send you herewith the body of the late acting Captain of Marines in the *Death or Glory* private ship of war, John O'Donnell brought before us and charged with the murder of divers Malays, whose names are to us unknown, upon the high seas. Therefore these are on behalf of our said Lord the King to command you that immediately you receive the said John O'Donnell and him safely keep in your said Jail there to remain that he may be dealt with according to due course of law. Hereof fail you not at your peril. Given under our hands and seals at Fort William aforesaid, this 12th day of July 1782. (Unsigned draft.)

Research among the records of the Government of Madras would doubtless reveal the details of O'Donnell's trial at Madras, but we have already devoted to our hero perhaps more than the space even his extraordinary career can claim. The following papers must serve to show how it fared with O'Donnell at Madras.

1782, O.C. 15th July, No. 1.

HON'BLE SIR,

Mr. Hare acquainted me last night that he had taken the liberty to intimate to you my anxious wish of being suffered to embark immediately for Madras in the *Active* Frigate, who is now under dispatch.

I have since seen Captain Mackenzie who has promised to receive me on Board under the charge of any Person or Persons the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council please to send with me.

Your late Indulgence and Lenity encouraged me to enquire, whether it is proper for me to address a formal application to you, Sir, and Mr. Wheeler who signed my warrant of Commitment, making this Request or whether any other step would be more proper.

I beg and entreat to be sent on Board as soon as possible, as it is very irksome and distressing to me, to see even my friends, while I am under charge and Odium of so horrid a Crime and until I can give them positive and honorable Proofs of my Innocence.

I have the Honor to be

with great Respect,

Hon'ble Sir,

Your most obdt. and humble servant,

JOHN O'DONNELL.

CALCUTTA,

14th July 1782.

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

1782. O.C. 15th July No. 2

TO THE SECRETARY

14th July.

SIR,

I had the honour of receiving a letter from you by order of the Hon'ble Governor and Council relating to Mr. O'Donnell. I beg leave to inform you, for the Hon'ble Council that I am ready to receive Mr. O'Donnell, and request he may be sent as soon as possible, as His Majesty's Ship *Active* is now going down the River.

(Unsigned.)

1782. O. C. 15th July No. 4

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTING, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL ETC., ETC.; EDWARD WHEELER, ESQ., COUNCILLOR, PRESIDENCY OF FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL AND JUSTICES OF THE PEACE IN AND FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF FORT WILLIAM AFORESAID. TO THE SHERIFF OF CALCUTTA.

These are to require you forthwith to deliver to Thomas Mackenzie, Esq., Commander of His Majesty's Ship the *Active*, on board the said ship the Body of John O'Donnell now in your Custody by virtue of a Warrant of Commitment under our Hands and Seals upon a Charge of Murder committed by him on the High Seas in order that he may be conveyed in the said ship to Fort St. George at Madras there to be dealt with according to due Course of Law.

Given under our Hands and Seals at
Calcutta this 16th day of July, in
the year of our Lord One thousand
seven hundred and eighty-two

1782. 15th July, No. 5

TO FORT ST. GEORGE

FORT WILLIAM,
1st July 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

Captain John Maclary, late Commander of the ship *Dedalus* and Mr. John O'Donnell, who lately acted as Captain of Marines on board the *Death or Glory*, private ship of war, have been brought before us on charges of murder committed upon the high seas, as set forth in the affidavit of Captain James Bracey, late Commandant of the *Death or Glory*.

We enclose copy of our proceedings upon this occasion taken with copies of the original evidence taken before us in both causes, in consequence whereof you will observe that we thought it proper to discharge Captain Maclary and to commit Mr. O'Donnell to the custody of the Sheriff that he might take his trial before a competent Court.

As we find upon recurring to his Majesty's Charters there is no Admiralty Jurisdiction in Bengal which is competent to the trial of crimes committed upon the high seas, the form of Government to which His Majesty's Charter of the year 1761 was directed no longer existing at this Presidency, we have judged it necessary to order Mr. O'Donnell a prisoner on board the *Active* Frigate to be delivered over to the proper magistrats on his arrival at Fort St. George, have taken recognizances from Captain Bracey, James Fitzgerald, James Kelly, William Boswell, and Ephraim Clark to appear to the prosecution. They will accordingly be sent on different vessels and are about to depart and the witnesses who have been examined

by Mr. O'Donnell have been directed, according to his request, to repair to Fort St. George that they may be present at the trial.

On the arrival of the *Active* we request that you will take such measures as you may judge necessary presuming Mr. O'Donnell and bringing him to a speedy trial.

We are,
(Unsigned draft.)

1781. O.C. 15th July, No. 14.

HON'BLE SIR,

I am sorry for being so often under the Necessity of intruding myself on your more important Avocations, but trust you will please to make every proper allowance for the Trouble I am obliged to give you, in a Matter which not only concerns my Life, but my Credit and Character, as a Man of Feeling and Humanity, Considerations far more dear in my Idea, than Existence itself. I beg and intreat that the whole of the proceedings of your Hon'ble Board in the Office of not only Governor-General and Council of Bengal, but also in that of Magistrates and Justices of the Peace, which regard Mr. John Mackclary jointly with me as well as we separately be sent in the same ship, with me to Madrass. My reasons for making this Request must, I presume, be very obvious, as the Hon'ble Acquittal of Captain Mackclary, tho' positively charged by Capt. Bracy upon solemn Oath, with putting to Death deliberately and in cold Blood eleven Malays will in some Measure invalidate and render of Less Weight the Accusation of a Man whose Evidence in this recent Instance has been proved both false and groundless.

I also request the Hon'ble Board will be pleased to issue the usual Notices to all those witnesses, who were produced in my favor, to repair to Madrass by the first opportunities; for tho' one and all would, I am confident with pleasure go double the Distance to acquit a person they consider innocent of the Crime laid to his Charge. Still those Gentlemen in the Hon'ble Company's Service, would perhaps be apprehensive of the Consequence of leaving the Presidency without a public order.

I beg leave to repeat my request of yesterday of being sent on board the Frigate as soon as possible.

I have the Honor to be,
with the greatest Respect,
Hon'ble Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,
JOHN O'DONNELL.

CALCUTTA, July 15th, 1782.

HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

28th September 1782.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF MADRAS.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

It is with much regret I find myself under the necessity of intruding on your very important moments, but trust the painful and disagreeable situation in which I have for near three months been placed will, when fully explained to you, plead my apology.

The Government of Bengal, not possessing Admiralty powers, were pleased to order me to the Presidency to take my trial on a charge exhibited against me by James Bracy and others.

Three of these persons sent round by the Governor-General, etc., are long since arrived at this place, but unfortunately my witnesses have not yet reached Madras; tho' they left Calcutta in the *Resolution*, Captian Mercer, the 9th of last month. I am, therefore, apprehensive by her being so long missing, some accident has happened. Satisfied, however, in my own breast of my innocence, conscious that I never committed in the course of my life any act that could ever be tortured into a crime, feeling my situation beyond expression painful and disagreeable whilst under the imputation of so odious a crime as that of murder, and anxiously wishing for the opportunity of justifying my conduct to my friends and the world, I am now induced to request and beg that the Right Honourable the Governor and Council will be pleased to meet in their capacity of a Court of Admiralty in order that my trial may take place as soon as possible. For conscious, as I before observed, of my own innocence, and impatient to return to my business and concerns in Bengal which must have already suffered considerably by my long absence, I am determined to rest the issue of my trial on the testimonies of those very persons sent round by the Governor-General, etc., to support the prosecution against me on behalf of the Crown.

JOHN O'DONNELL.

FORT ST. GEORGE,

2nd October 1782.

TO MR. JOHN O'DONNELL.

SIR,

I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the President and Council to acquaint you that in consequence of your letter of the 27th *ultimo* a Court of Admiralty will be held on Monday next for the trial of the crime for which you stand committed.

I am, &c.,

CHARLES FREEMAN.

Extract from the Proceedings of a Court of Admiralty held at Government House in the Town of Madraspatnam on the 7th Day of October 1782.

All persons except the Register (*sic*) withdrawn from the Court, the Court considered the evidence given and debated, the matters and circumstances of the prisoner, John O'Donnell's case; which being fully and maturely done, the President collected the voices of the Commissioners, beginning at the junior first and thereupon the prisoner, John O'Donnell, is acquitted of the charge exhibited against him.

The Court then opened and the prisoner John O'Donnell, produced, the Register (*sic*) proceed thus:—

Register. John O'Donnell you have been charged with articles against you for felony and Murder and thereunto you have pleaded not guilty; and upon your tryal the Court hath acquitted you of the charge exhibited against you.

The Prisoner is then released.

CHARLES FREEMAN,
Secy

CALCUTTA:
18th Nov. 1783.

GENTLEMEN.

I have the honour and satisfaction to inform you of my safe return to the Presidency, having been acquitted of every charge for which I was a prisoner sent round to be tried at Madras.

Apprehensive that some accident had happened to the ship *Resolution* in which my witnesses embarked, I applied to the Government of Madras to appoint a day for my trial determined to rest the issue of it upon the evidence of those very persons who were sent to Madras at the instance of the Hon'ble the Governor-General, rather than longer remain under the imputation of so odious a crime as that of murder. A copy of my letter (No. 1) on the occasion and their answer (No. 2) I beg to enclose. After a full investigation of the whole matter before a most august and respectable Tribunal, consisting of the Right Hon'ble George Lord Macartney and some of the senior merchants of the Madras administration, Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, Commodore King and three of the oldest Captains of the Fleet, I was acquitted of every charge exhibited against me, as you will please to observe by an official extract of the proceedings (No. 3). As soon as I receive an authenticated copy of my trial, I shall lay it before the public; it will, I doubt not, fully justify my conduct to my friends and the unprejudiced world, and convince them that the charges against me were malicious, groundless, and vexatious.

I have, etc.,
JOHN O'DONNELL.

8.—FAREWELL TO JOHN O'DONNELL.

Of the end of O'Donnell's Indian career the present writer knows nothing. We must for the present at least watch him sail away from Calcutta on the *Pallas*, China bound in search of fortune.

1783 O.C. 6th October, No. 43.

CALCUTTA:
October 5th, 1783.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRS,

Understanding that the Honourable Company have a quantity of Salt Petre, which you mean to dispose of at the price it cost with an advance of ten per cent. for godown hire, etc., I request the favour of your Hon'ble Board to order the delivery of four thousand maunds, and that you will be pleased to give directions to the Custom-Master to suffer the exportations of it. As my ship is in danger for want of balast, I beg you will honor me with an immediate answer.

I have also to request the favour of your Hon'ble Board to grant me such passports for the *Pallas* frigate, burthen with five hundred tons, pierced for twenty-two guns, as you will consider necessary to insure protection upon her arrival at any Dutch ports on her way to China.

I have etc.
JOHN O'DONNELL.

1783. O.C. 13th November, No. 51

CALCUTTA :
Nov. 13th, 1783

HON'BLE SIR & SIRS,

As I am now on the eve of embarking in a ship of my own for China and intend to call at Batavia and Malacca in the course of my voyage, I request your Hon'ble Board will be pleased to grant me a certificate of the charges brought against me by Captain James Bracey regarding the murder of some Malays navigating under Dutch colors, and for which you deemed it proper to send me to Madras to take my trial there.

I would not trouble your Hon'ble Board on this occasion, were I not apprehensive that prejudices may have gone about, to remove which it will be highly necessary for me to have your public certificate, as the accusation first took place here.

I have, etc.,
J. O'DONNELL.

I beg your Hon'ble Board will be pleased to grant a passport for the *Pallar* frigate bound to the Eastward and China. She is a vessel of about 450 tons and pierced for twenty-two guns, nine pounders.

J. O'DONNELL.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

SHILLONG, 14th April 1910.



(Key to Plan of Lower Circular Road Cemetery (Corresponding with Nos. 1-50 of the List)

No.	SURNAME	No.	SURNAME
1	Macnaghten.	26	Norman.
2	Casement.	27	Forster.
3	Greenlaw.	28	Hollingbery.
4	Beadon.	29	Turnbull.
5	Drummond.	30	Bradford.
6	Lyall.	31	Atkinson.
7	Sutherland.	32	Dave Carson.
8	Walker.	33	Van Dedem.
9	Penny.	34	Woodburn.
10	Blochmann.	35	Knight.
11	Wells.	36	Coates.
12	Trench.	37	Mees.
13	Wilson.	38	Fabre-Tonnere.
14	Vanderstraeten.	39	O'Kinsale.
15	Wenger.	40	Robinson.
16	Sujnat Ali.	41	Kellner.
17	Thompson.	42	Dall.
18	Blaquiere.	43	Laidlaw.
19	Bethune.	44	Tagore.
20	Eyre.	45	Macnulty.
21	Torrens.	46	Doucett.
22	Gordon.	47	Jacob.
23	Ritchie.	48	Fraser.
24	Richards.	49	Browne.
25	Mead.	50	Bayley.

Lower Circular Road Cemetery, Calcutta.

LIST OF MONUMENTS OF HISTORIC, LITERARY AND GENERAL INTEREST.

COMPILED BY E. W. MADGE, OF THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY, AND
G. O'CONNELL, SECRETARY, CHRISTIAN BURIAL BOARD.

"Where are they now? Gone to that 'narrow cell'
Whose gloom no lamp hath broken nor shall break;
Whose secrets never spirit came to tell,—
Oh ! that their day might dawn, for then they would awake."

—DEROZIO. *Night.*

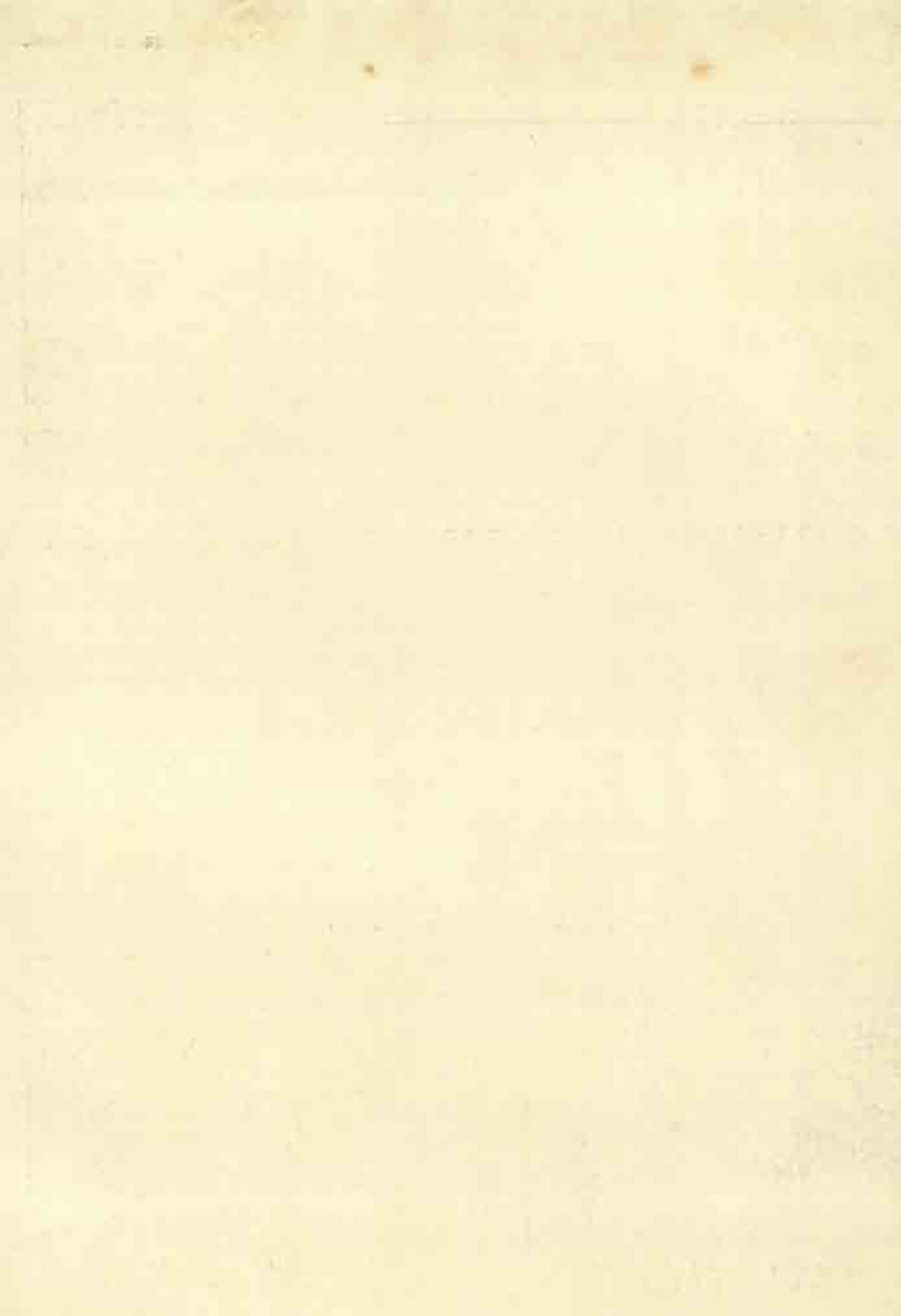
"The living dead are here—the people whose names are not yet altogether perished
and whose tombstones are tended."

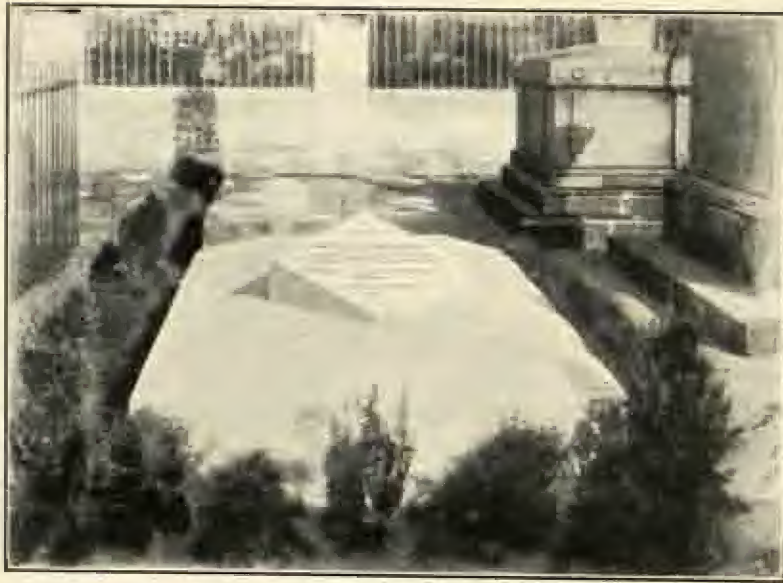
—KIPLING. *The City of Dreadful Night.*



THE Park Street Cemeteries being considered full at the time, this "New Burial Ground" was opened on April 29, 1840, to receive the remains of Captain E. T. Milner's infant son (see item No. 64). With a view to bring this article within reasonable limits several interesting names have been omitted. It is nevertheless hoped that this List will be of service to any person who may in the future desire to compile a guide-book to the Cemetery, especially as the literature regarding it is exceedingly meagre.

No.	Position.	Year.	Name.	Brief Remarks.	Epitaph where published.
1	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21, 3rd Row, West, 1st grave from South.	1841	Sir W. H. Macnaghten, K.C.S.I.	Governor-Elect of Bombay. Envoys to Cahel, where he was assassinated. It is said that his headless body was purchased for its weight in gold by his widow, afterwards Marchioness of Headfort. Tablet in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta.	<i>Bengal Obituary and Whelan's List of Inscriptions.</i>
2	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21, 2nd Row, West, 3rd grave from South.	1844	Major-General Sir William Channing, K.C.B.	Military Member of Council. Buried in Town Hall.	<i>Bengal Obituary and Whelan's List of Inscriptions.</i>
3	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21, 3rd Row, West, 1st grave from South.	1844	C. H. Greenlaw	Secretary, Marine Board, and Curator. Advocated the cause of Steam Communication. Buried in Town Hall.	<i>Idem.</i>
4	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21, 3rd Row, West, 8th grave from South.	1853	Mrs. Harriet Beland (also her infant daughter).	The first wife (Mrs. Sneyd) of Sir Cecil Benton, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. She died at Madras. Her second wife was Miss Agnes Sterndale to whom he was married in 1860.	<i>Idem.</i>
5	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21, 4th Row, West, 10th grave from South.	1841	David Drummond	Teacher of Deroda Schoolmaster, Poet and Journalist. Wrote Ode to Lord Metcalfe on the Liberation of the Press, &c.	<i>Idem.</i>
6	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21, 1st Row, West, 15th grave from South.	1845	J. Edwards Leall	Advocate-General; contemporary of Gladstone at Oxford.	<i>Idem.</i>
7	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21, 2nd Row, West, 16th grave from South.	1844	J. C. C. Sutherland	Orientalist. Secretary to the Law Com- mission in Macaulay's time.	<i>Idem.</i>





GRAVE OF H. L. V. DEROZIO IN SOUTH PARK ST. CEMETERY.



Monument, in Circular Road Cemetery, to Mrs. EYRE, wife of Capt. (afterwards General Sir Vincent) Eyre.



Monument, in Circular Road Cemetery, to Sir W. H. MACNAGHTEN, BART., R.C.S.



Monument, in Circular Road Cemetery, to Mr. Justice J. P. NORMAN.



Monument, in Circular Road Cemetery, to the Rt. Hon. Mr. JAMES WILSON.

8	(2ND WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21, 2nd Row, East, 17th grave from South.	1843	Major-General Forster Walker ...	Commanding the Presidency Division at the time of his death. Had fought at Deig and Thurtpore.	Bengal Obituary
9	(2ND WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21, 1st Row, East, 13th grave from South.	1842	Major-General G. K. Penny	Commanding at Dinapore. Erected by his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel N. Penny, afterwards Major-General Penny, C.B., who, when in command of the Meerut Division, was killed by the Mutineers.	Ditto
10	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21, 4th Row, West, 21st grave from South.	1878	Professor H. F. Blochmann	Came to India as a private soldier. Principal, Calcutta Madrassa, Orientalist; translated <i>Ata-i-Abbasi</i> .	Wilson's List of Inscriptions
11	(3RD WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 19, 1st Row, West, 1st grave from North.	1860	Charlotte Mary, Lady Wells	<i>Mrs</i> Gresham. The first wife of Sir Mordaunt L. Wells, Judge of the High Court, who convicted "Padri" Lang of libel in the <i>Nil Darpan</i> case. He also gave offence to the Indian Community who petitioned the Secretary of State for his recall; their petition was, however, rejected.	
12	(3RD WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 19, 2nd Row, East, 2nd grave from North.	1861 and 1860	Richard and Arthur Julius Trench	The sons of the Archbishop of Dublin (then Dean of Westminster) and brothers-in-law of Bishop Copleston of Calcutta.	
13	(4TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 19, 1st Row, East, 1st grave from North.	1860	Right Hon'ble James Wilson	Eminent Financier. Secretary to the Treasury during two Administrations. Free-Trade Advocate. Originally a batter. In India proposed Income Tax, established Paper Currency and remodelled system of Accounts. Maternal uncle of Sir W. W. Hunter.	Ditto
14	(4TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot C, 1st Row, East, 16th grave from North.	1860	Rev. Fr. P. Vanderstraeten, S.J.	Professor at St. Xavier's College in its early days. The only Roman Catholic Priest buried in this cemetery.	

No.	Position.	Year.	Name.	Brief Remarks.	Epitaph where published.
15	(6TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot I, 2nd Row, East, 1st grave from South.	1880	Rev. J. Wenger, D.D.	Baptist Missionary. Translated the Bible into Bengali and its Poetical Books into Sanscrit Verse.	Wenger's <i>Story of the Lal Bazar Baptist Church</i> .
16	(6½ WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot III, 1st Row, West, 19th grave from South.	1865	Munshi Sajad Ali	Muslimadan convert; 40 years a Baptist Missionary.	
17	(6TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 27, 1st Row, West, 5th grave from North.	1853	Sir James Thompson, K.C.H.	Senior Surgeon, Bengal Army. This illustrious nameless grave has recently been marked by a tablet by the Superintendent of the Cemetery.	
18	(6TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 37, 1st Row, West, 7th grave from North.	1853	William Correa Blaquiere	Said to have been the original of St. John in Zuffray's story-piece, "The Last Supper."	See footnote (1).
19	(6TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 36, 1st Row, West, 2nd grave from North.	1851	J. E. D. Bethune	Member of Council. The Bethune School was established by him.	Wilson's <i>List of Inscriptions</i> .
20	(6TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 36, 1st Row, West, 1st grave from South.	1851	Mrs. E. A. Eyre	First wife of Captain (afterwards General Sir Vincent) Eyre, who during the Mutiny relieved Arrah and commanded the Artillery at Alambagh, Lucknow.	See footnote (2).
21	(6½ WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 36, 1st Row, East, 6th grave from North.	1852	H. W. Torrens, B.C.S.	Oriental Scholar. Translated <i>Arabian Nights</i> .	Wilson's <i>List of Inscriptions</i> .
22	(7TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 13, 1st Row, West, 6th grave from South.	1866	Stewart St. John Gordon, B.M. C.S.	Additional Member of the Governor General's Council.	<i>Nillo</i> .
23	(7TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 12, 2nd Row, West, 2nd grave from North.	1862	William Ritchie	Legal Member of Council. Cousin of Thackeray, the novelist, who wrote the inscription for his bust in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta.	

24	(773) WALKER, NORTH BLOCK, Plot 12, 4th Row, West, 12th grave from South.	1829	Dr. Vincent Richards	...	Port. Health Officer. Snake-Poison.	Authority on	
25	(673) WALKER, NORTH BLOCK, Plot 14, 1st Row, East, 10th grave from South.	1862	Henry Mead	...	Editor, <i>Bengal Harbourn</i> , was editing the <i>Friend of India</i> when the Mutiny broke out.	See footnote (3).	
26	(873) WALKER, NORTH BLOCK, Plot 14, 1st Row, East, 9th grave from South.	1862	Mrs. S. E. Norman	...	The first wife (Miss Davidson) of Field- Marshal Sir H. W. Norman, who first accepted and then declined the Vice- royalty of India (1894).	Wilson's <i>List of In- scriptions</i> . See also No. 68.	

(1) "Sacred to the Memory of
WILLIAM COMPTON BLAQUIERE,

Who died on the 15th August, 1853.

He landed in India in 1777 and was at an early age employed by Government in high and responsible offices; among others he was especially appointed to suppress Superstitions and apprehend the chiefs of large bands of dacoits in the Zillahs of Hooghly, Nadia, Jessore and Balasore, in which he was eminently successful.

He was for a period of fifty-three years a Magistrate and Justice of the Peace of Calcutta.

He was eminent for his talents and for his knowledge of the Oriental languages and of the characters of the Natives of India, to whom he was always a kind

friend, and by whom he was generally and much beloved.

He was the Chief Interpreter and Translator of the Supreme Court of Calcutta for 60 years. He was an intimate and valued friend and associate of

Sir William Jones.

He was a kind and generous friend to all who needed assistance.

He was an avowed Free Mason; and during a period of about 60 years was a member of Lodges "Star in the East," the Provincial Grand Lodge, and

Lodge "Industry and Perseverance," and several others over which he frequently presided.

He was a benevolent good and sensible Mason, and as such was universally beloved by all his Brethren."

(2) "Sacred to the Memory of
EMILY ANNETTE EYRE,

wife of

CAPTAIN VINCENT EYRE,

Bengal Artillery,

And only daughter of Colonel Sir James Mount, Bart., Bengal Engine. Born 4th June 1816. Died 9th March 1851, aged 34 years, 9 months.

She shared in the perils of the Cabul immersion and of her husband's captivity in 1841-42, and, by her noble conduct throughout that eventful period, proved herself worthy of this last fond tribute of affectionate regret.

(3) "Erected by his widow to the loved memory of Henry Mead, Esq., who was drowned in the river Hooghly by the upsetting of a boat on the 16th September 1862, aged 31 years. "In the midst of life we are in death."

No.	Position.	Year.	Name.	Brief Remarks.	Epitaph where published.
27	(7TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 14, 1st Row, East, 8th grave from South.	1862	Col. H. Forster, C.B.	Gallant Anglo-Indian Officer, complimented by the Duke of Wellington in Parliament. He raised the Shikharwati Battalion (13th Rajputs), which regiment before leaving for Hong-Kong, came here and made "pujah" to his grave, 1907.	Wilson's <i>List of Inscriptions</i> ; Stack and Madge's <i>East Indian Works</i> ; Colonel Prior's <i>History of the 13th Rajputs</i> .
28	(STUDIER WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 12, 4th Row, West, 1st grave from South.	...	R. H. Hollingbery	Economist. One of the brightest ornaments of the Unconvenanted Service.	
29	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 37, 3rd Row, East, 4th grave from South.	1901	R. Turnbull, C.L.E.	Many years Secretary to the C. M. Corporation. Portrait in Town Hall.	
30	(9TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 41, 6th Row, West, 3rd grave from North.	1895	M. E. Bradford, I.C.S.	Son and heir of Sir Edward Bradford, Bart.; Chief of London Police. Assistant Magistrate, etc., Rampore. Had rowed in the Oxford eight, and accompanied Prince Albert Victor on H.R.H.'s shooting tour in Rajputana.	
31	(STUDIER WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 41, 6th Row, West, 4th grave from North.	1890	E. T. Atkinson, I.C.S., C.L.E.	Accountant-General, Bengal, and a well-known member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.	
32	(STUDIER WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 40, 4th Row, East, 1st grave from South.	1896	David Nunes Carriosa (alias Dave Carson)	The well-known Comedian, C.S.I. ("Comic Star of India").	
33	(10TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 41, 2nd Row, East, 6th grave from North.	1895	Baron W. K. Van Deden	Ex-Minister of the Netherlands. Handsome Monument with marble lettering in relief and epitaph in Dutch.	
34	(10TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 49.	1902	Sir John Woodburn, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.	Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (1898-1903).	

35	(10TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 39, 1st Row, East, 1st grave from South.	1890	Robt. Knight	...	Proprietor and Editor of the <i>States- man and Friend of India</i> .
36	(10TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 39, 1st Row, East, 4th grave from South.	1895	Brigade-Surgeon J. M. Coates, I.M.S.	...	Principal of the Calcutta Medical College.
37	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot L.C., 1st Row, West, 2nd grave from North.	1888	Gustave Mees	...	Analyst, C. M. Corporation. Nephew of the late Rev. F. E. Lafont, S.J., C.I.E.
38	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot L.C., 2nd Row, West, 3rd grave from North.	1890	C. E. Fabre-Tonnere	...	Dist. Supdt., Bengal Police. Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great.
39	(10TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot V, 1st Row, West, 1st grave from South.	1892	Mrs. Grace O'Kinealy	...	The first wife (<i>née</i> Lewis) of Mr. P. O'Kinealy, Standing Counsel.
40	(10TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot VII, 1st Row, West, 4th grave from South.	1901	Rev. Robt. Robinson	...	Editor, Privy Council Appeals. An eloquent preacher; styled the "Indian Spurgeon."
41	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot V, 3rd Row, West, 5th grave from North.	1898	E. W. Kellner, C.I.E.	...	Retired as Accountant-General, Punjab; brother of Sir G. W. Kellner, K.C.M.G., C.S.I.
42	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot IV, 3rd Row, West, 4th grave from North.	1886	Rev. C. H. A. Dall	...	American Unitarian Missionary. Por- trait in Town Hall.
43	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot IV, 3rd Row, West, 1st grave from South.	1881, 1887 and 1889	Agnes Isabel, Nora and William Laidlaw.	...	Children of Sir Robt. Laidlaw, ex- M.P.; Philanthropist.

No.	Position.	Year.	Name.	Brief Remarks.	Epitaph where published.
44	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK). Plot 29, 1st Row, East, 1st grave from North.	1869	Mrs. Kamada Tagore	Daughter of Rev. Dr. K. M. Bannerjee. Her husband, Gaudendro Mohun Tagore, was the first Indian Barrister, and having married a Christian, was disinherited by his father, the Hon'ble Babu Prasanno C. Tagore, C.S.I., whose only son he was, but came into pos- session of his property on appeal to the Privy Council.	
45	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK). Plot L.B., 1st Row, West, 4th grave from North.	1890	Colman P. L. Macaulay, I.C.S., C.I.E.	Travelled in China, and projected a Commercial Mission to Lhasa.	Wilson's <i>List of Inscriptions</i> .
46	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK). Plot L.C., 2nd Row, East, 6th grave from North.	1904	G. M. Doucet	Like his relatives, Lawrence and Sir Walter de Souza, he left his fortune for the benefit of East Indians. [Name not on tablet].	
47	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK). Plot 38, 4th Row, West, 1st grave from South.	1898	Stephen Jacob, I.C.S., C.S.I.	Comptroller-General of Accounts	
48	(7½ WALK, SOUTH BLOCK). Plot 11½, 1st Row, East, 6th grave from North.	1924	Rev. A. G. Fraser, D.D.	Father of Sir A. H. L. Fraser, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.	
49	(7½ WALK, SOUTH BLOCK). Plot 10, 2nd Row, East, 4th grave from North.	1885	J. F. Bouwne, B.C.S.	District Judge of Ahipore. Died on falling from his horse on the Calcutta Maidan (14th September 1885).	
50	(SUTURGE WALK, NORTH BLOCK). Plot 12, 5th Row, East, 1st grave from South.	1863	Clive Wm. Bayley	Infant son of Sir S. C. Bayley, after- wards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (1887-1892).	
51	(6TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK). Plot 7½, 1st Row, East, 5th grave from North.	1874	Captain John Dixon	Served in the Second Burma War and Indian Mutiny (Cawnpore).	

52	(7TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 9, 1st Row, West, 5th grave from South.	1880	T. W. Gribble, R.C.S.	...	Postmaster-General, Bengal. His widow married Sir Charles Pontifex, a Judge of the High Court, Calcutta.	Wilson's List of Inscriptions.
53	(6TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 6, 4th Row, East, 5th grave from North.	1873	Michael Madhu Surdan Dutta	...	Well-known Bengali Poet; said to have been the first to write blank verse in that language. Barrister-at-Law.	
54	(SUBBER WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 7, 1st Row, West, 1st grave from South.	1871	Justice J. P. Norman	...	Officiating Chief Justice. Assassinated in Town Hall, 21st September 1871.	
55	(SUBBER WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 14, 8th Row, West, 1st grave from North.	1873	Justice H. V. Bayley, R.C.S.	...	Member of a distinguished family. Said to have been the last person who smoked a <i>hookah</i> at the Bengal Club.	<i>Idiota</i>
56	(4TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 4, 2nd Row, West, 8th grave from South.	1850	Mrs. Sophia Esdaile	...	The second wife (<i>nee</i> Ullmann) of Dr. James Esdaile, the great Mesmerist.	
57	(4TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 3, 1st Row, East, 1st grave from South.	1880	John Blessington Roberts	...	"The Tribune of the People." Rose from a Private Soldier to be Coroner and Chief Presidency Magistrate. District Grand Master of Bengal.	Wilson's List of In- scriptions.
58	(3RD WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 3, 1st Row, West, 4th grave from South.	1853	Rev. W. O. Ruspini ...	...	Chaplain of St. Paul's Cathedral. The funeral service was read by Bishop Daniel Wilson.	
59	(3RD WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 3, 2nd Row, West, 7th grave from South.	1845	Mrs. Charlotte A. R. Bruce	...	Poetess. Formerly Mrs. J. F. O'Oyly; daughter of Captain H. R. Page of Monghyr.	<i>Bengal Obituary.</i>
60	(3RD WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 2, 1st Row, East, 14th grave from North.	1848	J. Birch ...	...	Coachman to Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General.	See footnote (4).

(4) "To the memory of John Birch, aged 47. A faithful servant and an honest man, who died at Government House, 27th September 1848. This stone is raised by James, Earl of Dalhousie."

No.	Position.	Year.	Name.	Brief Remarks.	Epitaph where published.	
61	(4TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 18, 1st Row, West, 3rd grave from South.	1846	Charles Thackeray	...	The uncle of the Novelist, Barrister and leader-writer, <i>Englisman</i> ; (died 13-7-1846). This grave, hitherto nameless, has been marked by a slab by the Supdt. of the Cemetery.	
62	(SUNDER WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 20, 1st Row, East, 1st grave from South.	1841	David Carmichael Smyth, B.C.S.	...	Brother of Captain H. W. C. Smyth, who married Mrs. Thackeray (the novelist's mother).	<i>Bengal Obituary.</i>
63	(2ND WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 20, 2nd Row, West, 6th grave from South.	1841	Major Robert Collins Macdonald	...	Grandson of the famous Flora Macdonald, Jacobite Heroine. His father, Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonald, married, secondly, a daughter of Sir Robert Chambers, Chief Justice, Bengal.	<i>Bengal Obituary and Bengal: Past and Present</i> , Vol. V, page 328.
64	(2ND WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 20, 1st Row, West, 7th grave from South.	1840	R. C. Mitner (infant)	...	Born and died April 29th. The first interment in this cemetery.	<i>Bengal Obituary.</i>
65	(2ND WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 20, 2nd Row, West, 10th grave from South.	1841	Mrs. Maria Madeline Taylor	...	Australian Actress. Well known in Calcutta in her day as Madane Dhermannville.	<i>Bengal Obituary and Bengal: Past and Present</i> , Vol. II, page 300.
66	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21, 2nd Row, West, 4th grave from South.	1843	Col. R. Boycott Jenkins	...	The widow of his son, E. Jenkins, B.C.S., is now the Countess-Dowager of Lovelace. Her second husband had married, firstly, Lord Byron's daughter ("Ada, sole daughter of my house and heart").	<i>Bengal Obituary.</i>

67	(1ST WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 2, 1st Row, West, 6th grave from North.	1844	Mrs. Marian Salmon	...	Sister of Lieut.-General Sir J. B. Hearsey, who disbanded the 10th and 34th Regiments at Barrackpore during the Mutiny, and has been styled the "Saviour of Calcutta." Her son, Lieutenant Mordant Money Salmon, was killed at Shahjehanpur, 1857.	<i>Ditto.</i>
68	(1ST WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 1, 2nd Row, West, 1st grave from South.	1846	C. K. Robinson	...	The Architect who designed the Ochterlony Monument and erected the Metcalfe Hall, &c. The Street named after him should be "Robison" and not "Robinson" Street.	<i>Bengal Obituary and Wilson's List of Inscriptions.</i>
69	(7TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 15, 3rd Row, West, 12th grave from South.	1853	James Norman	...	Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Com- merce; father of Field-Marshal Sir H. W. Norman (see item No. 26).	
70	(2ND WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 1, 3rd Row, West, 10th grave from South.	1846	J. L. D'Anselme	...	Comte de Clavaillon First Headmaster, Hindu College.	<i>Ditto.</i>
71	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 24, 1st Row, West, 20th grave from South.	1841	D. C. G. Elliott	...	Infant son of Sir Daniel Elliott, M.C.S., K.C.S.I., afterwards Madras Member of Legislative Council of India.	<i>Bengal Obituary.</i>
72	(4TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot C, 1st row, East, 1st grave from North.	1865	H. A. Beckett Harrison	...	Infant son of Sir H. L. Harrison, well known as the Chairman of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation (1881-1890).	
73	(2ND WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 20, 2nd row west, 9th grave from south.	1841	Sir Alex. Mackenzie	...	"Knight-Barronet." Capt., 48th B.N.I.	<i>Bengal Obituary.</i>
74	(2ND WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 20, 2nd row west, 3rd grave from south.	1841	Major Gavin Young	...	Judge-Advocate-General, Bengal Army. Mural tablet in St. John's Church.	<i>Ditto.</i>

No.	Position.	Year.	Name.	Brief Remarks.	Epitaph where published.
75	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21, 1st row west; 6th grave from south.	1844	Lieutenant W. L. Mackintosh	Superintendent of the Mysore Princes ; had been A.D.-C. to the Governor- General.	<i>Bengal Obituary and Wilson's List of In- scriptions.</i>
76	(2ND WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 20, 2nd Row, West, 21st grave from South.	1841	Mrs. Adeline M. Turton.	Second wife of T. E. M. Turton (afterwards Sir T. E. M. Turton, Bart.), Registrar, Supreme Court.	<i>Bengal Obituary.</i>
77	(3RD WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 3, 1st Row, West, 10th grave from South.	1845	John Dent, M.C.S.	Provisional Member of Council, Madras. Monument in St. George's Cathedral.	<i>Bengal Obituary and Wilson's List of In- scriptions.</i>
78	(3RD WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 3, 2nd Row, West, 4th grave from North.	1845	Captain R. A. Macnaghten	Proprietor of the <i>Englishman</i> (originally the <i>John Bull</i>). Had served in the Maharatta and Pindari Campaigns. Tablet in St. John's Church.	<i>Bengal Obituary.</i>
79	(6th WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 15, 2nd Row, West, 1st grave from North.	1852	Rev. J. J. Weitbrecht, C.M.S.	Connected with the Burdwan Mission for over twenty-one years. Father of Canon H. U. Weitbrecht of Lahore.	
80	(6TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 19, 1st Row, West, 4th grave from South.	1852	Rev. G. Mundy, L.M.S.	Connected with the Mission at Chin- surah. Latterly Pastor of the Coolie Bazar (Hastings) Chapel. Author of <i>Christianity and Hinduism Contrasted</i> .	
81	(5TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 1, 1st Row, West, 11th grave from South.	1859	Rev. A. F. Lacroix	Oriental Scholar. Founded L.M.S. Institution, Bhovanipore.	
82	(5TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 1, 1st Row, West, 17th grave from South.	1861	Mrs. Hannah C. Mullens	Daughter of Rev. A. F. Lacroix and wife of Rev. Dr. J. Mullens, L.M.S. Wrote <i>The Missionary on the Ganges</i> .	
83	(7TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 8, 2nd Row, East, 1st grave from North.	1860	Rev. M. D. C. Walters	Seven years Chaplain, Old Mission Church.	

84	(5TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 17, 1st Row, West, 26th grave from South.	1872	Mrs. Lucy S. Stephenson	...	Wife of Rev. J. Stephenson, Chaplain, St. John's, Calcutta, afterwards Canon of Lincoln Cathedral.
85	(6TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 2, 1st Row, West, 25th grave from South.	1881	Mrs. S. A. Carter	...	Daughter of J. W. Ricketts, the East Indian Patriot, who founded the Parental Academy (Doverton College) in 1823, and six years later conveyed the East Indians' Petition to Parlia- ment.
86	(9TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK) Plot 41, 2nd Row, West, 8th grave from North.	1888	F. F. Wyman	...	Publisher; Member of Bengal Council, 1870, 1872.
87	(9TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 41, 2nd Row, West, 1st grave from North.	1887	Rev. Philip S. Smith	...	Member of the Oxford Mission, Cal- cutta. See Longridge's History of that Mission.
88	(7TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 8, 1st Row, West, 7th grave from North.	1873	Mrs. Christine Peacock	...	<i>Née</i> Lewis. Wife of F. B. Peacock, B.C.S., C.S.I., the eldest son of Sir Barnes Peacock, C.J.
89	(7TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 9, 1st Row, East, 2nd grave from North.	1878	Mrs. Mary Kemp	...	Wife of F. Baring Kemp, B.C.S., Judge, High Court, Calcutta.
90	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 4, 1st Row, West, 11th grave from South.	1900	T. C. Leffie	...	Barrister-at-Law. A thoughtful writer. His "Ledhana" was published posthu- mously.
91	(2ND WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 20, 1st Row, West, 3rd grave from South.	1841	J. W. Collins	...	Architect of the Sans Souci Theatre (now St. Xavier's College).
92	(4TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 32, 1st Row, West, 8th grave from South.	1882	F. J. Bollen, M.A.	...	Principal, La Martinière.

No.	Position.	Year.	Name.	Brief Remarks.	Epitaph where published.
93	(7TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), 4th Row, West, 1st grave from North.	1861	Mrs. Catherine Lushington	Name only on tablet. <i>Née</i> Ansell; relict of C. M. Lushington, M.C.S., who belonged to a well-known Civilian family. Tablet in St. George's Catho- dral, Madras.	
94	(6½ WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 15, 3rd Row, West, 2nd grave from South.	1874	Griffith Pugh Evans	Infant son of Sir G. H. P. Evans, Member of the Governor-General's Council and Acting Advocate-General.	
95	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 99, 1st Row, West, 12th grave from South.	1882	Rev. Harri Har Sandel	Missionary attached to St. Paul's Cathedral where there is a tablet to his memory, as also in St. Mary's Church, Bhowanipour.	
96	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot L. C., 2nd Row, East, 1st grave from South.	1895	A. D. B. Gonnies	Commissioner, Sanderbunds, Honorary Secretary, Calcutta Pauperism Com- mittee, 1891.	
97	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 99, 3rd Row, West, 1st grave from North.	1896	Archibald Hills	Indigo Planter, Bengal; brother of General Sir J. Hills-Johnes, G.C.B., V.C., and of Lady Evans (see No. 92).	
98	(9TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 41, 5th Row, East, 9th grave from South.	1892	Miss A. M. Hoare	Diocesan Zenana Missionary. Tablet in St. Paul's Cathedral.	
99	(7½ WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 11½, 3rd Row, East, 4th grave from South.	1903	A. S. Lovelock	Chartered Accountant.	
100	(10TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 47, 3rd Row, West, 4th grave from North.	1927	W. B. Irendlish, M.V.O.	Telegraph Signaller at Delhi, when the Mutiny broke out. (<i>See Statesman</i> November 27, 1907.)	

101	(2ND WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 34, 2nd Row, West, 7th grave from North.	1858	Robt. S. Barrum	...	Infant son of R. S. Barrum, Bengal Medical Service, killed at Lucknow. After being beheaded there, the babe was brought down by its mother to Calcutta only to die. See Mrs. Barrum's <i>A Widow's Reminiscences of the Siege of Lucknow</i> .
102	(6TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot I, 1st Row, East, 11th grave from North.	1882	Henry Roberts	...	Principal, Devon College, etc.; Fellow, Calcutta University
103	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 13, 1st Row, East, 14th grave from South.	1885	Mrs. M. K. Trevelyan	...	First wife of Mr. (now Sir) E. J. Trevelyan, retired Judge, Calcutta High Court.
104	(7½ WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 10, 3rd Row, West, 3rd grave from North.	1885	H. H. Locke	...	Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta.
105	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot IV, 3rd Row, West, 5th grave from South.	1889	Rev. F. L. McCoy, Ph. D.	...	American M. E. Mission. Editor, <i>Indian Heralds</i> .
106	(9TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 41, 7th Row, West, 9th grave from North.	1891	Mrs. N. C. C. Sutherland	...	Daughter of Major-General J. P. Carr- Glyn, and first wife of G. H. Suther- land (now Sir Geo. Sutherland, late Sheriff of Calcutta).
107	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot IV, 4th Row, West, 6th grave from South.	1892	Grace Thoburn	...	Child of Bishop J. M. Thoburn, M. E. Church.
108	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 1, 2nd Row, West, 1st grave from South.	1893	P. Ghosh	...	Mathematician. Writer of educational works.
109	(7½ WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 10, 2nd Row, West, 5th grave from South.	1895	T. R. Munro	...	Superintendent, Jetties. Interested in "Old Calcutta." Cremated at Glasgow, his ashes were here interred.

No.	Plot and Position.	Year.	Name.	Brief Remarks.	Epitaph where published.
110	(7TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot II, 1st Row, East, and grave from South.	1897	Henry Andrews	...	Honorary Presidency Magistrate "The Father of The Domiciled Commu- nity."
111	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 5, 6th Row, West, 10th grave from North.	1907	L. Salter, M.D.	...	Homoeopathist. Versed in Eastern Science.
112	(5TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 1, 4th Row, West, 8th grave from South.	1907	Miss Mary E. Leslie	...	Portress, Missionary and Philanthropist. [Name not on tablet.]
113	(9TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 41, 5th Row, East, 10th grave from South.	1909	Miss E. G. Harie	...	Lady Missionary. Funeral service read by Bishop of Calcutta. [No inscription]
114	(7 $\frac{1}{2}$ WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 9, 3rd Row, East, 7th grave from North.	1885	J. D. Hall	...	Standing Counsel.
115	(10TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 38, 1st Row, East, 5th grave from South.	1895	A. St. J. Carruthers	...	For many years the leading Solicitor in Calcutta.
116	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot V, 1st Row, West, 12th grave from South.	1888	Raj Kissen Sen, B.L.	...	Barrister-at-Law, Judge, S. C. Court.

Baptisms at Calcutta, 1759=1766.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.



HIS represents a Selection only from the Old Baptismal Registers. The names of natural children (when that circumstance is stated) have for obvious reasons been omitted. The number of baptisms recorded during these eight years is as follows:—1759, 21; 1760, 6; 1761, 9; 1762, 6; 1763, 11; 1764, 10; 1765, 14; 1766, 24; Total 101. The Editor's thanks are again due to the Rev. S. S. Scott, Senior Chaplain of St. John's Church, for the access kindly accorded to the registers.

1759. March 4.—John, son of Mary Smith.¹

1759. March 5.—Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Thomas and Mary Bull.²

1759. March 5.—William, son of John Cook³, Esquire, and Sophia his wife.

1759. April 5.—Jospar, son of John and Antonia Greathouse.

1759. May 24.—William, son of William Martin.

1759. June 5.—Mary, daughter of Richard Dean⁴ and Catherine, his wife.

1759. June 19.—George, son of Mr. Warren Hastings and Mary,⁵ his wife. This child was born ye 1st December 1757.

1759. August 12.—Frederick, son of Mr. Conrad Miller.

1759. September 7.—John, son of John Edwards.⁶

¹ Smith, Mary. Probably the and Wife of Captain John Smith; if so, she was one of the Fula refugees. See Hill's *List*, p. 84.

² Bull, Mary. After the death of her husband she married Captain Francis Rowland. See *Bengal's Past and Present*, Vol. iv., p. 489.

³ Cook, John. Mr. Hill writes against the name of John Cook, a child of John and Sophia Cook. Born 3rd March, 1756 (Christened April 4, 1757). Mrs. Cook had a second child (Charles) born 18th January and christened on the same day as John.

⁴ Richard Dean. See *Bengal F. & P.*, Vol. vi., p. 139.

⁵ Warren Hastings and Mary, his wife. The fullest account of the first Mrs. Hastings will be found in Sydney Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*. See *Bengal F. and P.*, Vol. iv., p. 623 et seq. George Hastings died in England in 1764. Grier: p. 401.

⁶ Edwards. The name of Mrs. Henrietta Edwards, wife of J. Edwards, appears on the Burial Register, July 29th. 1759. See this Vol. p. 137.

1759. September 28.—Helena, daughter of Mr. Francis Tucker, Pilot.

1759. November 11.—Robert, son of the Honorable Robert Clive, Esquire, and Margaret his wife.⁷

1759. December 16.—Catherine, daughter of William Brightwell Sumner⁸, Esquire, and Catherine his wife.⁹ Born 10th August 1758.

1759. December 16.—Ann, daughter of William Brightwell Sumner, Esquire and Catherine, his wife. Born October ye 31st, 1759.

1759. December 16.—Susanna, Slave to William McGuire⁹, Esquire.

⁷The Honorable Robert Clive and Margaret his wife. "I have explained elsewhere that he was very happy in his marriage. There was not much hurrimongers about him to be sure; neither was his taste of such a nature as led him to delight in the prattle of babes, or the sports of very young people: but he was sincerely attached to Mrs. Clive, as indeed it well became him to be, and had a rather honest affection for the children whom she brought him. One of these, an infant boy, died just as he was about to depart a second time for India. Another, also a boy, was so ill at the period of his embarkation to return home in 1760, that it was found necessary to leave the little fellow behind. Mr. Fallerton, a friend of the father's, took charge of the invalid, and laid him in his grave soon after the ship which bore the rest of the family to England had begun her voyage. Clive's letters show that these visitations and especially the latter, were not unfelt by him." Gleig: *Life of Robert, First Lord Clive*.

⁸Sumner, William Brightwell. Arrived November 25th, 1744, aged 26 in 1756, when he was 2nd of Council at Dacca. Had extensive interests in cotton (1766 O.C. 6 June No. 6). Visits Calcutta on leave, and acts as Lieutenant of Militia during the Siege. Goes on board the *Dodaky* with Drake, and carried, seemingly against his will, to Fata. Collector of Calcutta, December 1759 to November 1760. Export Warehousekeeper in 1760. Member of Council appointed "Manager and Regulator for the Company's interest at Burdwan, January 21, 1761." (I.O. Com. 1761, pp. 80-1). Went home: returned to India with Lord Clive in 1765. Accountant and Collector General. The Select Committee on September 10 write to the Court of Directors: "We think it incumbent on us to observe that the management of this important business (the creation of the monopoly in salt, beetroot and tobacco) was committed to Mr. Sumner. If the plans therefore, should prove so fortunate as to meet your approbation, the merit is chiefly due to that gentleman, who has spared no pains to acquire a thorough insight into the subject, at the same time that he discharged the duties of the Presidency, during Lord Clive's absence, much to our satisfaction. Mr. Sumner would have cheerfully accepted the post of Resident at the Daulat (Murshidabad), now grown an employment of consequence, since the grant of the Dewany; but we judged it more becoming his station, more agreeable to your intention, and more for the benefit of the service, that he should remain at the Presidency to take charge of the Government in case of Lord Clive's absence." Verelst: *View of the Rise and Progress, and Present State of the English Government in Bengal*, p. 13. He seems in 1766 to have ranked during Clive's absence, as Deputy Governor. Asks permission on November 20th, to return to England, and again on November 28th. Sumner's character is very severely judged by Clive. Gleig: *Life of Lord Clive*, (Edn. 1907) pp. 239-41.

⁹McGuire, W., Chief of Luckypore, 1759. Chief of Pains, 1761, and subsequently member of Council. He is one who signed the famous protest of December 29, 1759. (Long's *Selections*, p. 167.) This entry is interesting on account of its reference to the practice of slavery in India. For fuller information on the subject the reader may be referred to Carey's *Good Old Days of the Hon. John Company*, Dr. Bastedo's *Bikari*, and to Mr. Syed Hussain's article in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. II, No. 3. The best authority on the subject is a Parliamentary Report published in 1828. See *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 26.

1760. August 2.—Lucina, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Pyefinch.¹⁰
 1760. September 10.—John, son of Mr. and Mrs. Savage.¹¹
 1760. October 5.—Culling, son of Mr. and Mrs. Smith.¹²
 1760. October 12.—William, son of Mr. and Mrs. Deaubouk.¹³
 1760. December 1.—William, son of Mr. and Mrs. Dean.¹⁴
 1760. December 14.—George, son of William Brightwell Sumner,¹⁵ Esq. and Catharine, his wife.
 1761. January 31.—Joanna, daughter of John and Clara Hughes.
 1761. February 1.—John Peter, son of Mr. Dudley Davis¹⁶ and Eleanor, his wife.
 1761. February 7.—George, son of Henry Vanshart¹⁷ (*sic*), Esq., and Amelia, his wife.
 1761. February 27.—John Martin, son of Charles Playdell¹⁸ and Ellsabeth, his wife.
 1761. April 12.—William, son of Lieutenant Castell.¹⁹
 1761. October 4.—Catherine, daughter of Mr. Pyrkes²⁰ and Judith, his wife.
 1761. November 9.—Francis, daughter of Lieutenant White.²¹
 1762. January 3.—Amelia, daughter of William Ormston.

¹⁰ Pyefinch, Mr. and Mrs. In Hill's *List* we find a Herbert Pyefinch and his wife Sarah (daughter of Mrs. Sophia Anstony). H. Pyefinch served in the Militia and was one of the Fulta jafugees. Although given in some lists as a Writer, he was probably a private merchant. On September 18th, 1763, Herbert Pyefinch resigned the post of cooper.

¹¹ Savage. Mr. Edward Savage, mate of the *Hunter* schooner made his escape in the confusion after the fall of Fort William; but the father of this child was John Savage. The child was buried July 4, 1761. See above, p. 141.

¹² Smith, Culling. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V., Ser. No. 10, p. 139, for the burial of this child on October 16th, 1770, and footnote.

¹³ Deaubouk. See above, p. 139, for the death and burial of this child on November 19th 1760, (the name being written "Deaubouk").

¹⁴ Dean, William. See above, p. 139, for burial of this child, December 2nd, 1760.

¹⁵ Sumner, W. H. See Note 8.

¹⁶ Dudley Davis. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV., p. 437.

¹⁷ Vanshart, Henry. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV., Governor of Fort William, 1759-176. See *Del. Ad. Reg.* It will be remembered that he perished in the wreck of the *Amara*, 1769. His wife was Amelia, daughter of Nicholas Mow, Governor of Fort St. George. His youngest son, Nicholas, was created a peer as Baron Bessley.

¹⁸ Playdell, C. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV., p. 486, Vol. V., p. 143. Elizabeth was a daughter of the Black Hole hero, J. Z. Holwell.

¹⁹ Castell. See note 39 under "Burials" and Note 6 under "Marriages" in two preceding numbers of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

²⁰ Pyrkes. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, 486. The name in the Marriage Register is William Pyrkes.

²¹ White, Lieutenant. From the Burial Register. (See above, p. 140.) The Whites lost two sons, Henry and John, and one daughter, Elizabeth, in this year. I do not know whether this Lieutenant White was the officer who distinguished himself at Buxar in 1764.

1762. January 23.—Elizabeth, daughter of Tyso Saul Hancock,²⁰ Esq., and Philadelphia, his wife.

1762. October 2.—Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Hugh Baillie.²¹

1762. October 5.—Francis James, son of Andrew and Elizabeth Williams.

1762. October 11.—Amella, daughter of John Davies.

1762. October 22.—Frances, daughter of Thomas Rumbold,²² Esq., and Frances, his wife.

1763. January 9.—Samuel, son of Samuel Middleton,²³ Esq., and Ann, his wife.

1763. January 17.—Clement John, son of John Coxens and Margaret, his wife.

1763. January 31.—Ralph, son of Ralph Winwood²⁴ and Eleanora, his wife.

²⁰ *Tyso Saul Hancock*. Famous as a friend of Warren Hastings. Frequent references to him will be found in Dr. Bute's and Sydney Grier's books. See also an article by Sydney Grier in *Blackwood's Magazine*, April 1904. See also *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II., pt. 2, p. 363. Hancock was associated with Benjamin Lucan in one of the earliest schemes for the reclamation of Sangu Island. He died on 3th November 1775, and is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery. His epitaph is in the *Bengal Obituary*, but the monument has disappeared.

Philadelphia, his wife. *Née* Austen, aunt to the novelist. She left England in November 1751 on board the *Bombay Castle* and married Hancock in February 1753 at Cuddalore. Elizabeth was Warren Hastings' god-daughter, who became first Comtesse de Froullille and later Mrs. Henry Austen, wife of the brother of Jane Austen. Another brother of the novelist, Fleet-Admiral C. J. Austen, C.B., Naval Commander-in-Chief, East India Station, died off Pondicherry, October 8th, 1832. (See *Gen'l Mag.*, Vol. 39, p. 438.)

²¹ Baillie, Hugh. See above, p. 122.

²² Thomas Rumbold. The future Governor of Madras. See article in *Dictionary of National Biography*. The story of his humble origin, told by Carey, is mythical, but the facts are well given by H. P. A. Cotton, *Calcutta: Old and New*. Frances, his wife. Died 22nd August, 1764, aged 26. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 5.

²³ Middleton, Samuel. Arrived 23th July, 1753, aged 21. In 1758 made his escape from Jajdia to Falta, 1757. In Accountant's Office at Calcutta, 1759 with Verelst at Lockypore. He was one of the Deputation who enthroned the Nawab Nizam-ul-Dowlah and got into trouble for receiving a present. See Verelst's *View of the English Government in Bengal*, pp. 31 and Appendix, pp. 37, 44. He apparently bent his head to the storm and Clive and his Council demanded for special favour on his behalf. In July 1765 he applied for the Chieftainship at Patna, and was supported by the opposition-party to Lord Clive on the Board. He appears as Chief of that Factory in a list of 8th October 1765. (Long's *Selections*, p. 412.) Member of the Select Committee, 1770. Chief of Council of Revenue at Murshidabad. Resident at the Durbar, Collector of Rajshahi and Chief of Commissions, 1772. Provisional Grand Master of Bengal, 1767-1775. The *Freemasons* subscribed for 4,000 to 5,000 for his portrait by Tilly Kettle. Died and buried at Palaty (Pirpalati), 1775. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III., p. 393, Vol. IV., p. 935.

²⁴ Winwood, Ralph. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV., 497. Eleanora is his first wife whose tomb may be found in St. John's compound, a photograph of which has appeared in *Bengal: Past and Present*.

1763. March 12.—Charles, son of Mr. Charles Weston³⁸ and Amelia, his wife.

1763. March 18.—Henry John, son of Captain Robert Campbell and Catherine, his wife.

1763. March 23.—Rebecca, daughter of William Shewin³⁹ and Rebecca, his wife.

1763. August 31.—Henry, son of John Taylor⁴⁰ and Dorothy, his wife.

1763. October 19.—George, son of George and Eleanor Williamson.⁴¹

1763. November 27.—George Banks, son of George and Catherine Burghall.

1763. December 7.—Helen, daughter of Ascanius William and Helen Senior.⁴²

1763. December 8.—May Helen, daughter of John and Mary Graham.⁴³

1764. February 4.—Ralph, son of Ralph Leycester,⁴⁴ Esq., and Charlotte, his wife.

1764. April 3.—Alexander, son of Alexander Falconer and Susanna, his wife.

1764. April 24.—Mary, daughter of William Bowey,⁴⁵ Pilot, and Thorniza, his wife.

1764. July 20.—Charles, son of Page Kable,⁴⁶ Esq., and Christiana, his wife.

1764. September 8.—John Bladen, son of John and Dorothy Taylor.⁴⁷

³⁸ Weston, Accounts of Charles Weston (Senior), the Eurasian Philanthropist, and friend of Holwell, will be found in the *Bengal Obituary*, Hyde's *Parochial Annals* and Duckenden's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. He married his first wife, Amelia de Rosario, 9th November 1758. Charles Weston (Junior), whose baptism is here recorded, was born 21st March 1763 and died 15th February 1813. He was mentally deranged before his death. He is buried in the Military Cemetery, Bhowanipur, under a coffin-shaped masonry monument; the inscription on which is given in Wilson's *List* but not in the *Bengal Obituary*. His step-mother, Mrs. Constantia Weston, is buried at Bandel.

³⁹ Shewin, William. It may be noted that Mary Graham whose name appears below was a Miss Shewin.

⁴⁰ John Taylor. See above p. 143.

⁴¹ Williamson, George. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iv., p. 488.

⁴² Senior, Ascanius William. Arrived 25th July 1753. Aged 25. Clerk of the Court of Requests in 1756. In the Militia at the siege of Fulta. He was evidently a shipowner, for we find from his complaints that the King of Quedda had detained his vessels. Import Warehouse keeper, 1760. Chief of Cossimbazr, 1765.

⁴³ Graham John. See for Marriage *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iv., p. 489 and above p. 144.

⁴⁴ Leycester, Ralph. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iv., p. 488, and above pp. 209-10.

⁴⁵ Bowey, William. See Hill's *List*, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Kable, Page. Master-Attendant, 1765. See *Saton-Karr: Selections*, Vol. I. 35-38, Hyde's *Parochial Annals*, p. 160.

⁴⁷ Taylor, John Bladen. Became Director of the East India Company, 1810-26. Has descendants in India.

1764. September 18.—James, son of James and Christiana Macdougall.
 1764. October 9.—George Herriman, son of Thomas Rumbold,²⁸ Esq., and Frances, his wife.
 1764. October 10.—Joanna Gysberta, daughter of George Lewis Vernet,²⁹ Esq., Director of Chinsuray, and Helena Adriana, his wife.
 1764. October 23.—William, son of William and Rebecca Shewin.³⁰
 1764. November 10.—Richard, son of Richard and Elizabeth Nun.
 1765. January 13.—Charles, son (of) James Wilson and Rose, his wife.
 1765. January 23.—Lucy, daughter of Edward Hardwick and Sophia, his wife.
 1765. February 3.—Thomas, son of George Williamson and Eleanor, his wife.³¹
 1765. February 19.—Samuel, son of Samuel Hampton³² and Frances, his wife.
 1765. April 13.—William, son of Mr. Charles Weston³³ and Amelia, his wife.
 1765. April 27.—Hugh, son of Hugh Ballis³⁴ and Maria, his wife.
 1765. May 4.—Thomas, son of Hugh Watts, Esq.,³⁵ and Elizabeth, his wife.
 1765. May 7.—William, son of John Pool and Catharina, his wife.
 1765. June 7.—Edward, son of William Brightwell Sumner, Esq.,³⁶ and Catharina, his wife.
 1765. June 23.—William, son of William Hunter and Elizabeth, his wife.
 1765. July 4.—Mary, daughter of Page Kebble, Esq.,³⁷ and Christiana, his wife.
 1765. September 15.—Mary, daughter of Peter Shaw and Clarinda, his wife.

²⁸ George Rumbold. "The second son and second baronet, Sir George Berriman Rumbold, whose birth cost his mother her life, was seized by Napoleon while British Resident at Hamburg in 1804, and conveyed as prisoner to the Temple in Paris. He died at Memel in 1807. Two of his sons came to India and joined the banking house of Palmer and Company at Hyderabad, where they both lie buried." Cotton: *Calcutta: Old and New*, p. 548.

²⁹ Vernet, G. L. See Cotton, *Calcutta: Old and New*, p. 1007.

³⁰ Shewin. See note 27.

³¹ Williamson, G. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iv, p. 488.

³² Hampton, S. See S. C. Hill, *Life*, p. 42.

³³ Weston, C. See note 26.

³⁴ Ballis, H. See note 22, *ms.*

³⁵ Watts, Hugh. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iv, p. 489.

³⁶ Sumner, W. B. See note 8.

³⁷ Kebble, Page. See note 34.

1765. October 13.—Lydia, daughter of Henry Hopkinson and Martha, his wife.
1765. November 5.—Ann, daughter of John Swift³⁸ and Sarah, his wife.
1766. January 30.—Robert, son of Robert Lindsay³⁹ and Elizabeth his wife.
1766. February 5.—Edward, son of Robert Gregory⁴⁰ and Joanna, his wife.
1766. February 5.—Margaret, daughter of Robert Gregory.
1766. February 5.—William, son of Robert Gregory.
1766. March 11.—Robert, son of Thomas Kidd.
1766. March 13.—Henry, son of Henry Goodwin.⁴¹
1766. March 25.—Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Hunter⁴² and Margaret, his wife.
1766. May.—John, son of John Knott.
1766. May 24.—Samuel, son of George Williamson⁴³ and Eleanor, his wife.
1766. August.—Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Wedderburn, Esq.⁴⁴
1766. September 1.—Robert, son of Robert Campbell and Catherine, his wife.
1766. September 26.—Hugh, son of Hugh Watts, Esq.⁴⁵, and Elizabeth, his wife.
1766. October 6.—Robert, son of Robert Kelsall.⁴⁶
1766. October 13.—Mary, daughter of Archibald Keir.⁴⁷
1766. October 21.—Elizabeth, daughter of John Taylor⁴⁸ and Dorothy, his wife.

³⁸ Swift, J. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 77.

³⁹ Lindsay, Robert. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iv., p. 491.

⁴⁰ Gregory, R. In the North Park Street Cemetery (according to the *Bengal Obituary*) there is an inscription to Robert Gregory, Esq., of H. C. Service, who died on the 6th December, 1814, aged 60.

⁴¹ Goodwin, Henry. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iv., p. 499. Above p. 146. [Where "p. 447" should read p. 449]. Much about Goodwin will be found in Cotton's *Revenue History of Chittagong*.

⁴² Hunter, Robert. See above p. 148.

⁴³ Williamson. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iv., p. 489. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 74, for epitaph of Eleanor Williamson.

⁴⁴ Wedderburn. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iv., p. 499, where in first line of note for "1776" read "1771."

⁴⁵ Watts, H. See above, vol. iv., p. 489. This child was buried on January 19th, 1767.

⁴⁶ Kelsall. See above p. 196.

⁴⁷ Keir, A. It was from an Archibald Keir the house used for the Supreme Court was purchased in 1781. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iii., p. 36. He was a Surgeon in the Company's Service.

⁴⁸ Taylor, J. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iv., p. 489 and above p. 148.

1765. October 30.—John, son of John Walker and———[blank in register.]

1766. October 30.—Mary, daughter of William Myrtle.

1766. November 2.—Sarah, daughter of J. L. White.

1766. November 2.—John, son of John Dunstall⁶⁶ and Mary, his wife.

1766. November 20.—John, son of John Graham⁶⁷ and Mary, his wife.

1766. November 23.—Page, son of Page Keble,⁶⁸ Esq. and Christiana, his wife.

1766. December 9.—Robert Clive, son of John Carnac, Esq.,⁶⁹ and Elizabeth, his wife.

1766. December 16.—Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Hardwick and Rebecca, his wife.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER

(Assisted by E. WALTER MADGE).



⁶⁶ Dunstall. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iv., p. 458 and above p. 141.

⁶⁷ Graham, J. See note 31.

⁶⁸ Keble, Page. See note 34.

⁶⁹ Carnac, John. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. iv., p. 492.



THE SECOND MRS. WARREN HASTINGS.
(Portrait by Schlatterbeck.)

Some Fresh Light on the Second Mrs. Hastings and Her Family.

TO THE EDITOR, "BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT."

KIRKLEY, EASTBOURNE,
10th March 1910.



DEAR SIR,—I have lately received some fresh information as to the family and early life of Mrs. Hastings, which I think would interest the readers of *Bengal: Past and Present*, as it supplements and corrects some of the conclusions at which I arrived, on evidence necessarily incomplete, in the appendices to *The Great Proconsul* and the *Letters of Warren Hastings to His Wife*. The new material has reached me from Fraulein Mülberger, of Stuttgart, a great-great-grand-daughter of Mrs. Hastings' brother, Baron Chapuzet (or, in the German spelling, Chapuzet). Frä. Mülberger has long been interested in the history of her family, and on reading the *Letters*, was kind enough to send me the results of her researches, together with some photographs of portraits, and impressions of seals, of much importance. These she is quite willing to allow to be reproduced in *Bengal: Past and Present*, asking only that a copy, or if possible two, of the issue in which they appear should be sent to her for the present owners of the pictures. I think you will agree with me that the discovery of an entirely new portrait of Mrs. Hastings is a matter for congratulation, and that great interest attaches also to the portraits of her mother and brother. The notes which follow are almost entirely in Frä. Mülberger's own words, save where I have added suggestions in brackets, but I may premise that she points out that I was in error in supposing the maiden name of Mrs. Hastings' mother to have been de St. Valentin. Chapuzet de St. Valentin was the full name of her father's family, and the maiden name of "Baroness Chapuzettin" appears in the family records variously spelt as Grundgeiger and Krnigeiger. I append the family tree she has sent me, in case you have room to reproduce it as some possessors of the *Letters* might be glad with its aid to correct the table, No. C. 2, given in Appendix III.

May I add with what pleasure I look forward to each issue of *Bengal: Past and Present*, and how glad I am that reverent hands are gathering up the relics of the founders of British India before time sweeps them away?

Believe me, dear Sir,

THE REV. W. K. FIRMINGER, B.D.

Yours faithfully,

SYDNEY C. GRIER.

I. EXTRACTS TRANSLATED BY FRL MÜLBURGER FROM A
SERIES OF ARTICLES IN THE *KORRESPONDENT VON*
UND FÜR DEUTSCHLAND, NUREMBERG, 1863.
BY HERR REKTOR LOCHNER.

Lochner begins by stating that his essay, "Marianne [Hastings]," cannot claim to be a complete picture, and aims only at enshrining the fragments which he has gathered from every available source. He has searched all the Church Books, Registers and Archives of Nuremberg and Altdorf, where the Chapuzet family lived, has also had the opportunity of studying the private records of the Imhof family, and has gathered what reminiscences he could from people still living who had known the Chapuzet family. He says that important parts of the history seemed to be irretrievably lost.

Amongst the refugees forced to leave France, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, was one Charles Chapuzet de St. Valentin, born in 1653, and formerly Brigadier in the Household Troops of the King, the famous "Maison du Roi." He earned his living as a teacher of languages and dancing in Berlin, Erlangen and Schwalbach, settling finally in the University town of Altdorf, near Nuremberg. Here he became dancing-master to the University, and as a widower married, on 21st September 1693, Katharina Maria Müller, the daughter of a clergyman of Graefenberg. Two children of this marriage are known:—

1. Johann Karl, born at Altdorf, 1694, teacher of languages, wrote several French grammars, died in 1770 at Nuremberg.
2. Friedrich Julius, born at Altdorf, 1702, merchant at Nuremberg, died 1786.

By a third marriage of Charles Chapuzet's, with Susanna Maria—, (surname unknown,) he had another son.

3. Johann Jakob, who was still a schoolboy when his father died, and who seems to have been the only one of the family to show marked French characteristics. Nothing is known about the days of his youth. He is said to have become Imperial Notary in 1736, (but his name is not to be found in the list of Notaries,) then, in consequence of a duel, to have enlisted as a soldier and entered the Imperial Service, and to have died in a military



MADAME CHAPUZET DE ST. VALENTIN.



J. P. T. CHAPUZET DE ST. VALANTIN.
(Portrait by Schlatterbeck.)

hospital at Schwarzenbach on the Saal in 1758. There is no documentary proof of this. His wife was Caroline Friederike Grundgeiger or Krongeiger, born in 1720 at Carlsruhe. On July 16th, 1749, their son, Johann Paul Thomas, was baptized "auf der Burg zu Nürnberg," that is, in the barracks established in the old castle, where Johann Jakob, as a sergeant, would naturally have his dwelling. There was also a daughter, Anna Maria Apollonia, a little older than the boy, and born probably, (Lochner has not discovered any entry of the fact,) in 1748.*

Johann Jakob appears to have been the black sheep of his family, for on his death his widow and children were left in such extreme poverty that, according to oral tradition, the poor lady was obliged to earn her living by manual labour, taking in washing, as did the other sergeants' wives. She seems to have been a strong-minded and capable woman, and must have succeeded in giving her daughter a fairly good education, judging from the ease with which in after life Marianne, (Anna Maria Apollonia was her full name,) filled the high position which fell to her lot.

It was after the Seven Years' War, in 1763, that a young officer, Christof Adam Karl von Imhof, came to Nuremberg to visit a family of his acquaintance. The end of the war had left him among the unemployed, and the means of his family, Imhof auf Marlach, were too small to provide him with a maintenance. He went about among his relatives, from one household to another, repaying to some extent the hospitality he received by painting their portraits. He had a number of relatives in Nuremberg, and spent some time there. No information whatever has come to light respecting the way in which Imhof and Marianne became acquainted. There were many difficulties that militated against a marriage between them. Imhof's income was not large enough for his own wants, much less to support a family. He was also of noble birth, and could have requested the hand of a daughter of any of the chief Nuremberg families, while Marianne's family, though of noble descent, had quitted France in circumstances that involved the total loss of its property, and she herself had been brought up in poverty, and was the daughter of a soldier, at that time a profession held in little esteem. The circumstances, time and place of their wedding are also shrouded in absolute obscurity.

The family records of the Imhofs do not contain a single mention of Marianne. [The evidence is conflicting here, for Henriette von Bissing, writing later than Lochner, says in her life of Imhof's daughter Amalie, that she has read many letters from Marian on the subject of the divorce among the family papers.—S. C. G.] Imhof's marriage would naturally be considered a misalliance by his noble family, who evidently thought his decision to earn

* February 2nd, 1747 (Lawson). S. C. G.

his livelihood by painting portraits too degrading to an officer of noble birth to be mentioned, for the record states merely that he undertook a journey to England for the sake of making progress in his studies. All that Lochner can say on the subject is :—

"Since the family record gives no information on the matter, we can only say that Imhof and Marianne left Nuremberg, were married somewhere—perhaps in some country place, for it cannot be doubted that they were married in church—and then went immediately to England, where they must have lived for several years, Imhof earning a livelihood for himself and his family, which now included two sons, by painting. Of these years also no record remains."

The picture of "Mrs. Imhoff and Child," painted by R. E. Pine, and reproduced in the *Letters*, was known to Lochner, for he describes it minutely, calling special attention to the wedding ring on Mrs. Imhof's hand. For the later history of Marianne, he relies on Gleig and Macaulay, offering no fresh material, but gives many details of small importance as to Imhof's life in Weimar on his return from India.

Marian's brother, Johann Paul Thomas, ("Baron Chapuset,") lived and died at Stuttgart. He is described as a *particulier*, i.e., a person of independent means. There is a saying in the family that he occupied the post of Court gardener to the King of Wurtemberg, but nothing certain is known about this. Marian's mother also spent the later years of her life at Stuttgart and died there.

II. NOTES ON THE PICTURES.

No. 1. *Mrs. Hastings*. Signed Schlotterbeck pinx., 1789. White dress, with blue ribbons, fair hair, looking darker in the reproduction than in the original, blue eyes; bright blue background, with greyish-blue mount. [It is clear that this picture cannot represent Mrs. Hastings as she was in 1789. It is probable, therefore, that it was painted from a miniature taken at a much earlier age, (perhaps by Imhof himself,) in order to make a companion portrait to those of her mother and brother.—S. C. G.]

No. 2. *Mme. Chapuset de St. Valentin*, (née Grundgeiger or Krongeiger.) Not signed or dated. Bright blue mantle, with sable trimming, white kerchief and white cap with blue ribbon, white hair, blue beads in the fingers. Background, grey.

No. 3. *Johann Paul Thomas Chapuset de St. Valentin*. Signed Schlotterbeck pinx., 1789.

All three pictures are in pastel, in gilt frames, size 36 inches by 27. Fri. Mülberger has entirely failed to find any mention of the painter Schlotterbeck elsewhere. It is not known for whom the pictures were painted. All



WARREN HASTINGS.
(From John Jones's Engraving of J. T. Selen's last Painting.)

that is known in the family is that they were in the possession of Baron Chapuset's daughter Mathilde and her husband Fritz Leisinger, Kanzleirat at Stuttgart. Thence they passed to Mme. Leisinger's only daughter Emma, who married a Herr Mülberger, and was the grandmother of the present owners. Nos. 1 and 2 are owned by Frl. Mülberger and her sister. No. 3, with the portrait of Baron Chapuset's first wife, by their brother, Dr. Max Mülberger, Mayor of Esslingen, near Stuttgart. In his possession are also two pastel portraits of children, of which the painter and the originals are alike unknown. [Is it possible that they can be portraits by Imhof of his sons Charles and Julius?—S. C. G.]

No. 4. The portrait of Hastings is the engraving by John Jones from the unknown painting by J. T. Seton, published on April 6th, 1785. [It would be most interesting to discover the history and whereabouts of the original, since it appears to represent Hastings between the time of the early portrait by Reynolds and that painted by Devis on his retirement. No painter of the name of Seton can be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but there is a John Thomas Seaton, who was born in 1761. It is unlikely that so young a man would have made the voyage to India and been able to obtain sittings from the Governor-General, who did not reach England until June 1785. It is therefore probable that it also was painted from a miniature, perhaps in view of the extreme public interest aroused by the return of Mrs. Hastings and her triumphal progress through London society in the previous year. This print was also owned by Mathilde Leisinger, (*née* Chapuset,) and is in the possession of Frl. Mülberger.—S. C. G.]

The seals, of which three are still preserved in the family, bear what has always been declared to be the Chapuset coat of arms. Lochner says that they are French in character, and confirm the tradition of the noble birth of the original exile.

The genealogical table is condensed, (by omitting persons not material to the history,) from that compiled and most kindly supplied by Frl. Mülberger. It will be found to set right in several points the conjectural Table C 2. in Appendix I of the *Letters*.

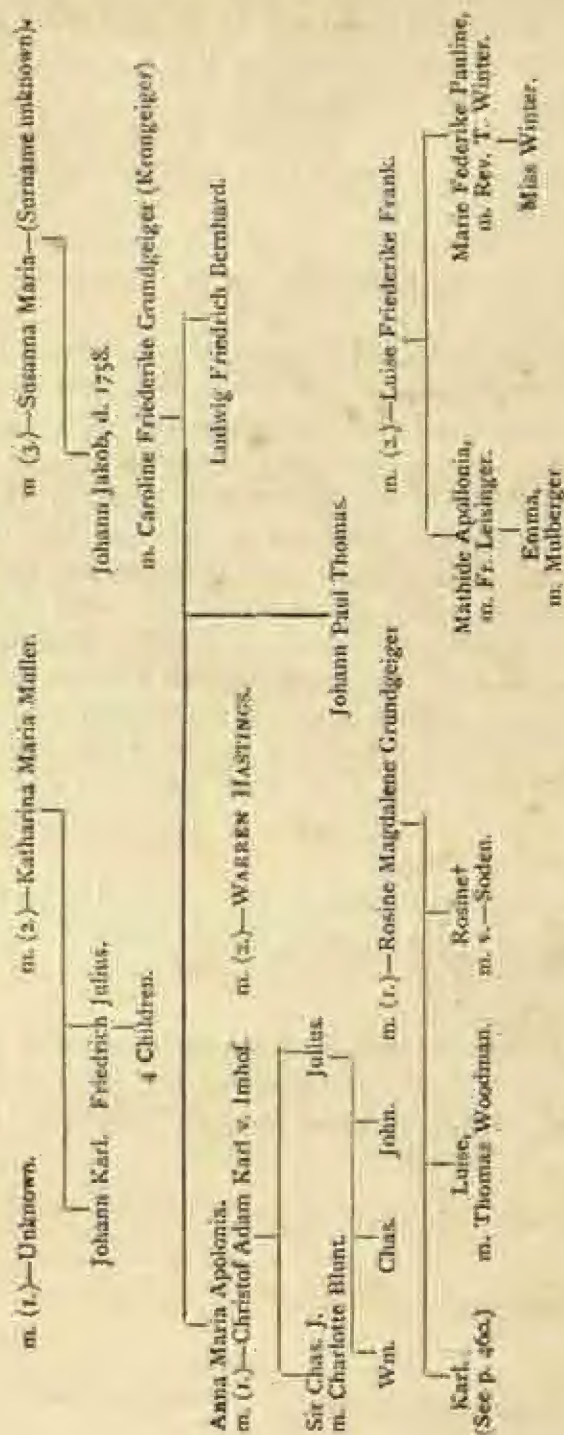
SYDNEY C. GRIER.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE,

CORRECTING TABLE C. 2 IN APPENDIX I., P. 450, OF

"The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife."

Charles Chapuzet de St. Valentin, b. 1653.



* Called Rosine by her English relatives.

A Note in Warren Hastings'
Hand-writing.

Cheltenham 21st Aug. 1795.

Mr. Hastings is extremely
concerned that his immediate
departure from Cheltenham, and
an engagement of which it
is the consequence, will not
have allowed him — he will
not say the pleasure — but
the opportunity of partaking
of the entertainments which
she has provided this morning:
but he requests her accep-
-tance of that which would
have been her due, had
he

200.
he staid, in behalf of himself
his family. —

By the kind permission of Mr. V. Eliot Hodgkin, we are enabled to reproduce here this fine specimen of Warren Hastings' hand-writing. The note was addressed to the [then], La Chevalière D'Eon, and the copy of the Bank Note is in that person's hand-writing. For the mystery of D'Eon's unparalleled career, the reader is referred to the article on D'Eon in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and for a reference to the kind of entertainment mentioned in the above letter to the *Francis' Letters*, Vol. II., p. 406. "The Chevalière D'Eon is here, we were at the play on Saturday, when she fenced with a French *Emigré*; she was an overmatch for him, but it was far from an interesting or pleasing sight to me. She is so poor, that a Club of Gentlemen here have given her 20 guineas." (Harriet Francis to Mary Johnson; Margate, Monday, 21st October, 1793.)

Copy in letter to — *St. James*
no. 3164. 202
1795 Bank
3 May 1795
I promise to pay to M^r Abner
or bearer on demand the sum of Five
pounds
London the 23rd day May 1795.
For the Gov^{rs} and Com^{rs} of the
Bank of England
L. Five signed C. 1200
Int^d Reynolds
2433.

Some Further Notes to the Illustrations.

"P. 231. "A View of the Chuttera." The Khatra Masjid at Murshidabad was built, not as Hodges has it by "Jaffier Cawn" but by Mirshid Kuli Khan, who is buried under the stairs leading up to the mosque. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. VII., Pl. I. (as bound) pp. 232-3. Over the middle door-way is a slab bearing an inscription which may be translated thus:—

"The triumph of Mohamed of Arabia is the glory of heaven and earth. Let the dust of his feet fall on the head of him who is not the dust of his door." (*Or* "He who is not the dust of the door, dust on his head.")

P. 233. Views by J. Moffat. A James Moffat is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, grave No. 973. Born 1733, died 1788. The inscription given in the *Bengal Obituary* shows that the James Moffat was Surgeon of the Phoenix *East Indiaman*. His brother John Moffat, who died in 1791, is buried close by, and the inscription records "This humble tomb is erected by William Moffat, who commanded the *Phoenix* at this port in the year 1800." Mr. E. W. Madge has discovered that an artist of the name of James Moffat died 3rd September, 1815, aged 40, but the place of his burial has not been traced. Barrackpore House was the country seat of the Governor-General so far back as 1785. See Thacker's *Guide to Calcutta*, page 231, where the facts relative to Barrackpore were supplied by Lord Curzon.

P. 234. "View of Lall Bazar." The third building on the left ascending the street to Sealdah is probably the "Harmonic." Beyond which would be Messrs. Burrell and Gould's place of business, over which, in 1784, was "Freemasons' Hall."



The Founder of Chandernagore.



R. W. IRVINE writes:—"I gather from the paragraphs on pages 616 and 617 of *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV (July-December, 1909) that the early history of Chandernagore is a matter of some interest to your Society. I therefore append three extracts from Ms. 6231 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, *Memoires sur la*

Compagnie des Indes Orientales," a compilation made about 1720.

(Folio 18, *recto*) under the year 1691. "Monsieur Deslandes ayant en quelque différent avec les Augustins Portugais du Bandel qui ont envoyé même leurs Chrétiens armés pour forcer la loge (at Hugli), s'est retiré à Chandernagor, où il a fait construire une loge. Le Père Duchatz, Jésuite, en est l'architecte, il en envoie le plan à Monsieur Martin, il est aumonier du comptoir."

Père Duchatz, S. J., had been sent to Hugli in May 1690 at the request of the Portuguese Jesuits of Bandel (*ib. f. 16 verso*).

"1698 (Folio 23, *verso*). L'évêque de St Thomé sur la demande de Messieurs Martin et Deslandes demembre la cure de Chandernagor de celle du Bandel, érige en cure l'église de Notre Dame de Chandernagore. Cette église avait été donnée aux Jésuites par Monsieur Deslandes pour y conserver le tombeau de sa femme et de deux de ses filles; à condition expresse qu'elle ne serviroit à aucun usage, si ce n'est pas d'y dire la messe. L'acte de donation passé au greffe de Chandernagor le [*blank*]. La pastorale fait les Jésuites curés de la paroisse de N. D. de Chandernagor, pour y administrer les sacrements à tous les Chrétiens qui seront tous la pavillon. Les Jésuits ont fait inserer adroitement les mots de 'Notre Dame' pour oter à l'église de la loge le titre de paroisse; car il n'est pas vraysemblable que Monsieur Deslandes ait demandé l'erection d'une paroisse pour une église qu'il a destiné uniquement pour garder les cendres de sa famille, avec a permission d'y dire la messe seulement."

1699 (Folio 25, *recto*) "On a été forcé de recevoir pour curés à Bengala des Jésuites par la mauvaise conduite des Augustins Portugais du Bandel."

The French Company had lately forbidden the appointment as Chaplains of any Jesuits or priests of the Missions Etrangères; Capuchins; "gens sans intrigues," were to be appointed."

"It would be interesting to know if there is any tomb or inscription to Madame Deslandes (*née* Martin) or her daughters. Perhaps there may be some entry in the Burial Registers, 1690-1698, if they are still in existence."

In connection with this, Mr. A. Lehuraux writes :—

"I wish my notes on Boureau-Deslandes were more complete than they are. Unfortunately Chandernagore possesses no memorial to its founder. His very name is unknown, while of records of the early "loge" there are none. In Mr. Irvine's notes on "Chandernagore and Deslandes" which you quote, he inquires "if any tomb or inscription exists to Madame Deslandes (*née* Martin) or her daughter" and suggests a reference to the burial registers, 1690-1698. As late as the 20th May 1698 Madame Deslandes was alive. On that date she was a witness to the baptism of a daughter of M. Joseph Macary and signs the register "Marie Martin *Directrice Generale*." André Boureau-Deslandes left Chandernagore early in 1701. The burial records of the *Etat Civil* here only begin at 1770. I find many of the entries, from 1777 onwards, signed by one "Deslandes Pottier" whose identity I cannot establish. Through the courtesy of Mr. Henri Gaebelé, Mayor of Pondichery I learn that there are no records at Pondichery either of Deslandes' marriage, or of the birth of his eldest child Marie Marguerite. According to Mr. Irvine the marriage took place at Surat before the 26th April 1686. The seat of the Superior Council of the French Company was transferred from Surat to Pondichery in 1701.

"I can trace no inscription or tomb here to Madame Deslandes or her daughter; but the accounts of the Vestry Council (Council de Fabrique) from 1776 onwards record that two Masses per annum were said for Mesdames Deslandes and d'Hardancourt—the latter, a niece of Madame Deslandes, having married Chevalier Claude Boyvin d'Hardancourt, who became Director of Chandernagore in 1711. I have been able to obtain the enclosed extracts from the birth registers here relating to the five children of André Boureau-Deslandes born at Chandernagore between 1690 and 1697. Of his family of seven the eldest was a girl; the second André François born at Hughli began life as a pupil of Malebranche and afterwards attained notoriety as a "sceptical writer." Mr. Irvine suggests that he may be identical with the François Boureau, Lord of Chevalrie and Lieutenant of Militia, whose daughter by his wife Marie Thérèse Jahann was baptised at Martinique, 10th March 1719. It is to be noted that André François adopted the career of his father, being "Commissaire de la Marine" at Rochefort and Brest and that Deslandes' second son was also François.

"The extracts I give you serve to bring out what to my mind seems a discrepancy in Mr. Irvine's reference to the elder brother of the founder of Chandernagore (see additional notes and emendations to Vol. IV. of the translation of *Storia do Magor*), which is repeated in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV., p. 616. The elder Deslandes, Joseph, is stated to have perished in the wreck of the *Soleil d'Orient* in 1681 off the east coast of Madagascar.

Yet in 1692 a Mr. Joseph Boureau, brother of André Boureau-Deslandes, is referred to as sponsor by proxy to the latter's daughter Marguerite born at Chandernagore, and again in 1695, apparently in the same capacity, at the baptism of his third son who was called Joseph.

"I regret my information is so very meagre and I hope to be able to supplement it at some future date. I am glad to hear you have come across records of Fouquet de Champigny and it may interest you to have some particulars about him. René Alain Fouquet de Champigny was born at Chandernagore in 1749, being a son of Alain Fouquet de Champigny, Capitaine de Naisseau, a native of St. Malo, and his wife Marie Gordin born at Bandel, a daughter of Nicholas Gordin and Cathernie Botweig. René Alain was Agent to his Most Christian Majesty at Sylhet and Goalpara and died at Chandernagore on the 8th April 1790. The following is a copy of the register of his burial:—

Enterrement de Messire René

Allain Fouquet de Champigny.

L'année 1790 le 8^e jour d'avril Je prêtre Curé soussigné certifie avoir inhumé a cimetière de l'Eglise paroissiale de St. Louis de Chandernagor le corps de Messire René Allain Fouquet de Champigny agé d'environ 40 ans écuyer ancien Agent pour Sa Majesté très Chretienne à Sylhet et Goalpara, domicilié en cette colonie décédé d'hier muni des Sacrements de l'Eglise. Ont été témoins les Messieurs soussignés.

Blouet. F. Legon. DeVerrine, DeLongchamp. F. Nicolas. Lt. Dumoulin. Geff. . . . Delafosse.

F. Sulpice. Capucin Miss Apost.

BAPTÊMES.

Année 1690 Boureau DesLandes (Fois Louis) François Louis Boureau-DesLandes, fils de Monsieur André Boureau DesLandes, Directeur pour la Royale Compagnie de France au Royaume de Bengale et de Dame Marie Martin son épouse, François Louis naquit le 17 Aout 1690, fut ondoyé, et tenu sur les fonts de baptême le dit jour 29 Septembre même année par Monsieur Louis de la Claretier, Marchand de la Compagnie et Chef du Comptoir de Narsingpara en son nom, et par Monsieur Cosme Gomme aussi Marchand de la dite Compagnie au nom de Dame Magdelaine Boureau soeur du mon dit sieur Des Landes Boureau père du dit enfant. Enfoi de quoi les dits presents ont sign'e ci-bas en ce registre.

Fait en la dite loge, le 29^e Septembre 1690.

Signé : L : Houet et DesLandes.

Je soussigné confesse avoir baptisé le dit enfant, le dit jour et année.
Signé : Duchat de la Compagnie de Jésus, et Missionnaire apostolique.

*Année 1692 Boureau Deslandes (Marguerite).—*Le 20 Avril 1692 a été baptisée par le R. P. Duchat de la Compagnie de Jésus et M^{re} Apostolique, Marguerite Boureau-DesLandes fille de Monsieur André Boureau-DesLandes, Directeur de la Royale Compagnie de France au Royaume de Bengale et de Dam^{lle} Marie Martin son épouse, laquelle Marguerite Boureau naquit le 16 Avril 1692 et nommée sur les fonts de baptême Marguerite par Monsieur Michel Patrix sous-Marchand de la Royale Compagnie de France, au nom de Monsieur Joseph Boureau, frère de mon dit sieur André Boureau, et par Monsieur André Boureau, fils de mon dit sieur le Directeur, au nom de Mad^{me} Marie Marguerite Boureau, aussi fille de mon dit sieur le Directeur.

Enfoi de quoi les dits parrain et Marraine ont signé ci-bas en ce registre

Signé : Duchat de la Compagnie de Jésus et Miss : Apostolique.

Signé : Patrix, DesLandes.

Année 1694. DesLandes Marie François. Le septième jour d'Octobre 1694 J'ai baptisé dans la Chapelle de Chandernagor de la Royale Compe de France Marie Françoise fille d'André DesLandes et de Marie Martin son épouse.

Signé : Claude Debeize s : j :

Signé : Martin. Marie Martin.

Année 1695. DesLandes Joseph Le 10 Novembre 1695. J'ai baptisé dans la Chapelle de Chandernagor de la Royale Compagnie de France Joseph fils de Monsieur André DesLandes, Directeur-Général pour la Royale Compagnie de France des Comptoirs de Bengale, et de Marie Martin son épouse.

Signé : Dolu s : j :

Marie DesLandes, André DesLandes pour Mr. Joseph Boureau.

Année 1697. DesLandes Marguerite Le 5^e jour de février. J'ai baptisé dans la Chapelle de Chandernagor Marguerite DesLandes fille de Mr. André DesLandes Directeur-Général de la Royale Compagnie et de Marie Martin son épouse :

Parrain Mr. Robert Renaud :

Marraine Mme Gosme barbe Carvalho

Signé : Dolu s : j :



Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.



R. G. W. HASTINGS concludes his valuable *Vindication of Warren Hastings* with a chapter on Daylesford, in which he finally disposes of Macaulay's picturesque romance about Pynaston (the name is properly Penyston) Hastings, the father of the great Governor. "Pynaston, an idle, worthless boy, married before he was sixteen, lost his wife in two years, and died in the West Indies, leaving to the care of his unfortunate father a little orphan, destined to strange and memorable vicissitudes of fortune." So wrote Macaulay, following the careless statements of Gleig; and of course Hastings' subsequent biographers speak of "Pynaston's" feebleness of character as if they had convinced themselves by research of that poor man's worthlessness. Mr. G. W. Hastings shows that "Penyston was in holy orders when he married, and then twenty-six years of age, having been born in 1704." The Register of St. Andrew's, Worcester, records the marriage of Warren Hastings' parents as follows: "1730, July 30. The Rev. Mr. Penniston Hastings, of the parish of Dailsford in the county and diocese of Worcester, and Hester Warren, of Twining, in the county and diocese of Gloucester. License." The story of the extreme poverty of the future Governor's early home is proved to be a gross exaggeration. It will be remembered that the biographers represented Hastings' first wife as the widow of a Captain Campbell, and that it is only in recent years it has been discovered that the first Mrs. Hastings was the widow of Captain Buchanan. These extraordinary blunders about the early career of so distinguished a statesman should give pause to those critics who will have it that the nearer the biographer is to his hero in date, the more reliable will be his statements. In point of fact the earliest biography is often incomplete, because the writer naturally tends to omit what in his time is well known, and because not all the records are available at the time: the later biographer writes either because he has more abundant materials or because the older book was faulty and incomplete, at least this was so until a fashion set in of "Men of Action," "Heroes of the Nations," "Rulers of India" Series, and brought into existence numbers of biographies of the great written, in many cases, not to throw fresh light on old subjects, but to meet a public demand.

THERE is another frequently repeated blunder made in regard to Warren Hastings' early career. Captain Trotter in his volume on Hastings in the

"Rulers of India" series writes (page 27):—"Hastings' place at the head of the Patna Factory had been filled by Ellis, the very worst man whom the Calcutta Council could have selected for the post." Sir Alfred Lyall in his work "English Men of Action" series (page 15) says that Hastings' "removal from the Patna agency was unfortunate, for he had already shown judgment and moderation," and Sir Alfred also speaks of Ellis as Hastings' immediate successor. Now it does not appear that Hastings ever held the post of Chief of Patna. The immediate predecessor to Ellis was William McGuire. I fancy that in 1761 Hastings came down from Murshidabad to succeed W. B. Sumner as Export Warehouse Keeper. In 1762 Hastings visited Patna on special deputation to reconcile Ellis with the Nawab Kasim Ali, and this fact may have led Captain Trotter into a blunder which Sir Alfred Lyall has repeated.

THE following letter is of interest, as it shows us the presence of Grand at Chandernagore very shortly before the disgracing of his wife on the 8th of December.

CHANDERNAGORE *the 4th December 1778.*

SIR,

I must acquaint you with an Accident which happen'd here last night. Some Robbers being informed that there was money in the House of a Bengal who was imprudent enough to let it appear, assembled together to the number of ten, armed and lighted by two Muzzahs, and carried off his money which it is said amounted to 2000 Roupees: a man who saw this Gang breaking into the House began to cry out, and received immediately on his head a cut from a sword. The former and the inhabitants came to make their representations to me, they also made them to Mr. Grand, whom I saw and who told me that he would augment the Patroles: but he must know as well as me the necessity of augmenting also the Number of the Peons of the Catcherry: I renew therefore my Request to you upon this Subject to get this granted: if the Number was to be increased to 100, it would be the better, and the Tranquillity of the Place would be the more assured.

I hope we shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you again.

I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your most obedt. Humble Servant

(Sd.) DE BRETEL.

A true translation from the original.

A. L. GILBERT,
French Translator.

BUT little is known to the public of the nature of the part played by Sir Eyre Coote in the fierce controversies of the Supreme Council at Fort William. It is much to be regretted that our Society was not in a position

to buy in these papers recently offered for sale by a London bookseller and catalogued as follows :—

Coolie (Sir Eyre, 1726-1783) General, to Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Watson, 3 pp. folio "Lucknow, March 7, 1780," written when Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, and Member of the Supreme Council, he had heard rumours of a coalition being formed between the two parties of the Supreme Council, but officially knows nothing of it, and also answers various questions relative to British Ascendency in India, etc. *Watson (Colonel Henry, 1737-1786), Chief Engineer in Bengal*. Autograph Draft Answer to the above letter, 16 pp. folio (initialed), "Fort William, March 27, 1780. Extraordinary charge against Sir Eyre and Warren Hastings for neglecting the true interests of England in India for their own sordid avarice." *Coolie (Sir Eyre)* to Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, 5 pp. folio, "Lucknow, May 26, 1780, in reply to his letter above, touching upon the supposed or real coalition."

Let me remind my reader that Watson was hand and glove with Philip Francis, and that he served Francis as second in the historical duel at Alipore, and allow me to recall this passage from Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* of date 17th July 1781. "Colonel W——, a man of superior abilities and immense fortune, has long been a determined opposer of Government, and the bitter enemy of Sir Elijah Impey, against whom he has set an impeachment on foot to prosecute which it is necessary that a confidential agent should serve the process on the defendant here, and proceed to England with the necessary documents. Mr. Fay has contrived to get himself appointed to this office. He has drawn up a set of articles, many copies of which are prepared by Bengali writers. Colonel W——never comes here. All is carried on with an air of profound mystery."

I AM permitted to print here two more letters of Colonel H. Watson. They are not perhaps of very great interest, but they will help to complete the collection :—

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.

GENTLEMEN,

As I am unable to Equip the *Nonsuch* with a sufficient number of Cannon proper for her defence, either from the Company's Stores or by private Purchase in the Settlement ; I am in consequence compelled to request the assistance of the Board, and flatter myself that there will be no impropriety in my soliciting the favour of your application to the Presidency of Fort St. George for such a number of Iron Cannon as may be requisite to arm her in the best manner in order to ensure the safety of the Company's Property with which She is to be laden.

The Guns wanted and most proper for the *Nonsuch* are light Iron twelve Pounders from ten to sixteen or eighteen hundredweight, either of the Carron or any other new Manufactory ; the old Guns of this Calibre being in general very indifferent.

If thirty-six Guns of this nature can be spared from the Arsenal of Fort St. George they will be sufficient to complet the Ship upon the most extensive Plan ; but with a less

number she may be well equipped by the assistance of the old short Guns now in Fort William.

FORT WILLIAM,
15th September 1781.

I am with great respect
Gentlemen
Your most obedient humble Servant,
HENRY WATSON.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.

GENTLEMEN,

An offer having been made to me by several of the Mussulmen Seapoys belonging to the 1st Brigade to serve on Board the *Nonsuch* during her present voyage, I think it my duty to make such an offer known as such an Example may be productive of many advantages hereafter. I shall most willingly receive one Havildar, one Naick and twenty Volunteer Seapoys, and likewise grant them such an addition of Pay as they appear to be fully entitled to by such an unusual offer, provided the Board should be inclined to make the Experiment.

The six following Soldiers, viz., Aaron Spencer, Isaac Pileman, Daniel Graham, James Hook, Daniel English and James Whitford having served their contracted time, and being desirous to serve on Board the *Nonsuch*, in preference to returning to Europe by the Company's Chartered Ships of this Season, as they first intended; I request the favour of the Board to allow this Indulgence, and further, that such of them as chuse to remain in the Supernumerary Company in preference to receiving their discharges may be permitted to continue upon the Company's Books till the return of the *Nonsuch* from China.

I have the Pleasure to inform the Board that the *Nonsuch* will be ready to leave Calcutta on or before the 25th inst. She has at present on Board one thousand two hundred and thirty-six chests of opium; the remainder of her Lading cannot be taken in, till her arrival at Injeelee on account of the shallowness of the River below Culpee, and the Pilots have refused to take charge of her if her draught of water should exceed fifteen feet; her present draught is fourteen feet nine inches.

FORT WILLIAM,
14th January 1782.

I am with great respect
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and
most faithful Servant,
HENRY WATSON.

IN an article I wrote for the *Statesman* of December 19th last, I ventured to remark: "Henry Verelst is one of those Governors coming between Clive and Warren Hastings about whom we have need to learn much, for historians have dealt with this period by rapid generalisations rather than honest research." In volume XXXV (September 1860) of the *Calcutta Review* there is to be found an article on the subject of Governor Verelst. It professes to be based on—

1. *Indian Tracts*, By John Zephaniah Holwell, Esq., F.R.S., and Friends, 1774.
2. *Unpublished Family Papers*, MSS.

The second item might well stimulate the most sanguine expectations, but, alas! if the writer of the article really had had access to unpublished papers of the Verelst family, he certainly did not avail himself of a rich opportunity members of this society would dearly have coveted. The writer pretentiously tells us: "It is because we are astonished at the ignorance displayed of this period that we write this article." He might far better have said: "It is because of the ignorance displayed of this period we venture to write anything which our imagination may perchance suggest." He makes Verelst begin his Indian career at Madras, and, after the example of Clive, exchange the pen for the sword. The year 1749, he tells us, was "a great year for India and for Verelst." In that year Verelst "in soldier's clothes and with a disguised name" followed Clive to death or glory. In that year "flushed with half-realized desires, young Verelst saw through the smoke, and din, and carnage of the marshy slopes of Tanjore, a road, royal too it seemed, to the undefined heights of his strange ambitions." After this our writer lodges his hero "in his dusky room in Writers buildings"—and no doubt he had in his mind the range of buildings, which was erected several years after Verelst's final farewell to Calcutta. As Verelst has been credited with a share in Clive's most daring ventures so too he must go to the Black Hole with Holwell.

"Robert Drake the younger, then Governor, in a moment of deep self scrutiny discovered he was a quaker, and must take no part in the unjust horrors of war, acting up to the tenets of his peaceful persuasion, he beat a hasty retreat with the ladies who had taken refuge in the Fort,—and took possession of one of the ships. It was the metallic maxim of 'every man for himself,' and Roger Drake was delirious with alarm. One hundred and forty-six persons were left behind, so precipitate was his retreat, and their expectations of mercy or even humane treatment were very small. Three days previous to Mr. Drake's discovery, Mr. Holwell had sent for his friend Verelst, and advised him to remain in at the Fort. He took the advice, and on the afternoon of the 20th June 1756, the two friends found themselves, with others of the captives, on a melancholy march to the Black Hole.

"It was not a Hole nor was it black. Many a Bishop's son has slept away a night's loss of liberty in a drearier apartment. The only objection to it was that it could not hold a hundred and forty-six people without a disastrous loss of life. It was not probable that Mr. Verelst, who passed the night there would ever forget the likeness of his prison house, and he described it to his relatives as an ordinary 'round house,' twenty feet in diameter with several small openings for ventilation."

The description of the Black Hole as "an ordinary round house" with several small openings, and "twenty feet in diameter," betrays a cool head for the invention of picturesque details; and it is pleasant to think of Verelst, the writer of some of the most long-winded and pointless minutes ever

* For a definition of a "round house" see the reprint of *Harley House*, p. 352.

penned by an Indian Civilian, swaggering about at home in a *miserima vidi* style worthy of Howell. Unfortunately it is on record—

"Of the factory at Jugdia : Mr. Peter Amyat, Chief; Messrs. Playdel, Verelst, Smyth, Hay and Ensign Mure, with about 20 military. They also quitted this factory, after the capture of Calcutta, by order of the Governor-General and Council."

IN the *Dictionary of Indian Biography* we read.

"VERELST, HENRY (?—1785), Governor:—Grandson of Cornelius Verelst, went to Bengal in the service of the East India Company about 1750: was taken prisoner by the Nawab's force, 1757; released after Plassey." With this the *Dictionary of National Biography* substantially agrees. It is now well known that Mr. Verelst arrived in Bengal on the 16th July 1749, and that in 1756 he was second at the Factory of Jugdea. What is the authority for saying he was taken prisoner by the Nawab? Everything, on the contrary, seems to show that Verelst made good his way to the *rendezvous* at Fulta. Is it possible that our friend the writer in the *Calcutta Review* has confounded the well known Henry Verelst with a less known John Verelst, who according to Mr. S. C. Hill appears as "Ensign in the list of 28th February, 1757, and supernumerary under Kilpatrick." This conjecture would degrade our Calcutta Reviewer from his lofty eminence as an unscrupulous liar to that of the mere blunderer, but then he is a blunderer for, as it has been said of a well known novelist, "he derogates from his skill as a liar by adding footnotes." Compare this passage with the footnote.

Text.

By 1757, Mr. Verelst had worked out one section of his ambitious project and we find him become an important servant to Government, trusted and talked about, characterised by Lord Clive as a gentleman upright, amiable, and intelligent, and one who had done the Company once more with his sword—for he alternated when he could between the desk and the battlefield and unsheathed his sword at the captures of Hughli and Chander-nagore.

Footnote to this Passage.

Lord Clive had paid Verelst the highest compliments. "Remember me to him in the kindest manner" he says in a letter to Mr. Sykes—"tell him that the Company and myself have no other dependence but upon the justness of his and your principles. Mr. Verelst was then supervisor of Burdwan and Midnapore.

Verelst did not become supervisor of Burdwan and Midnapore till 1765! In 1757 he held the very junior post of Sub-Secretary. Our *Calcutta Reviewer*, of course, takes his hero to Plassey. "More than that Harry Verelst was at Plassey we do not know, but we find that he was as ignorant of Omichund's

treatment as the fleet camel which bore the defeated subahdar from the field." That Verelst served as a volunteer at Plassey I do not for one moment believe, although I cannot prove that the statement is untrue. The *Review* tells a great deal which is manifestly untrue, but it is still more remarkable that he leaves untold things which are beyond dispute—things, which if he had really seen "Unpublished Family Papers MSS.," he would have been in a position to elucidate. His silence is even more damning than his speech.

THE *Review* has nothing to say about Verelst's stay at Chittagong in 1760. As Cotton's *Memorandum on the Revenue History of Chittagong* (1880) is not now very easily procured, I will cite from the appendices to that work two letters relative to this period of Verelst's life.

TO HARRY VERELST, ESQ., CHIEF OF CHITTAGONG, AND MESSRS.
RANDOLPH MARRIOTT AND THOMAS RUMBOLD OF COUNCIL.

FORT WILLIAM,
1st December 1760.

GENTLEMEN,

We have thought proper to appoint you to the management of the Company's affairs at Chittagong, will you be pleased to proceed with all expedition, and we have ordered Mr. Walter Wilkins to accompany you as an assistant to your factory.

You must be very particular in all your advices to us of the nature of the revenue, commerce, and produce of the country, and of the several improvements you may be able to make. We have ordered Captain Alexander Scott to proceed with two of the Company's sloops the outward passage and make what observation he can with respect to the almala, soundings, etc., and to join you at Chittagong. We have directed him to give you copy of his proceedings in every particular to be transmitted to us.

We must recommend you to carry yourselves towards the natives and inhabitants at Chittagong in such manner as to give them a good favourable idea of the English Government, and thereby encourage others to come and settle under your protection.

We are, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient servants,
HENRY VANSITTART.
WM. ELLIS.
WM. B. SUMNER.
M. SMYTH.
S. WALLER.
CULLINO SMITH.

THE following letter, written by the Chittagong Council, under date 16th February 1761, describes the condition and resources of the district:—

TO THE HON'BLE HENRY VANSITTART, ESQ., PRESIDENT, AND
GOVERNOR, ETC., COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

ISLAMABAD,
16th February 1761.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Your Honour and Council, we doubt not, will expect some information (before the departure of the ships) of the country, its produce, revenues, etc.

under management. We shall, therefore, attempt as full an account as the small time we have been here will admit of, hoping the same may prove acceptable (through your channel) to our Hon'ble Masters.

The province of Chittagong extends in latitude to the southward of the capital (Islamabad) about fifty miles to a river called Cruz Colly, which extend to the southward is bounded by the sea. To the westward, from the said river, is a ridge of mountains that stretch to the S.-E. and E. and divide the Chittagong District from the Kingdom of Arracan; to the N.-E. and N. the mountains still continue, and divide the province from that of Tipperah; to the N.N.-W. and N.-W. it is bounded by a river called the Burrah Penny, which empties itself into the sea, a little below the pass; from the above river to one that runs by the capital, commonly called the Chittagong river, we judged the coast lay N.-W. and S.-E., so that to the westward S.-W. the province is terminated by the Bay of Bengal. As near as we can see, the quantity of land cultivated is about 400,000 connys; but a very considerable part of it lays free of rent, having been lands formerly given in charity. The measure of the conny is twelve nulls, each null eight covids.*

The soil in general is very fertile, especially in the plains and valleys, but interspersed with sandy hills and some rocky mountains, which are covered with a high wood, and many of them about the boundaries yield variety of good timbers. The land is capable of producing great quantities of wheat and rice, and all other kinds of grain, cotton, wax, oil, timbers of various sorts, and some elephants' teeth. The manufactures at present are but very indifferent, but will admit of great improvement.

The Government of the Moors, in this as well as in all other parts of the Mogul Empire, has prevented such improvements in the produce, manufactures, and commerce of the province as the country is capable of affording. But as the inhabitants will now be encouraged from that sloth and indolence they have ever been used to, we make no doubt but that in a few years greater advantages than at present can possibly be expected will accrue to the Company, to promote which (your Honour, &c., may depend) will be our chief study.

How far the navigation will permit of a foreign trade your Honour, &c., will be judges of from Mr. Scott's chart and remarks which we before sent you. From the hints therein mentioned, we shall endeavour to make ourselves acquainted with the channel between the Rungomutty island and the main. If found practicable for shipping, it will be a favourable circumstance to our acquisition; as vessels of any size may lay with security there any time

* i.e., Cahils.

of the season, and, by having a small residence and storehouse, may be supplied with every necessary they may want.

The revenues of this province have been collected like all others in the Kingdom of Bengal; it is therefore impossible for us to give any just idea of them at present, as their rise and fall have always depended on the oppression or lenity of the Nabob or his people. To take the present time, we must refer you to the accounts of Mahmud Reza Cawn, enclosed in our letter to the Committee of Lands, begging to remark that the quantity of land which originally paid one rupee rent, with the addition of taxes fines, etc., extorted yearly from the tenantry under the names of motant, rissun cossanchee, sowah, dun salamy, durbur charges, punah, nazeranny, and ceday, is now increased to upwards of five. By this method the revenues of this province have been raised to what they are now, which from the best accounts we have been able to procure, amounts to upwards of five la'ack of rupees (500,000) annually. If it produces that revenue under the Moors government, we flatter ourselves our Hon'ble Master will reap much greater, as every private oppression will be our first and immediate care to remove. The quantity of lands lying uncultivated from the oppressions of the former governments, as likewise that on every border of the province deserted by the inhabitants for the want of due protection to defend them from the inroads and plunder of foreigners, will be worth your notice. The reason of the neglect of former Governours (the most valuable point to be attended to) must immediately occur to you—the uncertainty of their stay, and desire to amass to themselves what they could without one single thought of improving further than what they themselves should reap. Our duty to our employers calls on us to mark out every advantage tending to their service. We, therefore, most gladly embrace the opportunity we now have of recommending such methods as occur to us for establishing a security in their acquisition and improvement thereof.

After having given your Honour, &c. this short account of the province in general as above, we shall now proceed to make our remarks on the whole, begging you will excuse the irregular method of them. Having been so short a time in the country as to render it impossible for us to give them more completely, such as they are we beg leave to lay before you, hoping they may give you as well as our Hon'ble Masters, some idea of the country and our management, at the same time assuring you that we shall on all occasions give you every insight to what we think may tend to the good of the province in general, or our Masters' advantage.

The disposition of the inhabitants, from their never having known the lenity and indulgence of an English Government, is such that they can only be brought to have a true idea of the benefit they will receive from it by the

course of time. And our revenues in all respects, and every improvement therein, do and will for some time depend on the influence we have in this country, which influence can only be supported by a proper force, and till they have for some time experienced our Government, ought not to be less than 300 men, as small a number as can be kept; and for the protection of so large a tract, the collection of the present revenues, the enabling us to improve the same, the extending our commerce and many other material advantages, this number, we doubt not, you will think inconsiderable when compared with the vast expense and number of people employed for the protection of the country under former governments; and which may then be struck off. We leave beg to remark that the king has been yearly debted, *first*, for the Christians maintained for the protection of the different kellahs, or forts; the present revenue assigned for their service amounts to Rs. 49,421, which sum the different purgunnahs under the Dacca Nabob as per enclosed list ought yearly to make good. Secondly for the *nowarry*, or fleet of armed vesels to defend their country from the Muggs, amounts annually to about Rs. 18,000, which is also paid by the Dacca Nabob. As this province is now made over to the Company, and the protection of it entirely in their hands, we do not doubt but your Honour, &c., will concur with us in opinion. Such annual charges should be made good to us in the same manner as to former governors. If so, these sums alone will amount to much more than the maintenance of the troops we have recommended, and at the same time you must be sensible that they will be of greater service than the pageant show of a number of men who are incapable of making any resistance should any be required.

The revenues for these few years past have most certainly been very considerably increased by taxes, etc., under the several names we have before mentioned, which occasion loud complaints from every tenant. To give them such immediate redress as they desire would be decreasing the revenues to our masters' prejudice and reduce the annual collections to a very small sum indeed; and were we to affix a certain rent to their lands, only adequate to what they in reality do now pay, it might be the means of preventing an increase of our inhabitants, if not so alarm those we have as to quit their habitations. We, therefore, think it will be the most prudent to continue our collections in such method as before practised but at the same time reduce the immense number of collectors, who all are evidently supported by their private oppressions, and make severe examples of those we may detect in any unjust proceedings. This alone will be a great relief, and encourage them, we hope, more cheerfully to comply with payments. The benefit they now have of applying to impartial courts for redress of any injuries, either in their persons or properties, will be a most salutary circumstance they

ever experienced. This method, we flatter ourselves, will not only render our revenues more considerable than ever they have been before, but also encourage others to settle under our protection and cultivate what lands are lying barren.

We have observed that a considerable quantity of land lay free of rent, particularly what have been given in charity. So great a loss in the revenue, we think, in a few years may be remedied by allowing the present possessors of them the enjoyment during their natural lives only, and then to revert to the Company. But as lands once given in charity in these parts are generally held sacred, we request the sentiments of Your Honour, &c. on this head.

The extending of commerce, we think, justly claim our most serious attention, and the bringing it to any perfection a steady perseverance, the advantages of which can only be known by experience. The probability of the benefit that may arise we shall at present set forth. And *first* Arracan:—A passage for trade in this country by land as well as by water may increase the expense of many of our Masters' imports without enumerating what be procured on return. The knowledge Your Honour, &c. must have of that country will point out whether any of its products can turn to an account or not. Should no immediate benefit arise by trade, yet a connection with that country by correspondence and friendship with these people may hereafter prove beneficial for the following reasons—the putting a stop to the inroads of the Muggs (a people of Arracan), the annual invaders of this country, and the oppressors of our tenants not directly under our protection, either by land or by water. *Secondly*, the assistance and support any ships being late in their passage in the Bay of Bengal or drove by distress into any of those ports might receive. These we esteemed considerations of such consequence as to render a correspondence eligible. The chief according, the 16th *ultimo*, layed before us translate of a letter he proposed to address to the King of Arracan, as follows:—

"Cossim Ally Cawn the Subah of Bengal, our good friend and ally, has granted to us the lands and privileges of the province of Chittagong, and we are come to settle here in order to establish trade prosperity throughout the country.

The English name, so justly admired and respected in every part of the world, I make no doubt is well known at the Court of Arraccan, yet I gladly embrace this earliest opportunity to assure you of my friendship; and as mutual harmony and intercourse must be mutually advantageous, I hope it will in every respect be satisfaction to you and our alliance to continue on a firm and lasting footing to the end of the world.

The justice and equity in our doings, we hope, will soon induce your subjects to trade with us; their lives and properties, on the faith of the English name, shall be as safe as under your own protection.

Whatever goods they may bring they shall have an immediate and good price for, and also the choice of many in return; the like privilege and security, I hope, we may promise ourselves in your country.

I shall be glad of the pleasure of an answer from you, which, I request, I may be favoured with by one of your faithful and sensible servants, etc.

Which was then despatched, but we have not yet received any answer.

The Province of Tipperah annexed to this may hereafter afford a large scope for commerce. A sumud for taking possession of that province will, we judge, be inconsiderable to the Nabob of Muxadavad; its great distance from the capital having for several years past screened the bad disposition of its inhabitants from paying any revenue worth mentioning, yet at the same time its fertility and vicinity to Chittagong would also render it a valuable acquisition to our Hon'ble Masters and it may be securely maintained by a force of 500 Scapoys. The revenues of it will very well afford such expense, and when settled in peace, yield a large sum besides. We have also reason to believe it will admit of a passage through mountains of Iconké into Thibet and the northern part of Cochin China. Although it may be a work of time, yet, when effected, may redound greatly to the state of Europe imports besides what benefit may be reaped by the natural produce of those parts in return. We are endeavouring to make ourselves acquainted with everything that may promote a correspondence and trade this way. One objection to it at present is the disposition of the inhabitants, who as yet are insensible of a civil well-regulated Government, being no better than a wild set of mountaineers, but as the ruling passion of these people in general is the love of gain, we doubt not but they will, after having once tasted the sweets, be desirous of opening a correspondence and trade with us.

A correspondence and thereafter commerce, recommended as above, we thought our duty to set forth; nor can we quit the subject without again mentioning that our security and advantages in the prosecuting a trade with either the people of Arracan or others will, for the time it is in its infancy, depend on a respectable force; and supposing us possessed of Tipperah, we ought to have at least one full battalion of scapoys, the expense of which will be but a small sum in comparison of the revenues of this province and Tipperah, and the advantages in trade hereafter.

The manufactory of this country is at present very indifferent, all piece-goods being of a thick wool quality, no way durable, and short in length and breadth. This may be improved by making the combs of the looms closer, spinning the thread harder and more even, and striking them fuller. We shall get some musters made with these improvements and forward them to you. All others, the produce of this country, excepting grain, are only to be procured with great difficulty and risk, being obliged to maintain monthly servants for the providing them, as there are no merchants that you can immediately purchase them of.*

We are (with respect)

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient humble servants,

HARRY VERELST.

RANDOLPH MARRIOTT.†

THOMAS RUMBOLD.

In our last number we saw that outside the Council there was some considerable doubt as to when the war between France and Great Britain was actually proclaimed. As to its termination the following papers are decisive.

TO JAMES PETER AURIOL, ESQR.,

SECRETARY AT FORT WILLIAM.

SIR

The Hon'ble Company's Ship *Houghton*, Captain Munro, which sailed with other Indiamen from England on [the 12] the Twelfth of March last, imported here this Morning, and by her We have received a Letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors dated 28 February 1783, Copy of which is herewith enclosed by Order of the Hon'ble the

* 1. Sir H. J. S. Cotton writes:—"The orders on this report are dated 30th March 1764. Mr. Vansittart and his Council intimate that they have forwarded a copy of the report to the Court of Directors by the *Lord Anson* and "do not doubt but it will afford them much satisfaction." They approve the measures taken in regard to the manufactures, but direct that no cloths be purchased till "the weavers have come into making the Company's sortments." They rely on the Local Council "establishing the proper fabrics, and doubt not of their diligence in bringing them to perfection." But they make no mention of the revenues, trade, or commerce, and are careful not to allude to the deputation of any military force to the district.

† Of Marriott's two companions the first was to become Governor of Fort William, the second Governor of Fort St. George, a Baronet, and one of the most famous and opulent of "Nabobs." A brief note on Marriott will be found on page 86 of this volume, to which I may add, from Cotton's *Rev. Hist. Chittagong* (page 5), that shortly after reaching Chittagong Marriott was dispatched as English agent with the Nawab's army on a successful expedition for the conquest of Tipperah, and that he remained for a short time in 1764 at that place as Collector. Cotton says Marriott was agent at Chittagong during the measurement and assessment, 1764 and 1767: but he must, if this be true, have been frequently absent from that province.

President and Council. His Majesty's Proclamation mentioned therein will be publicly read to the Hon'ble Company's civil and military Servants and to the other Inhabitants of this Settlement To-morrow Morning.

I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your most obedt. Servant,

CHAS. FREEMAN,

Secretary.

Fort St. George, 20th July 1783.

OUR PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE.

1. Para. On the 30th of November last Provisional articles were signed at Paris by his Majesty's Commissioner and the Commissioners of the United States of America, to be inserted in and to constitute a Treaty of Peace between His Majesty and the said United States, when Terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France.

2. On the 20th of January following Preliminary Articles of peace between His Britannick Majesty and the most Christian King, and between His Britannick majesty and the King of Spain were signed at Versailles.

3. On the 3rd Instant the Ratifications of the said Preliminary Articles between Great Britain and France were exchanged by the Ministers of each respective power, and on the 9th Inst. the Ratifications of the Preliminary Articles between Great Britain and Spain were likewise exchanged.

4. On the 14th Instant His Majesty issued His royal Proclamation a Copy of which has been sent declaring that a Cessation of arms as well by Sea as by Land, had been agreed upon between His majesty, the most Christian King, the King of Spain, the state General of the United Provinces, and the United States of America and enjoining the observance thereof.

5. We have sent Copies of such of the preliminary articles with the French as in anywise relate to the East Indies.

6. You will observe by the 22nd article, that in order to prevent all causes of Complaint and Dispute which may arise on account of Prizes which may be made at sea after the signing of the Preliminary Articles, it is reciprocally agreed that the Vessels and Effects which may be taken beyond the Equinoctial Line after the space of five months, to be computed from the Ratification of the said Preliminary Articles, shall be restored on each side.

7. Though we have not yet received information of the preliminary Articles between Great Britain and Holland being executed, it is necessary you should be informed that by His Majesty's proclamation before mentioned it is agreed that the Cessation of Hostilities between Great Britain and Holland and between Great Britain and the United States of America, shall be agreeable to the Epochs fixed with the French, the term therefore (according to the said proclamation) for the Cessation of Hostilities to take place between Great Britain, France, Holland and America, beyond the Equinoctial Line is five months from the 3rd of February, the time for the Cessation of Hostilities to take place with Spain for the like Distance is five months from the 9th February.

8. We have thought it absolutely necessary to send you the earliest account of these particulars, as well to prevent the effects of Hostilities being continued beyond the time limited by His majesty's proclamation as that the necessary precaution may be observed for the safety of our shipping, and we direct that no ships be dispatched for Europe till after the

9th of July next, when the Commanders must be ordered to make the best of their way to St. Helena and after staying there a reasonable time to refresh their people to proceed directly for the river Thames.

9. So soon as we shall be informed of the ratification of the Definitive Treaty between Great Britain and France, we shall give you the most explicit Instructions upon the several Articles therein Contained, relative to the East Indies, our observations upon each with Directions in Regard to the Cessions to be made to France in consequence of the Treaty.

LONDON, the 28th Febr. 1783.

We are

Your Loving Friends

(Signed) HENRY FLETCHER

NATHL. SMITH

JOHN HARRISON

GEORGE TATEM

JACB. WILKINSON

L. DARELL

R. HALL

THOS. CHEAP

J. MARSHIP

J. HUNTER

C. BODAM

S. LUSHINGTON

JACOB BOSANQUET

W. DEVAZNES

(A true Copy)

CHAS. N. WHITE,

Sub Secy.

BY THE KING

APPROCLAMATION.

Declaring the cessation of Arms, as well by Sea as Land agreed upon between His Majesty, the Most Christian King, the King of Spain, the States General of the United Provinces, and the United States of America, and enjoining the observance thereof.

GEORGE R.

Whereas Provisional Articles were signed at Paris, the Thirtieth Day of November last, between our Commissioner for treating of Peace with the Commissioners of the United States of America and the Commissioners of the said States, to be inserted in, and to constitute the Treaty of Peace proposed to be concluded between Us and the said United States, when Terms of Peace should be agreed upon between Us and His Most Christian Majesty. And whereas Preliminaries for restoring Peace between Us and His Most Christian Majesty were signed at Versailles on the Twentieth Day of January last, by the Ministers of Us and the Most Christian King: And whereas Preliminaries for restoring Peace between Us and the King of Spain were also signed at Versailles on the Twentieth Day of January last, between the Ministers of Us and the King of Spain. And whereas, for putting and End to the Calamity of War as soon as far as may be possible, it hath been agreed between us, His Most Christian Majesty the King of Spain, the States General of the United Provinces, and the United States of America, as follows; that is to say:—

That Such Vessels and Effects as should be taken in the Channel and in the North Seas, after the Space of Twelve Days, to be computed from the Ratification of the said Preliminary Articles, should be restored on all Sides. That the term should be one month from the Channel and the North Seas as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean. Two months from the said Canary Islands

as far as the Equinoctial Line or Equator : and lastly, Five months in all other Parts of the World, without any Exception, or any other more particular description of Time or Place.

And whereas the Ratifications of the said Preliminary Articles between us and the Most Christian King, in due form, were exchanged by the Ministers of Us and of the Most Christian King, on the Third Day of this instant February ; and the Ratifications of the said Preliminary Articles between Us and the King of Spain were exchanged between the Ministers of Us and of the King of Spain, on the Ninth Day of this instant February ; from which Days respectively the Several Terms above mentioned, of Twelve Days, of One Month, of Two Months, and of Five Months, are to be computed : And whereas it is our Royal will and Pleasure that the Cessation of Hostilities between us and the States General of the United Provinces, and the United States of America, should be agreeable to the Epochs fixed between us and the Most Christian King.

We have thought fit, by, and with, the Advice of our Privy Council, to notify the same to all Our loving Subjects and we do declare, that our Royal will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby strictly charge and Command all our officers, both at Sea and Land, and all other our Subjects whatsoever, to forbear all acts of Hostility, either by Sea or Land, against His Most Christian Majesty, the King of Spain, the States General of the United Provinces, and the United States of America, their Vassals or Subjects, from and after the respective Times above mentioned, and under the Penalty of incurring our highest Displeasure.

Given at our Court at Saint James's the Fourteenth Day of February in the Twenty-third year of our Reign, and in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and eighty three.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

A true Copy.

CHAS. FREEMAN,
Secy.

IN a note to my *Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna*, I have referred to a disastrous fire at Patna 1767. Long in his *Selections* gives the following extract from the Proceedings of the Board of May 18th :—

[PROCEEDINGS, MAY 18.]

Received a letter from Mr. Rumbold, the Chief of Patna, dated the 8th instant, acquainting us that the City of Patna is nearly destroyed by a fire that broke out close to the English Factory, which is entirely consumed, as also the Company's Cottah and every godown belonging either to them or private Merchants. That the fire raged so violently it was with difficulty he saved the Company's books and papers and escaped with the other Gentlemen to the Dutch Factory, and that several parts of the City were still in a blaze and seemed to threaten the destruction of the whole. That having no other place to retire to with the Gentlemen of the Factory but Meer Absets and the Company's Gardens at Bankypore, both lately made the Quarters of the Commander-in-Chief, he purposed taking possession of them.

The late unhappy misfortune at Patna, and the too frequent accidents which have happened to the temporary buildings, composed of Straw and Bamboos, for the reception of our Troops, convince the Board that it will be much more for the interest of the Hon'ble Company to erect all their public buildings, in future, entirely of Brick.

Agreed therefore that we acquaint the Gentlemen at Patna of our having come to the resolution to have the new Cantonments at Dinapoor and Monghyr covered in with Brick-pitched Roofs, for which purpose they are to send us down an estimate of the additional expense that will attend these alterations. And request that they will, as soon as possible, acquaint us with an exact statement of the damages which the Company have sustained by the fire.

I NOW wish to call attention to another fire which broke out at Patna in November 1770. This best can be done by printing here the following letters :—

TO THOMAS RUMBOLD, ESQ.

I am sorry to acquaint You that Yesterday between the hours of three and four in the morning a fire broke out in Lollbaug which entirely Consumed the roofing of the great Bungelo, and all the doors and Windows with the whole of my furniture that was in it, as also the whole range of Rooms opposite to the great Bungelo with every thing in them belonging to me were burned down, and it was with the greatest difficulty I saved the Honourable Company's Books and Papers as well as my own ; but Luckily I have lost only a few, amongst which are a few leaves of the Company's Ledger which however I can easily Rectify but it will cause a delay of 15 or 20 days.

The good fortune of the Company Papers and mine being saved is partly owing to their having been Deposited in a Brick House in the Garden ;—but chiefly to the Assiduity and Uncommon Resolution of Mr. William Berrie who at the Hazard of his life went into the House at a time that every thing was in flames around him and persevered in his undertaking until he got nearly every paper of Consequence saved and removed to a Place of Safety ;—as this Gentleman's Misfortunes are not unknown to You and as he has solicited the Governors interest to get him Recommended Home in the General Letter for an Appointment upon the Civil List ; I beg leave Earnestly to request that You will be so obliging as to back his endeavours with your whole weight of Interest, for no doubt you will think with me that the Service he has lately rendered the Company certainly entitle him to some Indulgence.

Dated PATNA,

9th November 1770.

A true Copy.

SIMEON DROZ.

TO THE HON'BLE HARRY VERELST ESQ.,

Governor and President Fort William.

I am sorry to acquaint you that yesterday morning between the Hours of 3 and 4 a fire broke out in one of the Company's Gardens (Lollbaug) at Bankipore which raged with so much Violence that nothing could extinguish it until all the Apartments of Mats and Bamboos were consumed.

My own Private loss is nearly 7 or 8,000 Rupees, but by good fortune all the Company's Books and Papers as well as my own papers were saved ; this is partly owing to the precaution of the papers having been Lodged in a small Brick House in the Centre of the Garden, but chiefly to the very great assiduity and resolution of Mr. William Berrie who at the Imminent Hazard of his Life, ventured into this Brick House when surrounded by flames until he handed out every paper of Consequence belonging to the Company (and the greatest part of my own) except a few leaves of the Ledger which, however, I shall be able to Rectify without any longer delay than 15 days.

As this Gentleman's Conduct has been so remarkable, and he has really been of so much Service I hope you will excuse the Liberty I take in recommending him to Your Notice and Favor.

PATNA,

9th November 1770.

A true Copy.

SIMEON DROZ.

TO JOSEPH JEKYLL, ESQR., CHIEF, ETC., COUNCIL AT PATNA.

GENTLEMEN,

In consequence of your Directions I now proceed to lay before you what Circumstances I can relate regarding Mr. Berry's Conduct, alluded to in the Board's Letter to us under date the 26th March.

On the 8th of November about 3 or 4 in the Morning a Violent Fire broke out in Lolbaug, the Place of my Residence at that Time, and instantaneously destroyed the Sleeping Rooms of me and my family. (The Place where I kept the Accounts of the Company which were then entirely under my management from my having Charge of the Factory in Mr. Rumbold's absence was also surrounded with the Flames.) The imminent Danger which the Company's Books and papers were in made me naturally Express the greatest anxiety regarding them upon which Mr. William Berrie at the Hazard of his Life made his way thro' the flames into my office, and persever'd tho' at the utmost Risque in his Intention till he saved every paper and Book of the Company's except a few Sheets of the Leidger which Loss was afterwards easily repaired.

I deemed this Behavior of Mr. Berry's to be so meritorious that I immediately wrote Letters to Mr. Verelst and Rumbold in the occasion Copys of which Letters I now beg leave to Enclose you. The Governor being just on the point of departing for Europe when he Received my Letter had not time to reply to it, but Mr. Rumbold in his answer seemed to have a very high Sense of the good Service which Mr. Berry had by his resolution rendered to the Hon'ble Company.

I am happy in having this publick opportunity of Expressing my Entire Satisfaction of Mr. Berry's Behavior on the beforementioned occasion and I remain

PATNA, the 12th April 1771.

With Respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most Obedt. H. Servt.,

SIMEON DROZ.

TO JOSEPH JEKYLL, ESQR., CHIEF, ETC., COUNCIL AT PATNA FACTORY.

GENTLEMEN,

We have Survey'd the Stores provided for building a New Factory and we have herewith the Honor of enclosing you our report of them.

Mr. Lang begs leave to Observe that he made the same report of the Timbers in question about two years ago when he survey'd them by order of Mr. Rumbold.

PATNA, April 25th, 1771.

We are,

Gentlemen,

With Respect,

Your most Obedt. Servts.,

SIMEON DROZ,

Bury.

T. LANG,

Asst. Fd. Engr.

The Sessoo, Mangoe and Saul Timbers are all decayed and rent and totally unfit for any other use than that of Piles to secure the Banks of the River.

The Shell Chunam is very fit for use in working up of walls and other rough work but will not so well answer for the finer work of Plaistering and Terrassing.

The Moor Twine is mostly fit for use.

The Saul Planks and Posts the far from being good may be work'd up in repairs but wd. not answer for any new buildings.

A report of the Stores purchased for the use of the new Factory and survey'd by us this day.

PATNA, 25th April 1771.

SIMÉON DROZ,
Buxty.

T. LANG,
Asst. Fd. Engr.

IN due course of publication I shall soon be placing before the reader the petitions of various inhabitants of Chandernagore to the Governor-General and Council during the war of 1778-83, but there is one which I venture to think deserves an anticipated publication, as it throws some light on what took place at Dacca in the general panic of 1756. Mr. Hill, in his *Bengal in 1756-57* (volume I, pages 94-95) writes: "I have mentioned that before the seige Council sent word to the up-country factories to take precautions. Messrs. Amyatt and Boddam, the Chiefs of Luckipur (or Jagdea) and Balasore, managed to escape with much of the country's property, but at Dacca there was no possibility of doing so. The Chief, Mr. Becher, was forced to surrender his factory to the *Naiib* or Deputy Nawab, Dasarati Khan, but was allowed to take shelter with his subordinates and the English ladies in the French factory, where he was very kindly received by the Chief, M. Courtin. The influence of M. Courlin, supported by that of M. Law at Murshidabad, obtained their ultimate release, though M. Law says: "Seraj-ud-daula, being informed that there were two or three very charming English ladies there, was strongly tempted to adorn his harem with them." This is probably a libel. It was not the custom of the Mahommadans to ill-treat ladies, and Seraj-ud-daula had had in his grandfather a good example of chivalry to the womenfolk of his enemies, and as a matter of fact the whole party escaped safely to Fulta, where they arrived on the 26th August in a sloop lent them by M. Courtin. M. Renault tells us that Dasarati Khan found in the Dacca factory merchandise and silver worth 1,400,000 rupees, which will give the reader some idea of the value of the British up-country trade. For a further account of what took place at that time at Dacca the reader will consult Mr. Hill's charming work, *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, but the incident which the following letters reveal has, I believe, been unknown until now.

I wonder whether this Texeira belonged to that Jewish family of negociants established at Hamburg of whom so much is to be read in the Baron de Bildt's *Christine de Suède et Le Cardinal Azzolino*.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL FOR HIS
BRITANNICK MAJESTY IN BENGAL AND TO THE GENTLEMEN OF
THE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA.

GENTLEMEN,

Joas Texeira, a very ancient Inhabitant of Chandernagor, aged 93 years, has the Honor to represent to you that the Insolvibility of his Debtors joined to the Infirmary of his age which will not permit him to do any kind of work, reduces him to the worst of Situations; if he could have been paid before the war what was due to him by the French Company and others, his Situation would not have been so deplorable as he describes it, but this cruel Event so fatal to Humanity has increased his misfortune in suspending all Payments from the Company as well as from others; when Chandernagore was taken, he flattered himself that he would have been included in the Number of those to whom you have granted a Subsistence, but he has not only had the Misfortune of not partaking of that Indulgence but has been obliged to have Recourse to loans and to sell his Effects to be able to live. Thus deprived of every Resource, he knows of no other means than addressing you, Gentlemen, who have so willingly obliged the unfortunate, he hopes that you will be so kind to comply with his Request in consideration of his misfortunes and of his services which he rendered to your generous Nation in 1756. It would not be least astonishing that this Fact should not have reached your knowledge, but he will now prove the Truth of what he advanced in laying before you the Copy of the Letter from Mr. Becher who was then Chief of the English Factory at Dacca; a Deposit consisting of Thirty-six thousand Rupees which Mr. Courtin, Chief of the French Factory at the said Place, had entrusted in the name of Mr. Becher to the care of the Undersigned, of which he took all possible care, till he delivered it up to the Order of the said Mr. Becher, he relates here the Detail of all the Disputes which he had with the Moorish Government who wanted to take this Deposit out of his Hands, with which he would never part giving such Reasons as were suitable in the like cases.

I am exceedingly happy to have obliged Mr. Becher, this light Service may be justly due to his Nation. Be it as it will I have an entire Confidence in its Generosity of which it is given so many Proofs, I venture then forced as I am by Circumstances to have Recourse thereto and entreat you to

grant me the succour of which I stand in the greatest need, I shall ever retain the most perfect Sense of it.

I have the Honor to be with Respect,
Gentlemen,

Your most obedt. hble. Servt.,

(Sd.) JOAS TEXEIRA.

CHANDERNAGORE, the 10th August 1779.

A true Translation.

A. L. G.,

French Translator.

Copy of the letter from Mr. Becher.

CALCUTTA, 1st July 1757.

SIR,

Having received a letter from Mr. Courtin who informs me that he has left in your hands goods to the amount of Rs. 36,000 which he has desired you to deliver to my order, I request, Sir, that you will deliver up these goods to the bearer of this, who will be Manick Chun Devan of the English Factory and the receipt which he shall give you will be your discharge.

I am with esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedt. hble. Servt.,

(Sd.) RICHD. BECHER.

To

MR. TEXEIRA,

Dacca.

I certify this to be a true Copy from the Original.

(Signed.) JOAS TEXEIRA,

A True Translation

A. L. G.

French Translator.

I OWE an apology to my friend Mr. E. W. Madge for having charged him with omitting to mention the Weston miniatures in his admirable *Handbook to St. John's Church*. I now see that he has done so in a footnote on p. 24. Copies of Mr. Madge's *Handbook* can be obtained through the Secretary of the Calcutta Historical Society.

IN MY introduction to Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* there are two things of which I should perhaps have made mention. Firstly, that that adventure-some lady was in 1830 nearly deprived of her glory as the first English lady to travel to India by the overland route by a Mrs. Elwood, the wife of

Lieutenant-Colonel Charles William Elwood of the 3rd Regiment, Bombay, N. I., who published a book in two volumes in which she claimed to be "the first and only female" who had ever ventured on that route. Mrs. Elwood, like Mrs. Fay, was but newly married, but unlike her unacknowledged predecessor, she seems to have been extremely fond of her husband, for she adopts his military rank and appears on the title page as "Mrs. Colonel" Elwood. Mrs. Fay, as we know, girded herself in Eastern robes; not so Mrs. Elwood, who found that her English costume was indeed a protection. There is a touch of Mrs. Fay in her remark "I found that in Egypt I was likely to be the guardian of the party, and that, in my utter helplessness, I might possibly be a panoply from danger to my protectors themselves." In Egypt the Elwoods were the guests of that Mr. Salt, the Artist, who had accompanied Lord Valentine to India, and some of whose sketches have recently been reproduced in *Bengal: Past and Present*. Being familiar with the courtesy the true Mahomedan would practice towards a lady, Mr. Salt actually advised his guests that Mrs. Elwood should carry all their valuables on her person. Mrs. Fay travelled across the desert in what she calls a "tartaravan." Mrs. Elwood travelled in a conveyance of the same kind which she calls a "taktranar" somewhat nearer to *takht-i-rawan*. Mrs. Elwood's book is the Bombay counterpart to our Calcutta work of Mrs. Fay, and perhaps when Bombay has organised a Historical Society we may have a new and annotated edition of Mrs. Elwood. The second thing I should perhaps have mentioned is that in 1834 the well known publishing house of Bentley brought out a three volumed novel by Mrs. Hofland entitled *The Captives in India*. This book is nothing more than Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* cast into the form of a novel. Unfortunately I only know of Mrs. Hofland's work at second hand by a note in the *Asiatic Journal*, from which I gather that the lady author of the novel "heightened the interest of the story by substituting fictitious for real actors in the scene"—a method, which at first sight might seem strange, for surely real historical events should rank before imaginary ones, but which is as a matter of fact is in accordance with the popular demand which prefers smartness and literary steadiness to truth and precision. I may point out that the "Mrs. Colonel" preceded on her overland journey two persons whose names are most worthy of permanent commemoration—T. F. Waghorn of the H. E. I. Company's Pilot Service and Mr. J. W. Taylor, described in a contemporary newspaper as "the agent of some speculating capitalist in England and brother of the Resident at Bagdad." Let us look at these facts.

Waghorn's Journey.

1829. October 28th.—Left London.

1829. November 8th.—Reached Trieste *via* Paris and Milan. Sixteen days at sea from Trieste to Alexandria.

1829. December 8th.—Reached Suez. "He waited a day at Suez in expectation of the steamer *Enterprise*,"* which he understood had sailed from Bombay to that port.

1829. December 9th.—Left Suez by a native boat.

1829. December 23rd.—Reached Juddah and was detained there 23 days waiting for a ship to Bombay.

Taylor's Journey.

1829. October 21st.—Left London and reached Calais.

1829. October 28th.—Reached Marseilles and sailed for Malta.

1829. November 8th.—Arrived at Alexandria [less 7 days than Waghorn.]

1829. November 28th.—Left Alexandria.

1829. November.—Reached Suez in 9 days [less 5 days than Waghorn and from London to Suez 27 days].

1829. December 9th.—Quitted Suez.

1830. March 22nd.—Arrived Bombay.

DID Mrs. Fay really behold Marie Antoinette at the "Colessée" on April 23rd 1778? On April 12th Madame Deffand writes to Horace Walpole: "La Reine s'établit aujourd'hui à Trianon pour achever le terme qu'on prescrit après la rougeole pour ne voir personne; elle ne voit que son service et quatre courtisans qu'elle a choisis pour tenir compagnie, le duc de Coigny, le duc de Guines, le baron de Bezenval, et M. d'Esterhazy." It is well known that this arrangement was made to serve as a scandal in a life that, save for an insatiable passion for excitement and gaiety and an ignorance which in a mere child can hardly be blamed, was almost wholly blameless. The backbiting tongues of the courtier described the four privileged gentlemen as the "garde-malades de la Reine," and set themselves to select the four ladies who should be the "garde-malades du Roi." If indeed Mrs. Fay beheld the Queen on April 23rd, 1779, it must have been shortly after the Queen's recent recovery from measles. With all due deference to Mrs. Fay, I must say that I have been unable to find anyone to support her assertion that Marie Antoinette's complexion suffered from marks of small-pox, nor indeed can I find any authority for the assertion that the beautiful Queen ever endured that complaint.

IN VOL. IV we published the Register of Marriages for the years 1759-1779. On p. 499 we find the following entry:—

1771. January 15th.—James Harris, Chief of Dacca, and Miss Henrietta Thackeray.

On page 499:—

1772. October 15th.—Mr. James Rennel (*sic*), Captain in the Company's Service, and Miss Jane Thackeray.

* The first steam vessel to reach India from England. The *Enterprise* from Falmouth arrived at Calcutta on December 9th 1825. See *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta*, p. 114.

Sir William Hunter in his *Thackerays in India* shewed that he was familiar with the second entry; but he entirely overlooked the first. Supposing that Jane Thackeray was the first of the sisters to marry, Sir William invented quite a little sketch of the two sisters in 1771 going up to Dacca as unmarried girls in 1771. He brings "the family party" down to Calcutta for Jane's marriage to her famous husband, and he overlooks how strange this would have been, for the brother, William Makepeace Thackeray, could not have been of the family party, as he was by that time in Sylhet. If Sir William had only been better acquainted with the Marriage Register, he would have seen that Henrietta married almost immediately after her arrival, and he would not have been at pains to describe her as marrying from her sister's house in Dacca!

TURNING to page 510 of the same volume of *Bengal: Past and Present* we find—

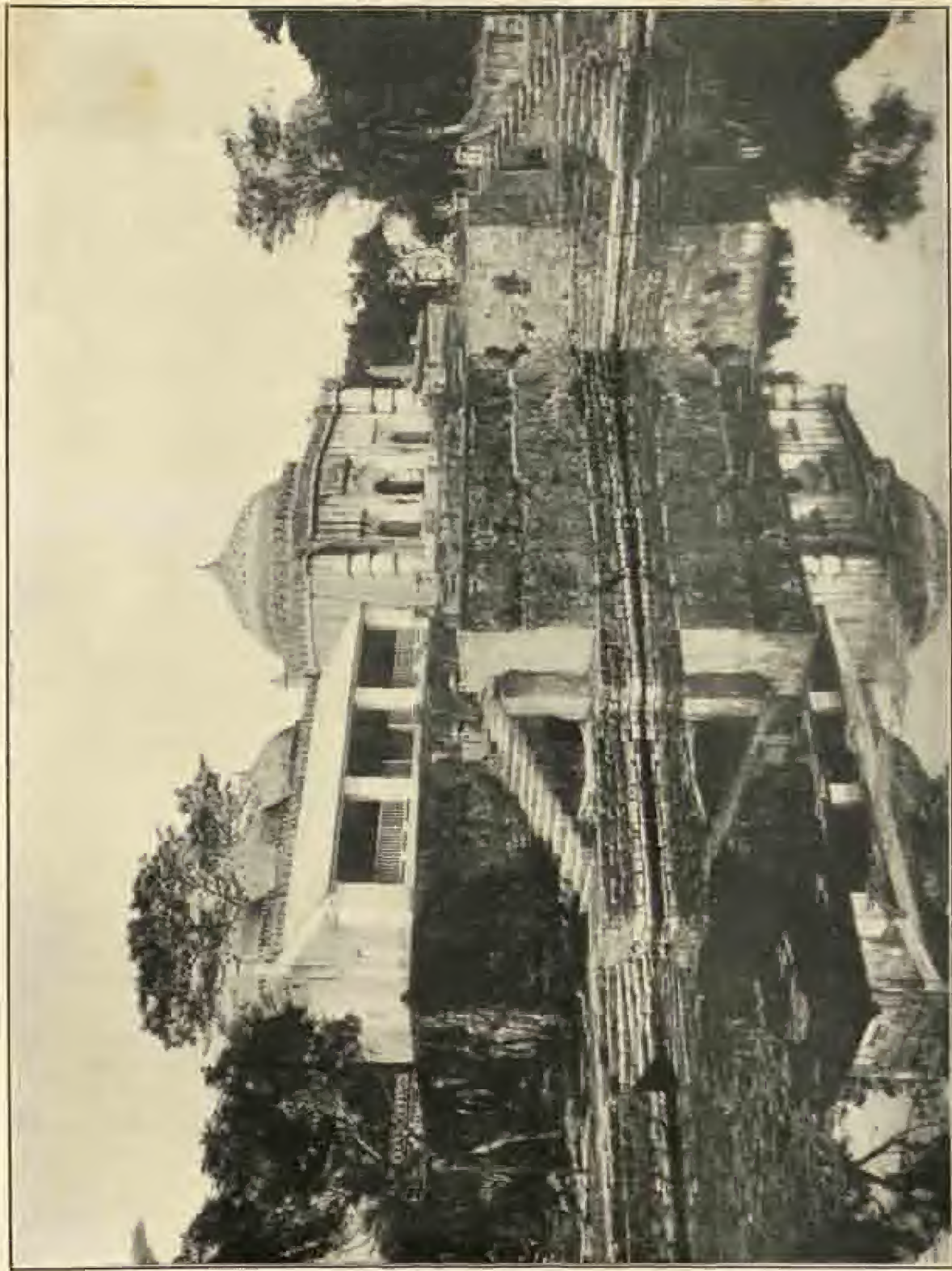
1774. January 10. Mr. Peter Moore, writer in the Company's Service, and Miss Sarah Webb were married at Patna by the Rev. Mr. Wm. Smith.

This is a most interesting entry, for Miss Sarah Webb, the eldest daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Richmond Webb, was the sister of Amelia Webb, who married William Makepeace Thackeray, the novelist's grandfather. Sir William Hunter gives a most interesting account of Moore's activities in England after his retirement, which he wrongly dates 1783. These Thackeray notes are of special interest, as the centenary of Thackeray's birth is now so close at hand—July 18, 1911.

THE reader will remember that at the Calcutta Town Hall there is a bust of Charles Becket Greenlaw, Esq., Secretary to the Marine Board, and that an inscription bears record "this bust has been erected by the Community of British India, in token of the devoted enthusiasm and untiring energy with which, for twenty years, against the most disheartening difficulties he ably, zealously, and perseveringly advocated the cause of steam communication, and finally secured its establishment in 1845." As Greenlaw is commemorated by so conspicuous a monument it will be worth while to set down in this place some events in his long career. In the year 1797 he, at the age of twelve years and a half, entered the Company's service as a midshipman. Although he became a skilful seaman, he was debarred from rising to command by his deafness, which was attributed to a severe attack of fever. He served in the Hon'ble Company's marine for 20 years. In 1819 he was appointed agent for loading and unloading the Company's ships, whensoever that post should fall vacant, and the *Bengal Harkara* informs us that his appointment was "under covenants" identical with those of the

Civil Service. He arrived in Calcutta in 1820, but the vacancy not having occurred, in 1825 he became Assistant Secretary, and at a later date Secretary to the Marine Board. In 1821 he had been appointed Coroner, and he held that office for 22 years, until he was called upon to devote his entire service to the Marine Board, at which his pay was brought up to Rs. 2,000 *per mensem* to compensate him for the loss of his salary as coroner. At one time he edited the *Harbura* and later on the *John Bull*. As a philanthropist he was associated with the Laudable Societies, and to his cool businesslike methods must be assigned the escape of those societies from the severe effects of the great failures of the Calcutta banking houses in the thirties. His is the oldest epitaph in the Lower Circular Road Cemetery and it records that he "died June 15, 1844, aged 66 years, 1 month, 3 days." He had thus served the Company 47 years at the time of his death. In the first number of *Bengal: Past and Present* Mr. O. F. Barrow reminded us of James French who was in the service at the time of the fall of Tipu Sultan and served together with one or two civilians, whose retirement is quite recent history, a period of 60 years actual service.

ON January 24th I set out from Shillong, over the Khasi Hills *via* Cherra Punjee and Theria Ghat for Sylhet, where I spent a whole week searching out the oldest English records at the Collector's Cutchery. These I brought away with me, and returned *via* Karimganj, through the magnificent hill tracks, and on to Gowhati. Sir William Hunter claims to have been shown the house of Thackeray's grandfather at Sylhet. That certainly has made way for a modern and not very handsome Collector's bungalow. The most interesting building in Sylhet is Shah Jalal's mosque to which I devoted a lengthy inspection. To Shah Jalal tradition ascribes the Muhammadan conquest of Sylhet, but it is now generally agreed that the identification of Shah Jalal the Saint, with Shah Jalal the warrior, is historically impossible. Mr. B. C. Allen in his volume on Sylhet in the *Assam District Gazetteer* writes:—"Shah Jalal's mosque, which was built in 1531 A.D., is approached through a gateway of solid masonry, much of which was shaken down in 1897, and now lies in huge blocks in picturesque confusion on the ground. On the left hand side as you enter is a bank with a ruined mosque in front. On the right is an open shed, in which food is cooked for the worshippers on holy days, one huge cauldron alone containing as much as six and a half hundred weight of rice. The building is approached by a flight of steps which terminates in a broad platform. In front is a central hall through which, together with the gateway, is said to have been erected by Mr. John Willes, one of the earliest Collectors of Sylhet. South of the central hall is the mosque in which prayers are usually held, while at the



SHAH JAHAN'S MOSQUE, SRI LANKA.

back is a deep well full of fish who come when called to be fed. A grant of Rs. 93 *per mensem*, which was sanctioned by the Nawab for the maintenance of this institution has been confirmed by the British Government." Our view of the mosque is from a photograph by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffmann of Calcutta.

MY FRIEND Mr. C. W. McMinn draws my attention to a passage in the *Asiatic Journal* for 1801. Chronicle, p. 106, where Mrs. Carey's death is mentioned, "whose husband, mother, and sister perished in the prison" (the Black Hole). I have at Shillong no opportunity of referring to this passage, but I may remark that a letter signed "Thomas Bolleau," quoted by Dr. Busteed in his *Echoes* records that Mrs. Carey "confirmed all which Mr. Holwell has said on the subject of the Black Hole in the foregoing letter, and added that, besides her husband, her mother, Mrs. Eleanor Weston (her name by second marriage), and her sister aged about ten years,* had also perished therein, and that other women, the wives of soldiers, and children, had shared a like fate. The name of Eleanor Weston escaped the vigilant eye of Mr. S. C. Hill when he drew up his *List of Europeans and others in the English Factories in Bengal at the Time of the Siege of Calcutta in the year 1756*. (Calcutta 1902), but it is given in his *Bengal in 1756-7*, and it was one of the names which Lord Curzon himself added to the inscription on the present Black Hole Monument. "Mr. McMinn adds: "The same volume, p. 105, gives December 1800, 'death at Calcutta of Captain Robert Macfarlane, aged 74, the oldest European Inhabitant.' Other places were more healthy, for in November died at Mangalore, Brigadier-General John Carnac, aged 84. I think the same was the husband of Mrs. Carnac, who was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the engraving by Raphael sold for 1,160 guineas—the record for a *Messolint* of the eighteenth century. This last point is possibly new to most members of *Bengal: Past and Present*. I welcome elsewhere in the present number the record of Mr. McMinn's breezy opinion on the merits of the case of Burke *versus* Hastings although I should myself occasionally dissent from them. The furious way in which almost to his deathbed, Burke assailed Hastings' character, and devoted to infamy the reputation of the second Mrs. Hastings seems to prove that Burke was the victim of a complete hallucination. Mr. McMinn, of course, speaks in good humour; but all the same those who are inclined to forget that Hastings was not a man to be pushed too far and that he was pushed very far, may well take a serious hint from Mr. McMinn's amusing but learned remarks. The reviews in the press, particularly the review in the *Saturday*, of Mr. Forrest's recent volumes

* This child surely deserves to be recorded on the Monument.

show that too much may be claimed for Hastings; and let us remind ourselves that few damage a reputation so severely as those who insist on placing their hero on too lofty a pinnacle."

IN THE reference to the Civil Cemetery at Berhampore on P. 196, Vol II., Pt. I of *Bengal: Past and Present* some notice should have been taken of the tomb of Robert Boileau Pemberton. Pemberton's *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*, published in 1835, is still a most valuable work and would be worthy of re-publication. As Mr. Buckland has given Pemberton a notice in the *Dictionary of Indian Biography* it is unnecessary to add to this present note more than to say that a glowing eulogy of Pemberton's character will be found in the *Asiatic Journal* of October 1840, Vol. XXXII., P. 93.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

SHILLONG:

St. Matthias Day, 1910.





WARREN HASTINGS.

General Note-Book.



WE have pleasure in presenting our readers with a portrait of Warren Hastings which appeared in a work written many years ago. Besides being an excellent portrait it is interesting from the fact that it is not mentioned in the list of Portraits of Warren Hastings drawn up by the late Sir George Scharf, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, and published as an appendix to *The Private Life of Warren Hastings* by Sir Charles Lawson.

THE name of Mrs. Carey, who survived the Black Hole tragedy, is too well-known to call for any rehearsal of the circumstances connected with her career. Our readers may, in this connection, be referred to Mr. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography* and Dr. Busteed's *Echoes*.

The latter work states at p. 43 (Fourth edition):—"There is in existence still a well-executed miniature of her painted on the inside of the lid of a trinket box; it certainly testifies to the truth of what Holwell records about her personal appearance, for the artist has shown her in her comely youth." It is believed that the above trinket box (or snuff box) was acquired some five years ago for the Victoria Memorial collection, but in any case the photograph of the miniature ought to be of great interest; for permission to reproduce it we are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. P. Harris, of Calcutta.

K. N. D.

ONLY a little way off the Eastern Bengal State Railway station of Syamnagar towards the river-side and within a score of miles to the north of Calcutta stands the village of Mulajor, rich in historic associations. Here the year 1723 witnessed the foundation, on the strength of a Royal Charter granted by Emperor Charles VI of Germany, of a factory by the Ostend East India Company. Already the Danes had their factory very near to, and almost opposite, this spot. The place was then known as Bankibazar. The extension of Flemish trade could not fail to become a source of heartburn to many a European trading Company. The Dutch and the English lost no time in joining hands in their endeavour to extirpate the Ostend Company and by the year 1730 they partially succeeded in their attempt and compelled the Germans to withdraw the Charter granted to their native traders. The Flemish Company, though no longer backed by

the Government at home, still dragged on a miserable existence, until, in 1733 was struck the death blow to German aspirations in Bengal. In consequence of a misunderstanding between the Faujdar of Hugli and the Company, a misunderstanding in which the Dutch and the English had played no insignificant part in fanning the flame of discontent, the former besieged Bankibazar. The Agent of the German traders lost his right arm by a cannon ball; and although determined gallantly to stand their ground against enormous odds, they could not but give in at last and set sail for Europe. Thus ended the brief but brilliant career of the Ostend Company who plied their trade for only ten years. On the evacuation of the place by the Germans, Mir Jafar, the officer commanding the Faujdar's troops, demolished the fortifications and delivered charge of the place to the Zamidar of Krishnagar.

During the reign of the Emperor Ahmad Shah the Mahrattas were busily engaged in committing depredations on Zemindari estates in Bengal. The mother of the infant Maharaja Tilak Chand of Burdwan had taken a *putni* of the village of Mulajor from Raja Krisna Chandra Rai. The *ijara* of the place had already been granted to Rai Gunakar Bharat Chandra, the famous Bengali poet, who, as is well-known, had composed his *Nāgāstaka* describing the troubles to which he had while a resident there, been put by Ramadeva Naga, an officer of the Rani. To protect herself and child from the molestations of the Mahratta freebooters the Queen-Regent of Burdwan constructed about the year 1730, a fort about four miles in circumference and surrounded by a "line of double ditches." This was known as Kowgachigarh or Samoolagarh. It had sixteen peaks mounted with guns, and the main entrance is said to have been so ingeniously constructed that it could not be traced by a stranger without a guide "although it was so high that an elephant with howdah could easily pass through it." The French Government is said to have cordially helped the Raj family in their distress, and, during the marriage of Maharaja Tilak Chand which was celebrated here with great *ecclat*, Indra Narain Chaudhuri, the Dewan of the French Government, lent the service of 500 French sepoy to guard the Palace and Fort "lest any disturbance should occur." What led the Rani to abandon this place of refuge was the fall of a beam from the roof of a room which had cost a Brahmin cook his life. In Lady Amherst's words this fort was referred to as a "fine remnant of the Tudor-Pathan style." But little now remains of this once famous fort beyond a few bricks and one or two broken pillars. The moat is still in existence and frequented by wild beasts, a wolf having been killed here only a few years ago. There may be seen two big tanks known respectively by the names of the Rani's and the Dewanji's. An old tamarind-tree which still stands there is said to mark the site of the main

gate of the Fort. The land passed from the possession of the Burdwan Raj into the hands of the Tagores of Calcutta and from them to its present proprietors, the building materials having been taken over by the Railway Company.

Another account however states that the Fort formed part of the fortified factory of the Ostend East India Company, while a third has it that the fort was erected in the 16th century by Raja Bratapaditya for the residence of his family.

It may be noted in passing that the name Syamnagar (Samne Garh with the *garh* or moat of the fort in front) owes its origin to the existence of the fort, the original name of the place being Mulajor. Here in 1809 Babu Gopimohan Tagore dedicated a temple surmounted with nine minarets to the goddess Kali and named it after his favourite daughter Brahmamayi who had died unmarried. Twelve other temples containing as many Sivalingams were erected at the same time and "taluq Mulajor and certain other properties were dedicated and assigned for carrying on the worship of the gods." These temples of Siva form a row of six on either side of that of Brahmamayi, one of these being surmounted by five minarets. At the entrance to the temple is a big *natmandir* or pavilion. The cluster of temples on the bank of the river led early English navigators to name this spot as the "*Devil's Reach*."

K. N. D.

MR. E. W. MADGE writes with reference to the epitaph of Ed. Ephra (Ephra?) Pote, of Mozufferpore, quoted by Mr. A. F. de Cosson in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present*, and with regard to the statement that "nothing is known of the child Pote" he adds—considering that the name is not a common one, it strikes me this may have been the son or grandson of Edward Ephraim Pote, Senior Merchant in the service of the East India Company. His name does not appear in Dodwell and Miles' *Civil List*, but from the old Bengal Kalendars (Directories) it appears that his service dated from 7th July 1772* and that on 23rd February 1787 he was appointed Commercial Resident at Patna. His name disappears from the Kalendar of 1801, but it is not improbable that he continued to reside in India.

This Edward Ephraim Pote was the father of Charles and Philip Pote who were baptised together at Berhampore by the Rev. Robartes Carr on 8th June 1794. Charles Pote was the Eurasian artist, well known in his

* [Ephraim Pote was Commercial Resident at Rungpore in 1780. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV., p. 632. We meet with him in Grand's *Narrative*.—EDITOR, *Bengal: Past and Present*,

day, who painted the following portraits in Calcutta :—Lord Metcalfe in the Town Hall, David Hare in the Hare School, J. W. Ricketts in the Doveton College, and the altar-piece representing the Last Supper, in the Armenian Church at Dacca. An account of Charles Pote will be found in *East Indian Worthies* by Stark and Madge.

A PHOTOGRAPH of the grave of Derozio in South Park Street Cemetery is reproduced on another page, and we are much indebted to Mr. V. Hodson for the following extract from the *Government Gazette* of 29th March 1832 quoting the inscription which it was proposed to place on Derozio's monument.

To
The Memory of
H. L. V. DEROZIO, Esq.,
Author of the "Fukeer of Jungheera,"
suddenly cut off
in the prime of life, and
in the midst of a career of public
usefulness, which, considering his rare and various
talents, promised to be eminently successful.

This
Monument is erected
by his countrymen and friends,
in acknowledgment of his exertions
on their behalf, and as a tribute of their respect
and admiration for his acquirements and virtues.
Calcutta.

Born [April 10, 1809].

Died December 26, 1831.

Mr. Hodson adds :—"It was proposed to erect a Chunar-stone pillar, enclosed by iron rails, at a cost of Sa. Rs. 1,526-10-8, and to put the above inscription on the pillar.

The poet's grave remained unnamed for nearly sixty years, when attention was drawn to the fact in the newspapers, and an Indian admirer (the late Durga Mohun Das, Vakil) had it repaired, and a brief inscription carved thereon.

IN the article "Our Work," which appeared in the first number of *Bengal : Past and Present*, I remarked "the Society should have a special department for the history of Calcutta Commerce." We have all been too busy so

far to carry this proposal into execution, but it may be hoped that before long the Executive Committee will be able to arrange for some such "division of labour" as will allow attention to be paid to the too much neglected study of the commercial history of Bengal. In the meanwhile we welcome in book form, embellished with a number of interesting illustrations, Mr. D. R. Wallace's articles "The Romance of Jute" which appeared recently in the *Empire*. Would that the articles had appeared in the Society's volumes. Mr. Wallace writes with a lively pen, and unintelligent must be the Calcutta citizen who will not be interested in a subject which so much concerns his city and which is made so attractive in these bright pages. We could have wished that Mr. Wallace had told us something more about the nature and different kinds of jute, the places from which it is obtained, how it is cultivated, how purchased, and how the jute forecast is calculated. Not so long ago it was supposed by many that the term *jute* was first used by the great Dr. Roxburgh when in a letter to the Court of Directors, in the year 1795, he drew attention to the value of the fibre "called jute by the natives." However in a letter addressed to the Chief and Council at Chittagong on 23rd November 1773, by the Council of Revenue we find jute enumerated among the articles in which the Company's servants at the out Factories are forbidden to have a private trade. Colonel Temple, in an article contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January, 1900, gave an instance of the use of the term so far back as 1746 where it is mentioned in the log of a voyager. Mr. Wallace writes "in 1838 the value of jute yarn was discovered." I believe I am correct in saying that jute appears for the first time as a separate item in the Customs returns in 1828-29, when 364 *cwts.* were shipped to the United Kingdom. A reference might have been expected to the influence which the Crimean War, in cutting off supplies of Russian hemp and flax from the weavers of Forfarshire, undoubtedly had on the fortunes of jute in Bengal. Mr. Wallace writes (p. 36) :— "The ground site of the Hastings Mills at Rishra forms the southern half of the garden property at one time owned by Warren Hastings and adjoins the land acquired by Acland for the Pioneer Mills. The Bungalow on the Hastings Mill compound known as 'Hastings Lodge' did not, however, exist in Hastings' time. The actual villa-retreat of the great pro-consul in this district, as already remarked, is situated on the adjacent land originally acquired by Acland, now the Wellington Mill." It will be remembered that it is upon the house in the "Hastings Mills" compound Lord Curzon had erected a tablet to commemorate Hastings' residence; and I am not sure the other house is not also similarly labelled. But it is most curious that,—

1. The advertisement of Hastings' Rishra property in the *Gazette* for Thursday, 5th August 1784, makes no mention of any house or buildings, but

refers merely to "an extensive piece of ground" "consisting of 136 beegahs, 18 of which are lackheraj land, or land paying no rent."

2. In the original deeds, signed by Hastings, Wm. Larkins, Fairfax Morresby, etc., etc., there is no mention of any house.

3. In no letter of either Hastings or his wife as yet published is there any mention of their having resided at Rishra.

Some years ago Messrs. Birkmyre Bros. kindly permitted me to examine their title deeds, and in my *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta*, I have noted:— "Warren Hastings in August, 1780, purchased the land from Rajchander Dutt and Kali Prosad Dutt for Rs. 1,145. He sold it in September, 1784, for Rs. 10,000. In December, 1787, the property sold for Rs. 20,000. In 1841 it was rented at Rs. 2,400 a year. In 1865 the monthly rent was only Rs. 35." If I remember right, about 1784 an indigo factory was established on Warren Hastings' late estate. Oddly enough on 20th November 1784, Hastings wrote to his wife: "I have sold Rishra for double the sum that was paid for it. This is a riddle, and I leave it to your sagacity to unravel it." The "riddle" could, perhaps, be solved by the title deeds of Messrs. Finlay Muir's property nearer Serampore. We give in this number a view of the Ghat which tradition associates with Warren Hastings.

W. K. F.





THE DHARINESHWAR TEMPLES, RIVER HUGHLI.



HASTINGS' GHAT, RISHRA

Secretary's Pages.



SOME reference was made in the last issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* to the interest which would attach to a history of the Salt Lakes. In the early part of last century the clearing and draining of this district was regarded as essential to the health of the city, and I have come across some rather interesting comments in the *Asiatic Journal* on a scheme for the improvement of the environs of Calcutta.

AUGUST 1829.

Improvements in Calcutta.—A pressure of other matters has prevented our noticing before the valuable improvements which are now in progress with a view to the increase of the salubrity of Calcutta and its environs. A canal from the northward to Chitpore, leading into that which joins the salt water lake and terminates at Entally is already commenced, and it is anticipated that a very considerable portion of it will be completed this season. Other improvements, such as the widening of the roads, the removal of superfluous vegetation, etc., are in progress in the eastern suburbs of the city, so that, ere long, Entally, Ballyaghaut Road, and all that neighbourhood, will become as healthy as it would be pleasant when the roads are watered as well as widened, but in the dry season they are almost impassible from the blinding clouds of dust which prevail. A still more important improvement, however, with a view to the diminution of the causes of malaria, is that of draining the salt water lake. Whether that object is contemplated or not we are unable to state; but we hope that it is looked to as the conclusion of what is now so happily begun.—*Bengal Chronicle*, February, 21st.

SEPTEMBER 1829.

Local Improvements.—We are happy to understand that the clearing of the jungle in the neighbourhood of the town and the cutting of the Calcutta circular canal, are now going on with great rapidity. The mere making of the canal removes an immense belt of trees and jungle, and the materials raised from the cut serve to fill up numerous cavities along its range, at present half full of putrifying matter, which only serves to propagate noxious effluvia, and consequent sickness. We are glad to learn on good authority that the clearing of the jungles and improvements of a similar nature are now going on at Madras.—*John Bull*, March 19th.

APRIL 1830.

Improvements.—We have reason to believe that the general work of improvement is going on; the eastern nullah and the draining of the salt lakes are in progress, we hear also that the jungle lands beyond will be attempted to be cleared from their extremities internally, and with this view we have heard also that the Government have determined upon giving those lands rent free for as many as twenty years.

We also learn from a most respectable cultivator at Saugor, that they are prospering there; that the sea-island cotton, as well as the Bourbon cotton, are both in the most thriving state; that the lands suit tobacco and that there is a coffee plantation doing well. The coffee superintendent has had charge of the coffee plantations both in the West Indies and in Java, and he considers the lands at Saugor equal to any he ever saw. They are trying various shades and experiments in the growth of this article. There are in those parts from 5,000 to 6,000 villagers, who suffer little or nothing from fever now that the lands are cleared, and have been healthy and had no disorders, except occasionally cholera morbus.* There is no judicial authority there, not even a peon with a badge of office on the island; and there is no quarrelling or bloodshed, although we have both close to our own doors in Calcutta and the suburbs, where murders are of frequent occurrence. We hope, however, that the changes in the sudder and magisterial departments will be a change for the better, but time alone will show. Putting other evils aside, the bad drainage of Calcutta is abominable. The assessment of 5 per cent. on every house is a monthly tax of large amount, which ought to be appropriated to purposes of health or cleanliness; yet the stench from the drains is so great as to make some of the rooms of most houses uninhabitable, and frequently to occasion severe illness.

We are informed that the cultivation of waste lands beyond the Sunderbuns has lately wonderfully increased; that there is yet an unbounded field for industry in immense tracts of jungle yet untouched. As the jungles are cleared health prevails, and *vice versa*. Government some time ago threw out a hint that individuals, who by any means rendered a service to the State, might expect certain rewards and favourable consideration of the Government. We hope this hint will have its full influence with natives of wealth and respectability; it affords them an excellent opportunity to come forward with liberal plans of improvement, which will benefit themselves as well as the public. They will find it far better for them to spend their money upon such objects than in

* We hope very shortly to give an article on attempts to reclaim the Sunderbuns.—ED. *Bengal: Past and Present*.

useless nautches and idle ceremonies. Besides roads and agriculture, tanks, education, aqueducts for watering, etc., might form one grand plan of utility. As an example, a month two or ago, if we are not misinformed, the honour of a rajaship was bestowed upon a respectable native of Moorshedabad, who gave a sum of about half a lakh of rupees towards the erection of a steam-engine, and making an aqueduct from the end of Strand Road to all the length of the Chitpore Road, and part to be appropriated either to the Hindoo College or the general improvement. Another handsome gift was made by a most respectable Arab gentleman towards the aqueduct, and the same individual gave a large sum towards the new road to Garden Reach, though this improvement seems to be at a stand for want of funds. The bridge by Tolly's Nullah and a continuation of the Strand Road to the north to Baugh Bazar, a new road and large tanks throughout the native town, in the room of the horrible sinks and pools of dirty water and filthy ditches and drains, are most essentially necessary for the health of the inhabitants of the native town: these useful objects afford ample opportunity to the natives of laying out their money to great advantage, inasmuch as they themselves do not only derive thereupon great honour, but have also the benefit of living in more wholesome situations, with good roads and good water; they will also confer benefit upon thousands of poor people.—*Bengal Chronicle*, 10th October 1829.

We fear that some obstacles impede the plans for draining of the salt water lake being carried into effect; but as we have heard that the Governor-General deems it advisable that the lake shall be drained, if it can be done, and we have been informed on good authority that the thing is practicable at a comparatively small expense, we hope shortly to hear that all opposition has ceased and that this important work has been commenced. Indeed, we had considered the matter settled, and spoke of it as in progress a few days ago; that the lake will be drained we have no doubt, because the difficulties are small compared to the advantages; and the necessity and importance of the measure are beyond question.—*Ibid*, 15th October 1829.

MR. C. W. McMINN, I.C.S. (Retd.) whose researches into the history of the English in Bengal have placed every student under an obligation to him, has given an *Empire* representative the result of his enquiries into the character and antecedents of Edmund Burke. An extract from an interesting report of the interview is appended:—

"I have, by the way, unearthed new truths about the Burke-Hastings business," said Mr. McMinn. "Hastings deserved to get six

months on at least three counts of the indictment, but Burke deserved to get six years!"

"I thought you would be surprised," he added. "I was when I first took up Burke's correspondence. But if you will only turn up that book—and Prior's Life of Burke—and Bisset's Burke—and the Dictionary of National Biography, Minto Letters, Cornwallis Letters, Morley's Burke—"

"Any more?" asked the interviewer.

DELIBERATE MIS-STATEMENTS.

"A few more. But take the authorities I have mentioned. What do they prove? That Burke made deliberate mis-statements in order to pose as a disinterested party in his vendetta against Hastings. For instance, in June 1769 Burke was one of the proprietors of the East India Company's Stock, and actually took part in the debates as a proprietor. Yet in 1772 he denied that he ever had any concern in the funds of the company.

"Here is another instance. Burke said in 1787 'I have never asked any favour whatever from Mr. Francis,' but in 1778 he wrote to Francis in India on behalf of his cousin William Burke, who was going out to that Country.

"As a matter of fact," pursued Mr. McMinn, "William Burke was at the bottom of the trouble. He was one of the worst of the civilian cormorants whom Edmund Burke afterwards denounced. Yet because Hastings wouldn't allow William to come up from Madras to batten on Bengal, Edmund turned on Hastings, and this was one main motive of the prosecution.

"If you doubt me, just glance at these two passages. Burke declared in 1786 that 'he had no other dislike to Mr. Hastings than a conviction of his misgovernment. *He knew nothing otherwise of him.*' But in 1782 Burke wrote to Cousin William, 'Your enemies, your cruel and unprovoked enemies are on the ground, suffering the punishment not of their villainies towards you, but of their other crimes which are innumerable. We will free that harassed country from the wicked usurpation of Mr. Hastings.' Nothing very calm or impartial about that, is there?

KNEW NOTHING ABOUT INDIA!

"Then again Burke has received great credit for his industry in getting up the facts about India. On the contrary he admitted to Sir Gilbert Elliott that he had been idle for three months, and this at a time when he ought to have been studying the reports of

the Commons Committees. The fact was that he was sulking because he hadn't been put on the Committees, and he declared that their labours had been fruitless. Elsewhere he admits that he hadn't studied the appendices to their reports which contain all the facts about the trade, revenues, and expenditure of India. Burke knew nothing whatever about India unless Francis was at his elbow. He studied carefully Zenobia and Timur the Tartar, but the big folios in which we still read the exact truth about the India bills, bullion, silk, and piece-goods he never opened. So he was enabled to thunder about 'innocent people, whose children's food was taken to pay for your Lordship's morning tea, nay, whose virgin daughters were sacrificed at the same altar,' the 'annual plunder without any return,' and the whole gamut of vituperation. It is terrible to think of Francis at Burke's elbow, pouring these falsehoods into his ears, and listening with complacency when the great orator distilled them into double strength, to poison the minds of untutored Indians from generation to generation.

"What is the upshot of my investigations?" said Mr. McMinn. "Simply this. Burke and Francis were both bitter personal enemies of Hastings, both regarded him first as the 'cruel and unprovoked enemy' of themselves or of those dearest to them, through whose machinations the Indian Bill was wrecked and the Burkes were out of office, begging their bread, craving pensions or sinecures, legacies or donations, jobs in Tanjore, in Pall Mall, in New York or in Calcutta, William to be Paymaster of the Troops in Bengal, Edmund to be Paymaster in London, the son Clerk of the Rolls in expectation, Deputy Paymaster for the present—Richard jobbing in land and robbing the public in the West Indies, as William was plundering in the East. None of these things are mentioned by biographers, and when a man like McCormick does relate a few truths to Burke's discredit, though three-quarters of his volume is a sustained paucyric, he is denounced as a libeller, though not refuted."

HIS ATROCIOUS LIBELS.

Mr. McMinn admitted that it was Burke's attacks on the Civil Service, "birds of prey and of passage," as he pleasantly called them, which started him on his scrutiny of the antecedents of Edmund Burke and his relatives. As a matter of fact Burke's indictment of the service was no atrocious libel on men, most of

whom starved on a pittance of Rs. 33 per month and died penniless.

The iconoclast closed his lecture with the characteristic remark that Hastings and Burke were really very much alike, except that Hastings was a gentleman while Burke was not—at least in his speeches.

"Both were at first emphatically men of integrity rare among their fellows at that time. In 1774 Hastings married his second wife and thenceforth was burdened with her and her children, her first husband and the divorce costs, with his first wife's relatives, his greedy and shameless pensioners. Burke's honesty was unimpeached till the death of his constant benefactor the Marquis of Rockingham in 1782, and the defeat of his party in 1783 over the India Bill left him a helpless, hopeless bankrupt, buffeted by debt and his own extravagance, his bodily decay, a sick wife, a dying son, while around him hovered 'The Paddies' whom Lord Minto denounced.

"He had always got money, or helped his relatives to get it, by transactions which were if not fishy at least hazy and doubtful, by agencies for New York, for Tanjore, by the unabashed dishonesty of his cousin William. That Hastings took actual bribes I think there is no evidence, though Munny Begum gave him £200 daily for his table expenses, and the same is true of Burke, in the sense that his public conduct was not before 1782 the result of his private gain or loss.

"I fear Hastings knew well that his dearest Marian took valuable presents from country princes, and they helped to influence his courtesy, but not to guide his policy. It would be absurd to argue that Burke was not fully aware that his brother and cousin were plundering East Indies and West Indies, and that the prey was to be the guerdon of the joint family, stored in the joint home. In fact Edmund was to be the receiver of goods plundered from the public by means certainly more flagitious than the treatment of Munny Begum, and which Lord Cornwallis declared to be scandalous. Let me add both Burke and Hastings had warm hearts, and spent what they had on those who wanted. You can publish what I've said, if you like. It will all appear in my book some day and a good deal more!"

IN connection with our recent visit to the Armenian Church of St. Nazareth, it probably occurred to many who studied the interesting

associations of this old building that historians have done scant justice to the important part taken by the Armenian community in the story of Calcutta. We are so accustomed to regard Job Charnock as the founder of our city that we are curious to learn more about one "charitable Sookcas" who was living here with his family sixty years before the advent of the English. Records of this period are scanty but they tend to show that it was through the Armenians that the English settlers secured a footing in the country and established many of their privileges and early security. Certainly it is to the great Armenian merchant Khojah Israel Sarhad that in 1698 the English were indebted for the right of renting the three villages of Calcutta, Sutanuti and Govindpur, and we find in the records of the English Council in 1714 that "it was unanimously agreed that Khojah Sarhad, whose interest, etc., at Court has already had the good effect of procuring us the *Hason-i-hukum* and several other useful orders from Court, be sent to assist in suing for king's *farman*, and that he sit and vote in the Council along with the three English gentlemen."

Mr. M. J. Seth, a member of our Society, in a recent letter to the *Englishman* enters very fully into this matter of the influence exercised by the Armenians before the English had secured a permanent settlement in Calcutta. It will be of interest to reproduce his letter as well as that of "Plassey" on the same subject:—

ARMENIANS AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ENGLISHMAN."

SIR,—A member of the Armenian community asserted in the course of conversation with me recently that his community assisted the English to capture (*sic*) Calcutta and that in return for and in recognition of their valuable services, the East India Company granted them a charter, or to use the exact words of my informant, "signed a treaty under which the Armenians received in perpetuity the right to style themselves Europeans and were for all statutory purposes to be considered and treated as Europeans." My informant was unable to furnish any particulars as to date on which and the circumstances under which these services were rendered, but he referred presumably to the recapture of Calcutta by Clive and Watson, and if this is correct, the charter must have been signed by Clive. My informant also stated that the charter had never been repealed and that it was cited as an authority by the community in their memorial to the Government of Bengal in connection with a comparatively recent decision of the Inspector of European Schools to the effect that

Armenians are not European in the sense in which the term is employed in the Code. I do not find any reference either to the part played by the Armenian community on the occasion to which my informant alluded or to the charter granted in recognition of their services in any of the standard authorities, and as the question is one of some interest to students of the early history of British India and particularly of Calcutta, I shall be obliged if you will find space in your columns for this letter and if you or any of your readers or contributors (come to the fore "Dak") will enlighten me. In these latter days when a prominent member of one community gravely urges in the columns of a leading journal that India was conquered for the English by Indians themselves to whose valour and fidelity in the main we owe the acquisition of the country, and another community boldly declares that but for the assistance rendered by their gallant forebears, the recapture of Calcutta would have been a task which would have baffled even the genius of Clive, it does not appear that Englishmen have any great reason to pride themselves upon the triumphs that have till now been ascribed to their race.

Yours, etc.,
PLASSEY.

Calcutta, 12th January 1910.

II.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ENGLISHMAN."

IR,—I have read with much interest "Plassey's" letter which appeared in your issue of the 13th instant, and as he seems to be anxious to know more about the Armenians and the East India Company, I shall be happy to enlighten him on the subject.

Perhaps your correspondent is not aware of the fact that long before the English dreamt of coming to the country as traders, my countrymen were to be found in all the commercial centres of Hindustan, engaged in the peaceful pursuit of commerce, and they enjoyed the patronage, nay the friendship, of both the Hindu and Mahomedan rulers of the land, of which more hereafter.

When the English, under the aegis of the "East India Company," or to be more accurate "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies," formed their first settlement in India, they found the Armenians an influential body in

the field of commerce, having at the same time much influence at the Courts of the mighty Mogul Emperors and their Viceroy in Bengal and elsewhere. They were naturally anxious, therefore, to cultivate their friendship, and as far back as 1688 we find the English making certain overtures to the Armenians and fraternising with them, actuated by motives of self-interest of course, as will be seen from the following remarkable Charter (which our friend "Plassey" could not find in any of the standard authorities) granted to the Armenians by the Directors of the Honourable East India Company in London.

This Charter, which I should call the "Magna Charter" of the Armenians, is dated the 22nd of June 1688, and reads as follows:—

"The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, to all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting.

"Whereas representation had been made to us by Sir Josiah Child, Baronet, our Deputy-Governor, that upon long conferences by him had with Caze (Khojah) Phanoos Calender (Khalanhar), an Armenian merchant of eminency, and an inhabitant of Ispahan, in Persia, as also with Sir John Chardin of London, Knight, they had, on behalf of the Armenian nation, proposed to him several particulars for carrying on a great part of the Armenian trade to India and Persia, and thence to Europe, by way of England, which will rebound greatly to His Majesty's advantage in his customs and to the increase of the English navigation, if the Armenian nation might obtain such license from this company as will give them encouragements to alter and invest the ancient course of their trade to and from Europe. And we being always willing to increase and encourage the public trade and navigation of this kingdom, after a serious debate of all the propositions relating to this affair, have thought fit to agree and resolve as follows, *viz.*—

First. That the Armenians shall now, and at all times hereafter, have equal share and benefit of all indulgences this company have or shall at any time hereafter grant to any of their own adventurers or other English merchants whatsoever.

Secondly. That they shall have free liberty at all times hereafter to pass and repass to and from India in any of the company's ships on as advantageous terms as any free man whatsoever.

Thirdly. That they shall have liberty to live in any of the company's cities, garrisons, or towns in India, and to buy, sell, and

purchase land and houses, and be capable of all civil offices and preferments in the same manner as if they were Englishmen born, and shall always have the free and undisturbed liberty of the exercise of their own religion. And we hereby declare that we will not continue any Governor in our service that shall in any kind disturb or discountenance them in the full enjoyment of all the privileges hereby granted to them neither shall they pay any other or greater duty in India than the company's factors, or any other Englishmen born, do, or ought to do.

Fourthly. That they may voyage from any of the Company's garrisons to any other ports or places in India, the South Seas, China or the Manillas, in any of the Company's ships, or any permissive free ships allowed by the Company, and may have liberty to trade to China, the Manilla or any other ports or places within the limits of the Company's Charter upon equal terms, duties and freights with any free Englishman whatsoever."

Simultaneously with the above, another important Charter was granted by the East India Company to the Armenians, which ran as follows:—

"Whenever forty or more of the Armenian nation shall become inhabitants of any garrison cities, or towns, belonging to the Company in the East Indies, the said Armenians shall not only enjoy the free use and exercise of their religion, but there shall also be allotted to them a parcel of ground to erect a church thereon for worship and service of God in their own way. And that we also will at our own charge, cause a convenient church to be built of timber, which afterwards the said Armenians may alter and build with stone or other solid materials to their own good liking. And the said Governor and Company will also allow fifty pounds per annum, during the space of seven years, for the maintenance of such priest or minister as they shall choose to officiate thereon. Given under the Company's larger seal, June 22nd, 1688."

These memorable Charters were issued in the fourth year of the reign of James II of England and were signed by Benjamin Bathurst (Governor), Josiah Child (Deputy Governor) and three other officials of the Hon'ble East India Company.

On the strength of the above Charters, which were never questioned or annulled, the Armenians have at all times justly claimed their full rights to the enjoyment of equal privileges with the English in this country.

Apart from Treaty obligations, the Armenians have rendered valuable services to the English in India and have helped them to inaugurate their rule in this country, and I may be permitted to mention that the "Grand Firman" whereby the E. I. Co. secured many privileges, was obtained for them through the influence, diplomacy and able statesmanship of an eminent Armenian merchant of Calcutta—the well-known Kojah Sarhand in 1715.

We will let William Bolts, the well-informed "Alderman, or Judge of the Hon'ble the Mayor's Court of Calcutta" relate the history of the famous deputation to the Mogul Court at Delhi to secure the "Grand Firman."

In his "Considerations on India Affairs" he informs us:—

"The trade of the English Company in Bengal had from the period of their submission to Aurungzebe, continued to grow daily more important, but it was not carried on without frequent interruptions from the officers of the Mogul Government, which it was hardly possible to avoid with a colony so situated. Being sensible likewise of the precarious tenures of their establishments in Bengal and elsewhere, in the year 1715 the Company sent a Deputation of two gentlemen to the Court of Delhi. One (an Englishman, named John Surmao, and the other a very considerable Armenian merchant, named Cogee (Khojah) Sarhand, to solicit redress for past, and security against future oppressions, for an extension of their old, and for many new privileges; and particularly for a small spot of ground to be allowed them wherever they settled a factory."

Such was the humble language used by the English only forty years before the battle of Plassey, which made the English the absolute masters of Bengal.

As is well known the "Grand Firman" was secured for the English through the diplomacy and consummate skill of the Armenian Sarhand, who in 1698 had likewise been instrumental in procuring from Prince Mohamed Azim-us-Shaun the "Grant" of Calcutta and its dependent towns and that for a small expense.

Stewart, in his "History of Bengal," says that the "inhabitants of Calcutta enjoyed, after the return of the Embassy, a degree of freedom and security, unknown to the other subjects of the Mogul Empire and that city increased yearly in wealth, beauty and riches."

James Fraser, in his "History of Nadir Shah," has given a perfect translation of the "Grand Firman" and I would not therefore trespass upon your valuable space by giving extracts therefrom; suffice it to say that the Armenians have always been loyal to the British cause in this country, and in the famous negotiations between Clive and Mir Jaffir, for the overthrow of the fiend Nawab Suraj-ud-dowlah. "The Armenian Petrus," as Orme calls him in his "History of Hindustan," played a very prominent part. The same "Armenian Petrus"—who lies buried in the Armenian Church of this city—had for six months, secretly supplied the British fugitives at Fulta (on the Hooghly) with boatloads of provision, during the interval between the tragedy of the Black Hole and the arrival of the Army of Retribution from Madras.

Should "Plassey" require further information on the subject, he can consult the "History of the Armenians in India" by the present writer published during the Armenian Crisis in 1895.

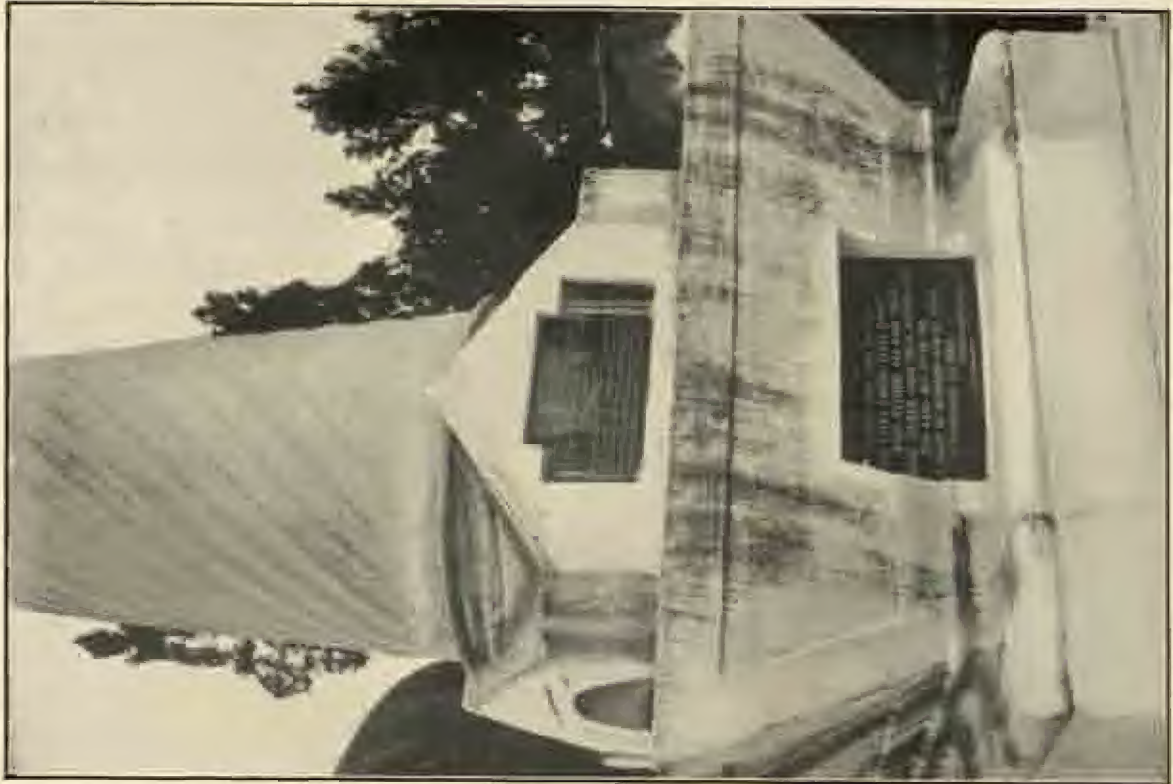
Yours faithfully,
MESROBE J. SETH.

A FEW copies of *The Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna* are still available at Rs. 3-8 per copy, and attention is called to the publication by the Society of *Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days*, containing about eighty pictures of interest bearing on the history of Calcutta. This is a publication which should be in the hands of every member, and, as the edition is limited, early application for copies is desirable.

CYRIL CHAMPKIN,
Honorary Secretary.

28, Dalhousie Square,
CALCUTTA.





RAJA AVIMBER'S TOMB :
Showing the Added Tablet bearing Lander's Elogy,
(Photos. by C. F. Hooper, Esq.)



Some Transactions of the Society.



THE *Statesman* of 13th March gives the following account of the Society's visit to the Armenian Church of Nazareth:— A party consisting of about forty ladies and gentlemen assembled at the Armenian Church of Nazareth in Armenian Street yesterday afternoon. The visitors were conducted to the points of interest by Mr. Mesroby J. Seth (author of the "History of the Armenians in India," and a member of the Society), who pointed out the oldest Christian grave in Calcutta, which is in the churchyard, and is dated 1630, or 60 years prior to the founding of Calcutta by Job Charnock. Indeed, the Armenians have some claim to be called the "Founders of Calcutta." Their first church stood about a hundred yards south of the present one in Old China Bazar, and inside the present building, which was erected on the old Armenian Cemetery in 1724, are to be seen the graves of some Armenian celebrities, such as Agah Petrus Avathoon, otherwise known as the "Armenian Petrus," who was the confidant of Clive and friend of Hastings and Vansittart. He was a brother of the famous Gorgin Khan, the Armenian Commander-in-Chief and minister of Nawab Mir Kasim. An altar erected by the Armenian Petrus to the memory of his brother Gorgin Khan, who was treacherously murdered in 1763, is to be seen inside the church, near the grave of Petrus, who died in 1778. The next grave of special interest inside the church was that of Agah Cetchick Arakiel who died in 1790. He, it seems, on the occasion of the recovery of King George III from his unfortunate malady (madness) in 1788, liberated at his own expense all the debtors in the Court of Exchequer, and for his philanthropy and loyalty was presented with a medallion portrait of the King and a sword by His Majesty. His eldest son, Agah Moses Arakiel, who likewise lies buried in the Armenian Church, in 1801, raised a militia of one hundred Armenians, he being the Captain Commandant of the Company, for the defence of Calcutta, owing to the scarcity of troops who were then fighting against Tippoo Sultan in Mysore. For his loyalty to the British cause he was presented with a sword by the Most Noble Marquis of Wellesley in a full Levee.

In the churchyard may be seen the graves of Arratoon and Gregory Apcar, the founders of the firm of Messrs. Apcar and Company of this city, as also those of Agah Owen John Ellas, a wealthy zemindar of Murshidabad and the maternal grandfather of the Hon. Mr. P. G. Melitus, C.I.E., First Member of the Board of Revenue, Eastern Bengal and Assam, and of T. J. Paul, father of the late Sir Gregory Charles Paul, Advocate-General of Bengal.

In the church registers, which date from 1793 (the older ones being lost), were seen the original entries in Armenian of the baptisms of the late Sir Gregory Charles Paul (1831), Sir Catchick Paul Chater of Hongkong (1846), and of the Hon. Mr. P. G. Melitus (1858) (referred to above). The entry, in English, of the marriage of the late Major D. M. Moir, I.M.S., who was married in the Armenian Church in 1898, was also pointed out by Mr. Seth. Altogether a most instructive afternoon was passed. Mr. Seth being cordially thanked at the conclusion of the visit.

The following remarks have been drawn up by the Rev. Walter K. Firminger to supplement the above:—

^a On the occasion of the Society's visit, on 15th November 1908, to the Armenian Church of St. John the Baptist (commenced 1695, completed 1697), I was privileged to explain to members of the expedition the main facts about the history and position of that faithful body—the Church of Armenia. It is important that these facts should be made known, as many grossly unhistorical statements on the subject have found their way into even the best of standard works. It is often asserted that the Armenian Church was the outcome of the heretical teaching of Eutyches, whereas as a matter of fact Eutyches is one of the heretical teachers whom every candidate for the priesthood in the Armenian Church is required to anathematise prior to his ordination. The Armenian Church is in fact a national Church, which for political rather than religious reasons, has never accepted the Council of Chalcedon, and has, therefore, maintained an isolated position in Christendom. This is not the place to discuss matters of theology, but it may be said that many distinguished divines of the Church of England have studied the theological and liturgical books of the Armenian Church and that by them the loose and inaccurate statements made in popular works on the subject are regarded with indignation. Although not in formal communion with one another, the Churches of Armenia and England have in Calcutta always been on the most friendly terms. The late Father Jacob, whose name should not be omitted from any account of the Church of Holy Nazareth, informed the present writer that there is a tradition to the effect that Bishop Heber communicated on one occasion at that Church.

The 17th Century grave.—The late C. R. Wilson in his *List of Inscriptions* gives the following translation of the 1630 inscription.

This is the tomb of Rezabeeb, the wife of the late charitable Sookeas, who departed from this world to life eternal on the 21st day of Naka in the year 15.

In his *English in Bengal* (Vol. 1, p. 137.) Dr. Wilson writes:—"In the Armenian Churchyard, Calcutta, there is a tombstone dated the 11th

July 1630. This has been taken as showing that the Armenians were established in Calcutta as early as 1630. The inference, however, does not seem valid. (1) The instance is isolated. No other tombstones in the churchyard are earlier than the eighteenth century. It is suggested that there may be other equally early tombstones beneath the floor of this church, but I do not see any reason to suppose this. (2) There is nothing to show that the stone is *in situ*, it may well have been brought to Calcutta from elsewhere. An inscribed stone has recently been found in St. John's churchyard which must have somehow come there from China. (3) Even if the stone is *in situ* it does not prove the existence of an Armenian colony. In India a person must be buried where he dies. If an Armenian voyager died in a ship near Calcutta, it would be necessary to bury the body there."

It might perhaps be suggested that this ancient monument, placed as it is in a passage between the street and the principal porch of the church, requires some protection.

There are a number of other inscriptions of considerable tombs, e.g., Agah Hazarmall Satool, 20th March 1734, who left money for building the steeple.

Agah Manuel Hazarmall, 30th May 1757, who built the steeple in 1734, and "endowed the church and the clergy with munificent gifts." The inscription shows that he was murdered.

Massy Baba John, 1802. Mr. M. J. Seth writes:—"A large marble slab erected in 1861 by the Armenians of New Nakhe Levan, in the Crimea, who then received an accumulated sum of Rs. 80,000 from the estate, out of which an annual grant of Rs. 1,300 is given to 'distressed itinerant Armenians,' and the remainder, about Rs. 4,200, to the District Charitable Society. As the first grant was made in 1803, it may be inferred that Massy died in 1802. He was born in Hamadan."

Cachatoor Galustan, 23rd January 1841. The builder of the Armenian Church at Penang.

An archbishop of Etchmiatzin—the Rome or Canterbury of the Armenian Church—is buried here 8th October 1813—the year of the foundation of English See of Calcutta).

The present fine altar piece is the work of Mr. A. E. Harris. What has become of the one it has displaced?

THE following account of the Society's excursion to Serampore is taken from the *Englishman*:—

The Easter Monday Excursion to the old Danish Settlement of Serampore (formerly Fredericksnagore) was in every way a success. The steamer

Jainti left Meerbohur Ghat about 11-15 and returned about 6 o'clock. Tiffin and tea were served on board by the Palace Hotel Company and quite a large party of members and their friends were on board.

The Rev. Mr. Herbert met the party at St. Olave's Church and explained the various points of interest. Many ascended the tower, from which a fine view was obtained.

This Church was built in the year 1805 by the Danish Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Ole (Olave) Bie. A donation of 1,000 rikdollars (equal to Rs. 1,667) from the fund *Ad Pios Usus* was made on 2nd May 1798 and Calcutta merchants and others subscribed freely. The Marquis of Wellesley (who enlarged Barrackpur House) is said to have given Rs. 1,000 towards the cost of the spire.

Colonel Bie was born at Trondhjem, Norway, in 1733, son of Otto Lauritzen Bie, merchant and *stads kaptein*, and Gertrude (*nee* Ross) his wife. He married Wendel Elisabeth Panck (probably) daughter of Paul K. Panck, Danish Governor in the East Indies, he arrived at Fredericksnagore in 1762, and in time became the Governor who refused to dismiss the Baptist Missionaries at the request of the Honourable East India Company's representatives in Calcutta; he had seen the good work done by Swartz and other missionaries in South India.

St. Olave, equivalent to Norwegian Olaf (short form Ole), the King and Martyr, son of King Harold Greenske and Aasta his wife, died fighting his rebellious heathen subjects A.D. 1030, was buried in Trondhjem cathedral and became the patron saint of Norwegians and Danes. St. Olave's day is 19th July.

The Church of England Cemetery was next reached. It contains many notable graves. That of Governor Bie has recently been marked by a memorial slab and opportunity was taken of the occasion to publicly unveil it. Mr. L. G. Dunbar in a few appropriate words performed the ceremony and a move was then made to the great Baptist College where various pictures and other interesting relics of the Carey, Marshman and Ward days were seen and the famous portrait long supposed to be that of Madame Grand by Zoffany was inspected. It is now known to represent Princess Lousia Augusta of Denmark, wife of Prince Frederick Christian of Augustenburg.

The following Chronological Table by the Rev. W. K. Firminger indicates the principal events in the history of Serampore; the name is first met with in a work of the 16th century entitled "*Manashar*" Bhosan:—

- 1530. The Portuguese begin to frequent the Hughli.
- 1612. The Danish Company founded.
- 1632. The Dutch (according to Wilson) found their factory at Chinsurah.

1651. The English found a factory at Hughli.
1672. The French reach the Hughli.
1690. The French settle at Chandernagore.
1706. Hamilton records that the Danes had, a little below the mouth of the Rupnarsyan, "a thatched house, but for what reason they kept a house there I never could learn." In 1712 they had a settlement at Gondalpara near Chandernagore.
1755. With the assistance of the French, the Danes obtained from the Nawab Ali Vardi Khan permission to establish a factory at Akna and Serampore.
1776. Roman Catholic Church built, to replace a smaller one (1764), by the Baretto family.
1778. The War of England with France and America for a time brings great prosperity to Serampore—Fredericksnagore.
1798. 11th November. William Carey arrives in Calcutta.
1799. 13th October. Marshman and Ward reach Serampore.
1800. 10th January. Carey joins them.
- 20th December. Carey baptizes his first convert.
- House purchased for the Mission.
1801. Last sheet of the Bengali New Testament sent to the press.
- England at war with Denmark. Battle of Copenhagen. Serampore seized but given back at the treaty of Amiens.
1803. David Brown comes to reside at Aldeen House.
- "The missionaries baptized the first Brahman—Krishna Prosad."
1805. Church of St. Olaf finished.
1806. May. Henry Martyn comes to stay with Brown. Left 10th October.
- 21st October. Daniel Corrie and Joseph Parson reach Aldeen House.
- 29th November. The synod of "Evangelical" Chaplains.
1808. War with Denmark. Serampore occupied by the English and its shipping captured by H.M.S. *Modesty*, *Terpsichore* and *Dasher*.
- The Baptists take possession of the Danish Church.
1812. 14th June. Death of Brown in Calcutta.
1815. Serampore restored to the Danes but with its harbour silted up.
1818. The younger Marshman on 18th April publishes the first number of the *Samachar Darpan—The Friend of India*.
1821. Building of College commenced.
1826. Marshman visits Copenhagen and obtains a Royal Charter for the College. The rights of the College were safeguarded by the Treaty transferring Serampore to England in 1845.

1829. Havelock marries at Serampore a daughter of the elder Marshman and becomes a Baptist.

1845. The Danes sell their Indian possession to England for twelve lakhs of rupees.

11th October. The English take possession. The Danish Church handed over to Bishop Wilson.

1848. Meredith Townsend joins the *Friend of India* staff at Serampore.

The following is a list of the Danish Governors more complete and correct than the one given by Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, but it is still incomplete :—

Soctman—1753—55. (Removed from the Danes' Gardens at Chandernagore to Serampore in 1755.)

Ziegenbalg (or Ziegenbalk—1759).

Demarchez—1763.

John Leonard Fix—1772—1778 (Sept.).

Andrew Hieroe—1773.

Colonel Ole Bie—1776.

Do. —1789—1805 (died 13th May 1805).

Jacob Krofting—1805—1828.

J. S. Holenberg—1828—1833.

Captain Rehling—1836

P. Hansen—1836—1842

Lindeman—1842—1845

(so spelt by Colonel Crawford, but according to Toynbee the name is L. Lindhard).

The name of one Danish Clergyman at Serampore in the old days has been recovered—the Rev. Fruchterricht in 1799. (See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. III., p. 158).



PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Third Annual Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held in the hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 57, Park Street, Calcutta, on Tuesday, 8th February 1910, at 6-15 P.M.

There were present:—The Hon. Sir Lawrence H. Jenkins, Kt., K.C.I.E., Chairman; the Hon. Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen, Mr. Wilmot Corfield, Mr. James Luke, Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., Mr. E. W. S. Russell, A.C.A., Colonel J. Lloyd Jones I.M.S., Mr. E. W. Madge, Mr. F. W. Howse, Mr. Syud Hossain, Mr. G. T. W. Olver, Mr. H. G. Graves, Mr. T. D. La Touche, B. A., F. G. S., Mr. W. J. Simmons, Mr. J. C. Mitchell, Mr. D. Hooper, F.C.S., Mr. M. J. Seth, Mr. H. A. Stark, B.A., Mr. H. P. Le Mesurier, Mr. A. F. C. de Cosson, Mr. S. C. Williams, Mr. C. W. McMinn, I.C.S., Lieutenant V. Hodson, I.A., Mr. A. W. Watson, I.C.S., and Mr. Cyril Champkin, *Honorary Secretary*.

The Honorary Secretary read the notice convening the Meeting.

The Hon. Sir Lawrence H. Jenkins, K. C. I. E., Chairman, said:—Gentlemen, the first business on the agenda is to put for confirmation the printed report already circulated of the Proceedings of the Society's Second Annual Meeting, which was held on Friday, 5th February 1909. The report was unanimously confirmed.

The Chairman said:—The next business is to call upon the Honorary Secretary to present the Annual Report of the Society for 1909.

Mr. Cyril Champkin, Honorary Secretary, said:—In presenting the Society's Third Annual Report I have not much to add to the printed statement already before you, and the little that I would say has reference to the sordid subject of finance. We rightly consider our Society a learned society rather than a commercial undertaking, but even a learned society is faced by the material necessity of paying its way, and I think we have hitherto been perhaps a little too apt to congratulate ourselves when we have finished our financial year with a trifling balance on the credit side. Now I think you will agree with me, Sir, that if those who are responsible for the conduct of the Society's affairs are to do their work with confidence it is absolutely essential that there should be no question as to our financial stability, and the best, and indeed the only way to ensure this, is to proceed at once with the formation of a Reserve Fund adequate for any contingency that may possibly arise.

We require also a fund to supplement our library, and permanent quarters to make that library accessible to our members and to provide accommodation for the growing needs of the Society, and most of all, we want more members, because with a membership of, say, five hundred, our other requirements could be easily satisfied.

You will notice in my report a reference to the rare historical books and pictures that occasionally come into the market and our unfortunate position in being unable to avail ourselves of these golden opportunities. Only to-day our friend Mr. McMinn, whom we are all very glad to see at this meeting, came to tell me of an auction sale of historical treasures at Messrs. Mackenzie Lyall's, and I am sure it grieved him as much as it did myself that we were unable to take advantage of that occasion. Another thing that I should like to see is a Special Publication Fund. The reprints and separate publications of the Society are expensive undertakings, and necessarily having a limited sale there is always an element of risk in producing them, and although their issue comes within our legitimate scope, I would prefer that any loss under this heading should not be made chargeable to the general funds of the Society.

The result of our year's working is before you and I think this is all that I have to say to supplement the Report, except perhaps to emphasise this, that our continued prosperity depends upon our objects being made more widely known. We have every reason to anticipate a successful year; I don't think I am betraying any official confidences when I tell you that the Government of Bengal has set aside a portion of the useful publication grant for 1910 for the supply of our journal to up-country schools, and I think we are entitled to regard this as a very encouraging sign indeed. With these few words, gentlemen, I will leave the Report in your hands.

The Chairman said:—I have now to move the adoption of the Annual Report and the Audited Accounts of the Society for 1909. The Report of the Honorary Secretary has been in the hands of us all, and I have no doubt that everyone has read it with great interest, and certainly we are placed under a debt of obligation to the energy which has produced it. The Honorary Secretary in presenting the Report has told us what he wishes, and that his aim is a membership of five hundred. It is not an unreasonable aim, and I think we should assure him that we will all, to the best of our abilities, assist him in bringing about this desirable result—a result which will carry with it undoubted benefits.

The Honorary Secretary has intimated to us that our position is not quite as satisfactory as is desirable, and our finances, we have been told, are not quite what they should be, but there again we can only hope that the energetic move the Honorary Secretary has initiated will enable us to tel

a very different tale at the next meeting. I beg now to move the adoption of the Report and the Audited Accounts of the Society for 1909.

The Hon. Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen said:—There are one or two matters regarding which I should like to say a few words. In the first place I think we owe a great deal to our Secretary who has presented the affairs of the Society in a very succinct form in his Report—a report which tells anyone who wishes to know, all about the aims and objects of the Society and what the Society is, in a manner which will prove very attractive.

In the next place I think we should acknowledge the great debt we owe to the Rev. W. K. Firminger, whose zeal for the Society burns just as keenly in Assam as it did while he was with us in Bengal. He is as industrious, his imagination is as vivid and his memory as bright and active as ever. Without him *Bengal: Past and Present* would be impossible, and I do not want this occasion to pass without our indebtedness to him being properly recognised.

These are the two main points upon which I wished to say something, but there is one more thing about which I would like to say a word or two. It refers to the complaint that the Council are not looking after the funds of the Society, and I do not like to let this opportunity go by without doing something if I can to push the sale of the work in connection with which you will find a form in front of you. I do not wish to coerce or unduly influence you but if you will fill up these order forms you will put the Society in a better position and also have the satisfaction of subscribing to a publication which undoubtedly promises to be of exceeding interest. I have much pleasure in seconding the motion for the adoption of the report and audited accounts of the Society.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

The Chairman said: The next business is the election of a President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor, and Editor of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

Mr. James Luke proposed and *Colonel Lloyd Jones, I. M. S.*, seconded that the Hon. Sir Lawrence H. Jenkins, K.C.I.E., be elected President of the Society for 1910. The proposal was carried unanimously.

The Hon. Sir Lawrence H. Jenkins, K.C.I.E., briefly thanked the Members for electing him President of the Society.

The Chairman said: We have now to elect our Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor, and Editor of *Bengal: Past and Present*. It has been suggested that all these appointments should be proposed *en bloc*. That is, that we should have as our Vice-Presidents, the Hon. Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen and Raja Benoy Krishna Deb, Bahadur, C.I.E., as Honorary Secretary, Mr. Cyril Champkin; Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Wilmot Corfield; Honorary Auditor, Mr. C. H. Coates, A.C.A.; and as Editor of *Bengal: Past and Present*

the Rev. W. K. Firminger, B.D., F.R.G.S. : I have much pleasure in proposing that.

Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.

The Chairman said : The next item of business is to elect the Ordinary Members of Council (the President, Vice-Presidents, Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer and Editor being *ex-officio* members). The following names are suggested :—

The Hon. Mr. Justice C. P. Caspersz, I.C.S.

Mr. John Davenport.

Mr. L. G. Dunbar.

The Hon. Mr. Justice F. E. Fletcher.

The Hon. Mr. Justice R. Harington.

The Hon. Mr. Justice H. Holmwood, I.C.S.

Mr. D. Hooper, F.C.S.

Mr. George Huddleston, C.I.E.

Col. J. Lloyd Jones, M.B., I.M.S.

Mr. J. D. D. Kirkman.

Mr. James Luke.

Mr. G. B. McNair.

The Hon. Mr. Norman McLeod.

Mr. E. W. Madge.

The Hon. Mr. W. C. Madge.

Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E.

Mr. M. N. Moitry.

Mr. A. P. Muddiman, I.C.S.

Mr. P. N. Mookerjee.

Mr. H. Newman.

Col. G. W. Palin, I.A.

Mr. W. H. Phelps.

Mr. E. W. S. Russell, A.C.A.

Mr. G. P. Shelton.

Mr. W. J. Simmons.

Mr. H. B. Stark, B.A.

Mr. Syud Hossain.

Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., said : I think we should have our late Secretary, Mr. J. C. Mitchell on the Council.

The Chairman said : I have much pleasure in including his name.

The list was put to the meeting *en bloc* and the abovenamed gentlemen were unanimously elected.

The Chairman said: The next item is to transact any other business that may be brought forward.

Mr. C. W. McMinn, I.C.S., referred to the necessity for a library of reference and congratulated the Society on its efforts in this direction.

Mr. G. T. W. Oliver said: I would like to remark that a feature of the Society which went a long way towards popularising it and making its work more generally known was its excursions. These excursions, which were so pleasant and useful in many ways, appear to have ceased and I would like to know what proposals are before the Society in regard to this particular for the forthcoming year.

The Honorary Secretary said: It is proposed to appoint a small sub-committee immediately to deal with the matter of excursions. I quite recognise the importance of this branch of our work, but we have been, I think, to every place of interest in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and the necessity now of going farther afield naturally increases the difficulty of arranging for such excursions to be conducted without loss. It should be remembered also that we can only have these excursions on public holidays, and that is just the time when the Railway Companies are not able to give us all the facilities we want. I hope, however, with the assistance of Mr. de Cosson, to arrange a visit shortly to Rajmahal, and if we are not able to carry that into effect, we will go to Serampore. I shall be able to advise you more definitely when I have had an opportunity of conferring with the sub-committee.

Mr. S. C. Williams said: I should like to raise the question of the heavy loss on our journal *Bengal: Past and Present*. It is apparently over Rs. 3,000 a year and it occurs to me that it might be possible to increase the price to non-subscribers without seriously affecting its circulation.

The Honorary Secretary said: I think, sir, the loss is more apparent than real. Our membership subscription is fixed at a figure that enables us to supply *Bengal: Past and Present* free to members. It can hardly be said that our Journal is being conducted at a loss under these circumstances. I do not think we shall ever be in a position to cover its cost by sales to non-members; rather we should regard all such sales as clear profit.

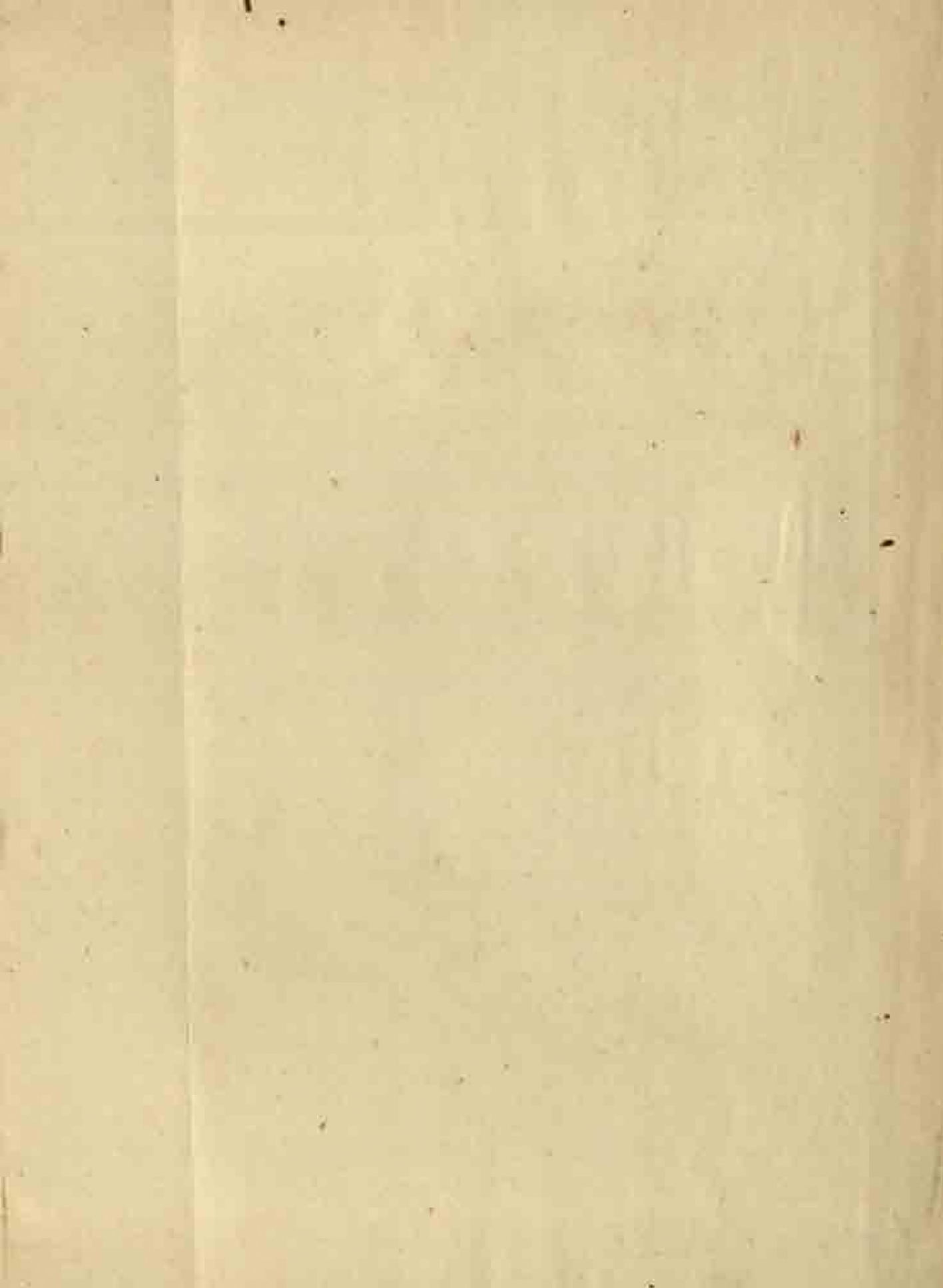
The Hon. Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen said: I should like to add to the remarks of the Honorary Secretary that this matter of the cost of the *Bengal: Past and Present* has been receiving the very close attention of the Council throughout the year. We have had a sub-committee to consider the question and we have corresponded at great length with Mr. Firminger about how much we ought to spend on each number. We have considered how that expenditure has to be met, and we have arrived at a basis formed on experience which at all events enables us to know how much we should pay

for the journal during this year. We have settled about the cost of each number and we have arranged with Mr. Firminger about the illustrations and printed matter which we leave entirely to him, the most satisfactory way, I think, to arrange it. What I want to impress upon you is that I think we have succeeded in putting the journal upon a businesslike footing which will not result in a loss at the end of the year.

The Chairman said—I think, before we part, it would be very proper that I should bring to the notice of everybody here, and to the public, that I hold in my hands Part I of *Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre Camera Days*. The work is one of very great interest, admirably got up by Mr. Wilmot-Corfield, the Honorary Treasurer of the Society. I feel sure that members have only to see it to appreciate how much we owe to him for this very valuable work and we shall all, I am sure, readily acquire this and the succeeding parts.

With a vote of thanks to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for kindly allowing the use of their Hall for the meeting, and with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the meeting terminated.





1
2
3

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.

2. P. 144. 6. 25. 141.